Beyond Words

Illuminated Manuscripts in Boston Collections

Edited by Jeffrey F. Hamburger, William P. Stoneman,
Anne-Marie Eze, Lisa Fagin Davis & Nancy Netzer

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McMullen Museum of Art, Boston College

This catalogue is published by the McMullen Museum of Art in conjunction with the exhibition *Beyond Words: Illuminated Manuscripts in Boston Collections* at the Houghton Library, Harvard University (September 12–December 10, 2016), McMullen Museum of Art, Boston College (September 12–December 11, 2016), and the Isabella Stewart Gardner Museum (September 22, 2016–January 16, 2017). Curated by Jeffrey F. Hamburger, William P. Stoneman, Anne-Marie Eze, Lisa Fagin Davis, and Nancy Netzer, the exhibition has been underwritten by the National Endowment for the Humanities, Harvard University, Boston College, and the Isabella Stewart Gardner Museum. Major support was provided by Peter and Leslie Ciampi, the John and Ann Clarkeson Houghton Library Fund, the Gladys Krieble Delmas Foundation, the Edison and Newman Houghton Library Exhibition and Program Fund, the Robert Lehman Foundation, the Bayard Livingston and Kate Gray Kilgour Houghton Library Fund, the Massachusetts Cultural Council, the Andrew W. Mellon Foundation, and the Patrons of the McMullen Museum.

Library of Congress Control Number: 2016934337
ISBN: 978-1-892850-26-3 (hardcover); 978-1-892850-28-7 (softcover)

Distributed by the University of Chicago Press
Printed in the United States of America
© 2016 The Trustees of Boston College

Copyeditor: Kate Shugert
Designer: John McCoy

Front: cat. no. 116, f. 112v; back: cat. no. 116, f. 166r

All images appear courtesy of the lenders to the exhibition.
Cat. nos. 4, 9, 10, 18, 19, 34, and 164 were not in the exhibition.

The catalogue has been underwritten by Daniel and Joanna S. Rose with additional support from the Rose Marrow Fund.

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Boston

Boston Athenæum
Boston College, McMullen Museum of Art
Boston Medical Library in the Francis A. Countway Library of Medicine
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Wellesley

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Editors & Contributors

Jeffrey F. Hamburger, Kuno Francke Professor of German Art and Culture at Harvard University, has published extensively on the art of the Western Middle Ages with a particular focus on the history of manuscript illumination. Recent publications include *Liturgical Life and Latin Learning at Paradies bei Soest, 1300–1425*, 2 vols. (2016), co-authored with Eva Schlotheuber, Susan Marti, and Margot Fassler; *Sign and Design: Script as Image in a Cross-Cultural Perspective (300–1600 CE)*, co-edited with Brigitte Bedos-Rezak (2016); *The Prayer Book of Ursula Begerin*, 2 vols. (2015), co-authored with Nigel Palmer; *Unter Druck: Mitteleuropäische Buchmalerei im Zeitalter Gutenbergs*, co-authored with Robert Suckale and Gude Suckale-Redlefsen (2015); and *Script as Image* (2014).

William P. Stoneman is curator of early books and manuscripts at Harvard University's Houghton Library; from 1997 until 2013 he served as Florence Fearrington Librarian of Houghton Library. He is the editor of *Dover Priory*, Volume 5 in the Corpus of British Medieval Library Catalogues (1999) based on John Whytefelde's three-part catalogue of St. Martin's Priory in 1389. He is also the author, with A. N. Doane, of *Purloined Letters: The Twelfth-Century Reception of the Anglo-Saxon Illustrated Hexateuch (British Library, Cotton Claudius B iv)* (2011). His current research focuses on the migration of medieval manuscripts and early printed books into North American collections.

Anne-Marie Eze is the former associate curator of the collection at the Isabella Stewart Gardner Museum, and the first scholar to undertake a comprehensive study of the museum's rare books collection. Prior to joining the Gardner, she worked at the British Library, Victoria & Albert Museum, and Trinity College Library, Cambridge. She received her doctorate from the Courtauld Institute of Art. Her dissertation was on the Venetian art-dealer Abbé Luigi Celotti (1759–1843), who is infamous for selling illuminated miniatures cut from the Sistine Chapel missals. She also catalogued the British Library's collection of Italian cuttings for the online *Catalogue of Illuminated Manuscripts*. Her publications include exhibition catalogues, articles and essays on the Gardner Museum's books and wider collection, the history of collecting, and photography.

Lisa Fagin Davis has catalogued medieval manuscript collections at Yale University, the University of Pennsylvania, the Walters Art Museum, Wellesley College, the Museum of Fine Arts, Boston, and the Boston Public Library. Recent publications include *La Chronique Anonyme Universelle: Reading and Writing History in Fifteenth-Century France* (2014), the *Directory of Collections in the United States and Canada with Pre-1600 Manuscript Holdings* (2015, with Melissa Conway), and the ongoing digital reconstruction of the Beauvais Missal (brokenbooks2.omeka.net). She has served as executive director of the Medieval Academy of America since 2013 and regularly teaches an introduction to manuscript studies at the Simmons School of Library and Information Science.

Nancy Netzer is director of Boston College's McMullen Museum of Art and a tenured professor of art history in the Department of Art, Art History, and Film at the University. Her publications include books, catalogues, and articles on illuminated manuscripts and metalwork, primarily of Britain, Ireland, and the Continent in the first millennium, and on the reception and display of medieval art from the Middle Ages to the present. Recent publications include "The Design and Decoration of Insular Gospel-Books and Other Liturgical Manuscripts" in *The Cambridge History of the Book in Britain: Volume I, c. 400–c. 1100* (2012); and "The Book of Durrow and the Lindisfarne Gospels" in *The Lindisfarne Gospels: New Perspectives* (forthcoming).

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Domine labia mea a
peries.
Et os meum anu
ciabit laudem tuam
Deus in adiutorium meu intende

Foreword

The illuminated manuscript collections housed in the Boston area are in their size, breadth, and quality among the finest in North America. They are, however, less known than they deserve to be. Fortunately, as a result of this exhibition and catalogue the richness of the relevant holdings in and around Boston can finally be brought to the attention of scholars and the public alike. A joint venture among Harvard's Houghton Library, Boston College's McMullen Museum, and the Isabella Stewart Gardner Museum, *Beyond Words* brings together more than 250 outstanding examples of the book arts in Western Europe from Late Antiquity to the rise of printing prior to the Reformation—all from nineteen local libraries and museums. The exhibition website (BeyondWords2016.org), a resource that will continue to be updated even after the exhibition closes, includes detailed descriptions of most of the manuscripts and, when available, complete digital facsimiles. It is our hope that with its integration of digital technology for the study of medieval and Renaissance manuscripts and early printed books, this project will have a lasting impact and, especially, inspire younger generations to engage with these treasures.

Planning for this project began in 2000, the year Jeffrey F. Hamburger, its mastermind, arrived as professor of medieval art at Harvard University. He and William P. Stoneman, then director of the Houghton Library, surveyed virtually all of the medieval manuscripts in the Boston area, a process that led to the identification of much unpublished or little known material. Together they hatched plans to bring to light these hidden masterpieces in a comprehensive exhibition. In an effort to make it a consortial enterprise among local institutions, which should become one of the project's lasting legacies, they invited local manuscript scholars, Lisa Fagin Davis, executive director of the Medieval Academy of America, Anne-Marie Eze, then associate curator of the collection at the Isabella Stewart Gardner Museum, and Nancy Netzer to serve with them as co-curators and co-editors of, respectively, the exhibition and catalogue. The team has worked together in a most productive, inspiring, and collegial manner. It is to them that we owe our greatest debt of gratitude.

The co-curators' expertise and commitment to the project attracted an outstanding group of advisors: Consuelo W. Dutschke, Susan L'Engle, Christopher de Hamel, Anne D. Hedeman, Peter Kidd, Richard Linenthal, James H. Marrow, Francesca Manzari, Barbara A. Shailor, Jim Waldo, and Roger S. Wieck. To them and to our lending institutions, we extend great thanks.

Grounded in new research, the production of this catalogue represented a herculean task. We are grateful to the eighty-three scholars from around the world (listed on the preceding page) who contributed entries and essays. We especially commend Kate Shugert, who compiled and copyedited the book with extraordinary discernment, efficiency, and equilibrium; John McCoy, who designed and laid out the volume to achieve a standard equaling that of its most accomplished medieval counterparts; and Megan C. McNamee, who indefatigably (and congenially) tracked the loans and provided images and information on the manuscripts.

Of course the entire project could not have been realized to such a high standard without substantial support from the National Endowment for the Humanities, Harvard University, Boston College, and the Isabella Stewart Gardner Museum. Major support for the exhibition was also provided by Peter and Leslie Ciampi, the John and Ann Clarkeson Houghton Library Fund, the Gladys Krieble Delmas Foundation, the Edison and Newman Houghton Library Exhibition and Program Fund, the Bayard Livingston and Kate Gray Kilgour Houghton Library Fund, the Robert Lehman Foundation, the Andrew W. Mellon Foundation, the Patrons of the McMullen Museum, and the Massachusetts Cultural Council, which receives support from the Commonwealth of Massachusetts and the National Endowment for the Humanities. Support for various public programming came from Christie's, the Institute for Liberal Arts at Boston College, the International Center for Medieval Art, the Samuel H. Kress Foundation, the Medieval Studies Committee of Harvard University, and Lia and William Poorvu. Media sponsorship was provided by the *Boston Globe*. The catalogue has been generously underwritten by Daniel and Joanna S. Rose, with additional support from the Rose Marrow Fund. To all of these institutions and individuals we extend sincere gratitude.

It is our hope that the pleasure and edification this exhibition and catalogue bring to those who made it possible, and to those who visit the exhibition and consult this volume, will be beyond words.

Nancy Netzer, Director, McMullen Museum of Art

Thomas Hyry, Florence Fearrington Librarian, Houghton Library

Peggy Fogelman, Norma Jean Calderwood Director, Isabella Stewart Gardner Museum

cat. no. 112, p. 121

Preface & Acknowledgments

An exhibition that focuses attention on an enormous corpus of little known and studied medieval and Renaissance art requires no justification. That this art is hidden in books, rather than framed and hung on walls, explains why much of it has escaped attention for so long. With this exhibition, a significant number of the illuminated manuscripts in Boston-area collections have been brought into view, many for the first time. A far larger quantity of unillustrated and non-European manuscripts, of no less interest on account of their textual contents, material qualities, and origins, still awaits systematic study and, not least, aesthetic appreciation. It is our hope that this exhibition will serve as a stimulus to further investigations and discoveries.

Distributed over three venues—the Houghton Library at Harvard University, the McMullen Museum at Boston College, and the Isabella Stewart Gardner Museum—the exhibition contains more than 250 objects (bound volumes, single leaves, and cuttings)—making it the largest exhibition of medieval and Renaissance manuscripts and early printed books ever held in North America. The multi-venue format reflects the consortial nature of the project, which includes loans from nineteen libraries and museums spread across Boston and its immediate vicinity. Dividing the books into three groups permitted shifting thematic focus—at the Houghton Library, the monastic library; at the McMullen Museum, the lay library; at the Gardner Museum, the Italian humanist library—which both accommodated the disparate nature of the collections at our disposal and also allowed us to present in bold strokes the history of the book from the early Middle Ages through the Renaissance and Reformation. Although each of the three sections of the exhibition has its own integrity and can be viewed separately, the three were conceived as an interlocking, integrated whole.

An exhibition always consists of more than the objects on view, just as a catalogue such as this can never fully recapture the experience of the objects within their respective installations. The exhibition provided the stimulus to conserve and digitize many, if not all, of the manuscripts, thereby making them far more accessible than ever before. Many of the manuscripts have been described in greater detail than was previously the case. By assigning entries to leading specialists from North America and Europe—eighty-three in all—we were able to profit from their experience and expertise in a manner that will, we hope, make this catalogue more than a mere record of the exhibition, but rather a reference work that can supply the foundation for further study for years to come. To aid in that endeavor, we have created a website, BeyondWords2016.org, with additional images and information on each manuscript that surfaced in the course of research for this volume. It is our hope that this site will be updated in perpetuity as new discoveries are made.

Over the course of this project we have been aided by many. The curators owe a special debt of gratitude to the Houghton's curatorial assistant Megan C. McNamee and research assistant Leland Grigoli, the catalogue's copyeditor Kate Shugert, designer John McCoy, indexer Florence Grant, and installation designers Diana Larsen and Stephen Saitas.

An advisory committee of distinguished experts Consuelo W. Dutschke, Susan L'Engle, Anne D. Hedeman, James H. Marrow, Francesca Manzari, Barbara A. Shailor, and Roger S. Wieck played a key role in the shaping of this project and receive our heartfelt thanks.

We also gratefully acknowledge the scholarly contributions of colleagues, both those who wrote for this catalogue listed on the Editors & Contributors page and others who aided our research and organization of the exhibition including: Valerio Brambilla, Bodo Brinkmann, Albert Derolez, Meredith J. Gill, Margaret Goehring, John Hodgson, Margriet Hülsmann, Lieve de Kesel, Anne Korteweg, Thomas Kren, Berthold Kress, John Lancaster, Johan Oosterman, Alexander Röstel, Erik Saak, Nancy Southworth, and Ed van der Vlist. Christopher de Hamel and Richard Linenthal evaluated many of the manuscripts to be displayed. For assistance with grant applications we thank Max Marmor, Samantha Schwartz, and Kay Sutton.

At our lenders' institutions we wish to acknowledge the contributions of: Berj Chekijian and Gary Lind-Sinanian (Armenian Museum of America); Elizabeth Barker and Stanley Cushing (Boston Athenæum); Rachel Chamberlain, Diana Larsen, John McCoy, and Kate Shugert (Boston College, McMullen Museum of Art); Thomas Wall, Christian Y. Dupont, Amy Braitsch, Barbara Hebard, and Kathleen Williams (Boston College, John J. Burns Library); Jack Eckert (Boston Medical Library in the Francis A. Countway Library of Medicine); David Leonard, Sean Casey, Susan Glover, Elizabeth Holbrook, Beth Prindle, Kim Reynolds, and Vivian Spiro (Boston Public Library); Kara M. Jackman (Boston University, School of Theology Library); Anne Woodrum and Sarah Shoemaker (Brandeis University, Robert D. Farber University Archives & Special Collections); Martha Tedeschi, A. Cassandra Albinson, Maureen Donovan, Deborah Martin Kao, and Miriam Stewart (Harvard Art Museums/Fogg Museum); Laura Linard and Christine Riggle (Harvard Business School, Baker Library); Nell Carlson and Douglas Gragg (Harvard Divinity School, Andover-Harvard Theological Library); Lesley A. Schoenfeld (Harvard Law School, Historical & Special Collections); Sarah Thomas, Thomas Hyry, Franziska Frey, Brenda Bernier, Catherine Badot-Costello, Susi Barbarossa, Katherine Beaty, Alicia Bowling, Irina Gorstein, Leland Grigoli, Mary Haegert, Saira Haqqi, Amanda Hegarty, Laura Larkin, Emily Lynch, Debora Mayer, Hope Mayo, Carie McGinnis, Megan C. McNamee, Abigail Merritt, Adam Novak, Joshua O'Driscoll, Graham Patten, Kelli Piotrowski, Alan Puglia, Theresa Smith, Christopher Sokolowski, and Robert Zinck (Harvard University, Harvard Library and Houghton Library); Peggy Fogelman, Anne Hawley,

cat. no. 107, f. 143r

Christina Nielsen, Nathaniel Silver, Maria Antifonario, Lauren Budding, Jessica Chloros, Marie Coste, Lisa Long Feldmann, Cynthia Kais, David Matthews, Shana McKenna, Maureen O'Brien, Hepzibah Rapoport, Elizabeth Reluga, Christopher Richards, Mary Ellen Ringo, Kathy Sharpless, Ann Walt Stalling, Valentine Talland, Amanda Venezia, and Sarah Whitling (Isabella Stewart Gardner Museum); Stephen Skuce (Massachusetts Institute of Technology, Institute Archives & Special Collections); Matthew Teitelbaum, Tracey Albainy (†), Marietta Cambareri, Annette Manick, Tom Michie, Janet Moore, Patrick Murphy, and Ben Weiss (Museum of Fine Arts, Boston); Giordana Mecagni and Michelle Romero (Northeastern University, Snell Library, Archives & Special Collections); Christopher Barbour and Mary Travers (Tufts University, Tisch Library); Ruth Rogers (Wellesley College, Margaret Clapp Library, Special Collections).

And of course, the realization of this project would not have been possible without the aid of our sponsors, listed in the catalogue's Foreword. We also extend heartfelt thanks to them.

Jeffrey F. Hamburger, William P. Stoneman,

Anne-Marie Eze, Lisa Fagin Davis & Nancy Netzer

cat. no. 198, f. 43r

Qui comincia la prima bataglia
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forte tan
to se bat
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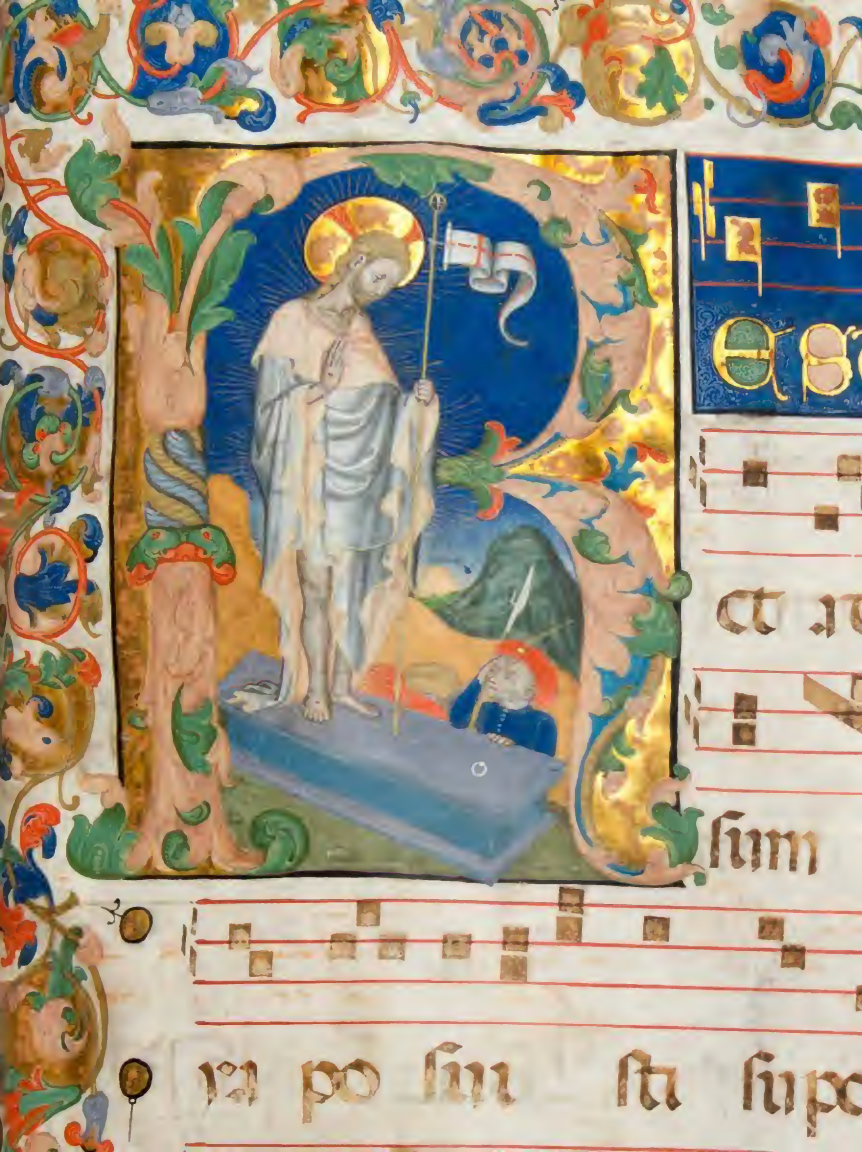
uene che
quella ba
taglia sia piu aspra e piu forte ma
mamente selle parte sonno equal
Et perce che romani e chartagine
eranno due populi niuolto forti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Illuminating the Charles: Collecting Manuscripts in Boston

The wealth of medieval and Renaissance manuscripts and early printed books now in the Boston area results from the passion for collecting and the philanthropy of its Brahmin citizens on both sides of the Charles River. In the Gilded Age, transatlantic travel opened Bostonian eyes to the Old World; the wealth of the New World and its cultural ambitions brought treasures to Boston in unprecedented numbers. Illuminated manuscripts and incunables are only a part of the larger influx of medieval and Renaissance art that crossed the Atlantic from the late 1800s entering, in most cases, first into American private collections and then later into cultural institutions.[1] Illuminated manuscripts and books, leaves, and cuttings reached these shores in particularly large numbers due to their relative portability in comparison to the panel paintings, stone sculpture, stained glass, and metalwork that also attracted considerable attention. As a prelude to the almost 250 local book treasures illuminated in this volume, this essay explores the history of manuscript collecting in Boston and introduces some of the principal contributors to the development of the rich holdings in and around the city.

Born in England, William Gibbons Medlicott (1816–83) "swam to America" (according to family lore), having been shipwrecked off Rockaway Beach, Long Island.[2] A classic American rags-to-riches story, he rose from humble roots to find success as a wool manufacturer, and settled in Longmeadow, Massachusetts. The income from Medlicott's business allowed him to pursue his passion for book collecting; he assembled an impressive library said to have numbered 20,000 volumes including many imports from Europe. A reverse in Medlicott's finances, however, forced him to sell almost a third of his collection in 1878. Eschewing a book auction, he compiled a 380-page catalogue with the assistance of Frederic Beecher Perkins (1838–99), bibliographer and "special cataloguer" at the Boston Public Library, which he sent to academics and librarians at leading universities and civic institutions on the East and West Coasts.[3] Boston-area buyers included Harvard, Wellesley College, and the Boston Public Library. Yale, Princeton, and the San Francisco Public Library were also important purchasers. The Medlicott sale was a turning point in America's educational history, providing an unprecedented opportunity for institutions of learning to supplement and fill gaps in their nascent research libraries. Medlicott's sale included seventy-eight medieval and Renaissance manuscripts and twenty-three incunables, two of which are in the present exhibition: an Italian Renaissance gradual now at Wellesley College (cat. no. 224, see opposite) and a fifteenth-century German prayer book illustrated with two woodcuts now at the Isabella Stewart Gardner Museum (cat. no. 70).

Other individuals in the Boston area built the foundation of their libraries with souvenirs of their travels abroad. One of the first was Edward Everett (1794–1865), Eliot Professor of Greek Literature at Harvard. In 1819, after a trip to Constantinople, he presented one Latin and six Greek manuscripts to the Harvard Library.[4] The next major gift of early books and manuscripts to Harvard was the bequest of the Hon. Charles Sumner (1811–74).[5] On May 22, 1856, in the United States Congress, Senator Charles Sumner of Massachusetts, an abolitionist, was attacked with a walking cane on the floor of the Senate by Representative Preston Brooks of South Carolina in retaliation for a speech given by Sumner two days earlier in which he fiercely attacked slaveholders, including a relative of Brooks. This incident is recognized as a major turning point in American history leading up to the Civil War. Sumner was badly injured and spent time recuperating in Europe in 1857 and 1858. It was during this period of convalescence that he probably acquired many of the books and manuscripts that he left to Harvard. Of the twenty-three manuscripts in his bequest two (cat. nos. 2 and 110) are in this exhibition.

Harvard College (founded in 1636) purchased its first medieval manuscripts in 1896; seven classical texts acquired from the London bookseller Bernard Quaritch (1819–99) from his *Rough List 164* published that same year. All seven came from the sale of the library of the famed English bibliomane Sir Thomas Phillipps (1792–1872) in June of that year, and it would appear that after the Phillipps sale Harvard took advantage of a comparative flood (and, consequently, low prices) of such material on the market.[6] It also seems that the purchasers were anxious about these acquisitions. Each of these manuscripts has pasted into it a paper note stating: "This manuscript is bought with the concurrence of the Classical Department and it may be allowed to go into the hands of any instructor in that department for purposes of investigation or instruction in the classroom." The note is signed by the college's librarian, Justin Winsor (1831–17), with a rubber stamp.[7] The library thus made a clear and firm statement that it was not purchasing treasures or works of art, but texts for purposes of instruction and research in basic subjects at the core of its mission to educate. In 1899, Harvard acquired the library of Paul Edward Didier, comte de Riant (1836–88), a collection relating to the Crusades that in addition to other materials included fifty-six medieval and Renaissance manuscripts.[8] These are mainly textual manuscripts and one (cat. no. 52) is in this exhibition.

A reflection of and a stimulus to this acquisition activity may have been the public exhibitions of manuscripts and rare books, including at the Boston Public Library in 1897 and 1898, and at Allston Hall in 1899.[9] By the 1930s, French bibliographer Seymour de Ricci (1881–1942) reported in his survey of manuscripts in the Boston-area that there were twenty private collectors and nineteen institutional repositories, for a total of 1,177 volumes in the city and environs.[10] When and how did Bostonians acquire so many manuscripts, and where are they now? Some of the private collections catalogued by de Ricci are now at the Houghton Library or the Museum of Fine Arts, Boston.[11] Others were sold at auction or are untraced.

cat. no. 224, f. 189r

One of the early Boston collections not in de Ricci is that of Thomas F. Richardson. As early as February and March 1890, he loaned two manuscripts and a number of leaves and cuttings to the Museum of Fine Arts, Boston.[12] Richardson's collection included eighteen codices and more than 230 leaves and cuttings.[13] Unfortunately for Boston, his widow Ellen P. Richardson sold the collection in 1919 to John Frederick Lewis (1860–1932) of Philadelphia and as a result this collection is now in the Free Library of Philadelphia, the gift of Lewis's widow, Anne Baker Lewis, in 1936. The Houghton recently acquired one of Thomas Richardson's illuminated leaves (MS Lat 457) as a reminder of an important collection that began in Boston, but did not stay there.

One of the purchasers at the abovementioned sale of William G. Medlicott's library was Henry Fowle Durant (1822–81), who, with his wife Pauline, founded the prestigious women's college, Wellesley, in 1870. He donated 8,000 of his own books to the library that he continued to augment.[14] In 1880, he purchased from Medlicott an imposing liturgical manuscript, now known as the Durant Gradual (cat. no. 224). Another of the buyers of Medlicott's rare books was Charles Eliot Norton (1827–1908), Harvard's first professor of art history and the "Father of Art History in America." In 1871, Norton wrote to his friend John Ruskin (1819–1900): "For largeness of design within the limits of the State, for method of policy, for gravity of purpose, for splendor in life, for the union of beauty with strength, elegance with force, luxury with self control, Venice and the Venetians of old were never matched in history."[15] Norton's reverence for the Republic of Venice and friendship with the influential English art critic and author of *The Stones of Venice*, led him to form a collection of Venetian manuscripts between the 1870s and 1900.[16] The Harvard professor's collection included ducal commissions purchased in the lagoon city with the aid of a circle of British expatriates (cat. nos. 206–7), and a confraternity statute book acquired from Ruskin's estate following the Englishman's death (cat. no. 37).[17] Norton's fascination with Venice was common among the upper echelons of Boston society. Brahmins admired the Venetian combination of republican government, patrician families, and maritime heritage, believing it to closely resemble their own society.[18] Northern European manuscripts formerly in Ruskin's hands also entered Norton's library. Ruskin presented his American friend with a breviary (now recognized as Flemish) on January 27, 1873, writing of the gift (cat. no. 44): "…I also send you, wanting it out of my way an old English MS. breviary of late 14th century—possibly you may like to refer to such a thing sometimes—it seems very full and illustrative in its way—but I've never made use of it, and now never shall."[19]

In 1903, Norton invited the art collector Isabella Stewart Gardner (1840–1924) to his home to see his collection of Venetian manuscripts and learn about "their respective value & rarity," as he had decided to sell the book treasures.[20] Recognizing "their value as a collection to be more than that which they would have separately" for their mutual illustration of one another "both historically and artistically," he offered it en bloc to Gardner for $2,500, as he believed that there was not "another purchaser in the United States…who would care enough for them to give that sum for them." Norton's decision to sell to Gardner was also inspired by her recently opened museum, an ode to Venetian art and architecture, which Norton praised as a "consummate…achievement…in which a poetic conception has found poetic expression," as well as her plans to bequeath her collection to the city of Boston.[21] Gardner was one of the many friends and students to whom Norton sold manuscripts and rare books toward the end of his life, as he was anxious about the financial security of his family.[22] Harvard also acquired many books from Norton's library in 1905 through donations from his students, colleagues, and friends.[23]

William King Richardson (1859–1951) was a member of the Harvard College class of 1880. Just two years later he earned a double first at Balliol College, Oxford University (purportedly the first American to obtain this distinction at Oxford). His library was begun at the Lord Amherst of Hackney sale in 1908. For more than forty years, Richardson had the opportunity and the means to collect printed books and manuscripts of distinction. He maintained a considerable variety of scholarly interests throughout his life; his library was similarly wide-ranging. One of its particular strengths was illuminated manuscripts and early printed books; he owned forty-nine of the former. Richardson's bequest of his book collection to Harvard College Library constituted one of its most important accessions. On its receipt in 1951, William A. Jackson (1905–64), the first librarian of Houghton Library, wrote that "from the beginning Richardson dealt with able and knowledgeable booksellers, whose aid in forming the collection is apparent on every shelf; for many of the books still contain the notes or letters of Martini, Tregaskis, Belin, Goldschmidt, Quaritch, Olschki, Maggs, and Robinson. At most of the great sales of the past forty years he obtained, either directly or soon after, some few treasures. Of these, the Hoe, Huth, Britwell, Mostyn, Phillipps, Beatty, Schiff, Clumber, Mensing, Peckover, and Lothian sales may be mentioned particularly. Many of his books, likewise, contain marks of ownership of the distinguished collectors of earlier generations."[24] Richardson was also the donor of four medieval manuscripts to Houghton prior to his bequest. The twenty-one Richardson manuscripts included in this exhibition testify to his discernment as a collector (see Index of Manuscripts & Printed Books in this volume).

One of Richardson's mentors and advisors was Philip Hofer (1898–1984), a member of the Harvard College class of 1921. The founding curator of Houghton Library's Department of Printing and Graphic Arts, which documents the development of letterforms and the arts of the book,[25] Hofer collaborated with Houghton's first librarian Jackson, who was known as "The Grand Acquisitor." He used both personal and endowed funds to assemble the greatest collection of medieval and Renaissance manuscripts in Boston, which he donated to the Houghton Library during his lifetime and as a bequest. Hofer built equally important collections in the book arts, prints, and calligraphy. His collection, with the shelfmark Typ(ography), which is represented in this volume by eighty-two manuscripts and printed books, continues to grow due to the generosity of friends who have endowed acquisition funds in his honor.[26]

In 1901, Wellesley College received a 600-volume "teaching library" of Italian literature from the New York publisher and bibliophile George Arthur Plimpton (1855–1936) in memory of his wife Frances Taylor Pearsons Plimpton (class of 1884).[27] The collection included manuscripts and printed editions of the works of the "Three Crowns" of Italian literature, Petrarch (cat. no. 215), Dante, and Boccaccio, as well as later Italian Renaissance authors. Frances started collecting rare books in Italy during the 1880s, and, after her marriage, shared this pursuit with her husband until her premature death in 1900. A widower

for seventeen years, George added to Frances's memorial collection at Wellesley even after he remarried. He was advised by the college's professor of Italian, Margaret Hastings Jackson (d. 1939), who became the first curator of the Plimpton Collection. Mr. Plimpton bequeathed his own collection of rare books on the history of education to Columbia University (cat. no. 145). Frances and George's son, the lawyer Francis T. P. Plimpton (1900–83), was also a bibliophile and friend of Philip Hofer (cat. no. 200).

The story behind the small but varied collection of manuscripts at Tufts University (founded in 1852) has recently come to light.[28] It is largely indebted to a mysterious alumnus from the class of 1928, Walter F. Welch Jr. (c. 1906–after 1967). Welch began donating books and fragments of manuscripts in 1952, mailing them to Medford from his home in Santa Monica (cat. nos. 126, 138, and 205). His earliest known letter to Tufts regarding the collection, dated January 12, 1953, simply states: "It is a very great pleasure for me to be able to do this and I hope to send more in the future." Four years later, *Tufts Weekly* published a front-page feature on highlights from Welch's collection, then on display in the Eaton Memorial Library thanks to the librarian Joseph S. Komidar (1916–2001).[29] Welch was intent on forming a teaching collection for Tufts on the history of writing from "cave painting to comic strips" in the hopes that its students would be more knowledgeable about the subject than their peers. Preferring a long-distance relationship with his alma mater, Welch "the unobtrusive benefactor" ignored invitations to attend receptions in his honor held by the college. His last letter in the Tuft's gifts correspondence is dated December 3, 1967.

The significant development of the manuscript collection at the Boston Public Library (founded in 1852) may be the only one in the Boston area primarily spurred by the sale of an important European collection. At the urging and through the agency of Englishman Sydney Cockerell (1867–1962), later to become the director of Cambridge University's Fitzwilliam Museum, the Boston Public Library acquired twenty-one medieval and Renaissance manuscripts in June 1901 at one of the last sales of the Earl of Ashburnham's library (cat. no. 178). Through Cockerell the library acquired a wide range of materials and spent one-sixth of its trust fund acquisition budget for the year, a bold move by an unlikely Anglo-American partnership considering the library's other obligations and Cockerell's untested abilities as an intermediary. Other major buyers at this sale included the British Museum, the Bibliothèque nationale in Paris, and the American private collectors J. Pierpont Morgan (1837–1913) and Henry Walters (1838–1941), whose collections later became institutional libraries.[30]

At the same Ashburnham sale Isabella Stewart Gardner acquired a manuscript of Dante's *Divine Comedy* on the recommendation of Charles Eliot Norton (cat. no. 214). This manuscript and others at the museum founded by Gardner in 1903 have attracted sporadic scholarly attention over the years, yet until recently had not been the subject of systematic research since they were catalogued by de Ricci in the 1930s.[31] Gardner had begun collecting rare books in the 1880s, almost a decade before she came into the large inheritance that launched her into a new level of art purchases and patronage for which she became famous. One could say that books were Gardner's gateway to the collecting of art, if it were not for the fact that she remained passionate about them and continued to acquire books right up until her death in 1924. At the Isabella Stewart Gardner Museum on Boston's Back Bay Fens (called Fenway Court during her lifetime) hang four portraits of its legendary founder. The three by John Singer Sargent, James Abbott McNeill Whistler, and Anders Zorn will spring to mind, but the fourth will have escaped the notice of many.[32] It lives in a corner of the second-floor Short Gallery and shows her reading a book.[33] Its placement there by Gardner is a reminder to visitors that she was a bibliophile, as well as an art lover. This facet of her collecting has been largely overlooked, even though her library is shelved in cabinets in plain sight throughout the building. The museum's book collection was known as the Library while Gardner lived, and it comprised then and now approximately 2,500 volumes. Like the art collection, they are located in the galleries as Gardner originally arranged them, according to the famous stipulation of her will bequeathing the museum to Boston "for the education and enjoyment of the public forever."[34] Gardner dictated that should any of the artworks or books be moved from their place, the entire collection would be auctioned and the proceeds donated to Harvard. Gardner distributed her books around the museum according to a thematic and hierarchical arrangement that corresponds to the installation of her artworks. Masterpieces of medieval and Renaissance painting and sculpture occupy the grander galleries on the museum's two upper levels, and among these she placed her forty-two illuminated manuscripts, eleven incunables, and other prized books. They mainly reside in the "Dante Case" along with a copy of the poet's death mask in the Long Gallery adjoining the Titian and Gothic rooms.

Much credit for the Gardner Museum's remarkable trove is owed to the oft-mentioned Harvard professor Charles Eliot Norton. Gardner audited his undergraduate course on the history of the fine arts, attended private readings of the *Divine Comedy* at his home, and belonged to the Dante Society, of which Norton was a founding member and later president.[35] In 1886, Norton alerted Gardner to the forthcoming sale of the library of Edward Cheney (1803–84) at Sotheby's in London, and recommended that she purchase three early printed books: two editions of Dante's *Divine Comedy*, one illustrated with woodcuts printed in Brescia in 1487, and the other, the first pocket-sized edition of the text printed by Aldus Manutius in Venice in 1502 (cat. nos. 248–49). The third book, also issued from the Aldine press, in 1499, was a copy of the *Hypnerotomachia Poliphili*, an antiquarian romance considered one of the most beautiful illustrated books ever printed (cat. no. 240). This was the beginning of a two-decade role for Norton as library advisor and purveyor of rare books to Gardner. She acknowledged their new bibliophilic relationship in a letter to him following the Cheney sale: "Owing to your kindness, I am the happy and proud possessor of several valuable books....Books, I fear are a most fascinating and dangerous pursuit, but one full of pleasure, and I owe it entirely to you, if I have made a good beginning."[36] Norton introduced Gardner to the important sales of British aristocratic libraries, such as the Crawford and Ashburnham collections, which were being dispersed at a rapid rate. He advised Gardner to appoint Bernard Quaritch, London's leading rare bookseller, to act as her library agent and to bid on her behalf at the London sales. Gardner did not only buy books recommended by Norton. Her confidence in making purchases independently and good eye are evident from her most spectacular acquisition, which she made in 1890 while searching for rare volumes on holiday in Venice. There she bought an exquisitely illuminated early sixteenth-century manuscript book of hours (cat. no. 112). Since Gardner's death, experts have hailed it as a mature work of Jean Bourdichon (1457–1521), the eminent court-artist who

for over forty years served four French kings: Louis XI, Charles VIII, Louis XII, and Francis I. During Gardner's lifetime Bourdichon's artistic persona represented a recent discovery, and his œuvre remained ill-defined, so her acquisition of the prayer book in 1890 also demonstrates remarkable prescience. Gardner also turned down book treasures that did not suit her tastes or pocket. Around 1899, she was contacted by the British archaeologist John Marshall (1862–1928), who offered her the chance to acquire the famed Golden Gospels of Lord Ashburnham for the sum of £10,000, acknowledging that it was "an enormous price certainly for a binding, but one which would not strike you as exaggerated if you saw the book. It must be one of the finest pieces of decoration of Charlemagne's date."[37] Evidently she rejected the late eighth-century book with a spectacular treasure binding, now known as the Lindau Gospels, purchased by J. Pierpont Morgan in 1901. At Morgan's library in New York, the book boasts the prestigious shelfmark M.1.[38]

Isabella Stewart Gardner's library reflects her deep interest in European royal history. She was particularly fascinated by the Stuarts, from whom she claimed descent through her paternal line. The Stuart ancestor who intrigued Gardner the most was Mary, Queen of Scots (1542–87). Gardner dedicated a case in the Long Gallery to Mary, where she displayed relics of the queen, who was considered a martyr by some Catholics in the nineteenth century. Chief among them was Mary's book of hours printed on vellum, which is inscribed by the queen's mother-in-law Catherine de' Medici (1519–89), husband François II (1544–60), a maternal uncle, probably her favorite Charles de Guise, cardinal of Lorraine (1524–74), and a cousin Louis de Lorraine (1555–88) (cat. no. 245). Gardner paid the large sum of £225 to secure the potent symbol of Mary's steadfast Catholic faith when the book was sold in the 1887 auction of the Bibliotheca Lindesiana, the famous library of the earls of Crawford. Proud of her prestigious book possessions and the knowledge that they would remain at her museum in perpetuity, Gardner signed some volumes bearing inscriptions of earlier owner's names with the words "Mine now" (cat. no. 37).

Gardner's library was widely known and admired in Boston, even before she opened her museum in 1903. Highlights from her collection were exhibited to the public on at least three occasions, including at the Boston Public Library and Allston Hall in the late 1890s (cat. nos. 235, 239–41, 244–47, 249).[39] She also published two catalogues of books from her library in 1906 and 1922.[40] Issued in large print runs and distributed widely to fellow book lovers, art collectors, and libraries, the catalogues publicized her impressive collection and status as a bona fide bibliophile. Gardner wrote the first catalogue herself, despite the strong recommendation of its publisher, Daniel Berkeley Updike (1860–1941), that she hire an editor. Updike was the most accomplished Arts and Crafts printer in America, and his Merrymount Press in Boston specialized in producing attractive, deluxe private press publications for wealthy bibliophiles and limited-edition clubs. Mindful of his reputation as a scholar-printer, Updike refused to allow his imprint to appear in Gardner's book because there were so many errors in the text. Perhaps this is why Gardner wrote rather defensively to her art advisor Bernard Berenson (1865–1959) a year after its publication: "It is my choice of books, choice for many reasons—some in sentiment—others for merit."[41] The 1922 catalogue was dedicated to manuscripts and fine bindings, and compiled with the assistance of Morris Carter (1877–1965), a professional librarian who had worked at Princeton University Library and Boston's Museum of Fine Arts. Gardner hired Carter in 1919 to assist her in preparations of the catalogue. Just prior to starting his new position, Carter wrote to Updike: "I have a presentiment that, after June 1st, when I begin to be an employee of Mrs. Gardner, I shall never again have an hour at my disposal, but if she should undertake the publication of catalogues, I might sometimes be sent to you on an errand."[42] Six months after Carter joined the museum, Gardner suffered a debilitating stroke so Carter became her private secretary (or "write-hand man" as she called him) as well as librarian. Together they completed the catalogue of Gardner's rare books in 1922, just two years before her death after which Carter, a librarian not an art historian, became the first director of the Isabella Stewart Gardner Museum.

This essay on the topic of collecting manuscripts in Boston is introductory in both senses of the word; it cannot pretend to be an exhaustive "de Ricci-esque" survey, but its purpose is to pique interest and curiosity in others to research the foundations of the city's rare book holdings. Two notable omissions in this essay are the Boston Athenæum and Museum of Fine Arts, Boston. One might marvel that there are just two manuscripts from the Boston Athenaeum in this exhibition (cat. nos. 130 and 140). Founded in 1807, the Athenæum is one of the oldest and most distinguished independent libraries in Boston and the United States. Its origins date, however, to an era in American history when books were acquired to be read, not for their format or rarity. Consequently, the Athenæum was set up as a non-circulating reference library and reading room filled with encyclopedias, newspapers, and atlases to serve the needs of gentlemen scholars and Brahmin businessmen. Remaining true to its roots as an elegant working library, the library now residing at the wonderful address of 10½ Beacon Street boasts books that have become rare due to the passage of time as well as the efforts of Stanley Cushing, who joined the Athenæum in 1971 and was appointed its first curator of rare books and manuscripts in 2002.[43]

Of undoubted importance for the history of manuscripts at Boston's Museum of Fine Arts (founded in 1870) is Denman Waldo Ross (1853–1935), Harvard professor of design and art theory from 1889 to his death. As a museum trustee, Ross helped to build the collection, and most notably the creation of an Oriental Art department. He donated both Islamic and Western manuscripts to the museum (cat. nos. 9–10).[44] Ross also helped his good friend Isabella Stewart Gardner to branch out in this new area of collecting Islamic manuscripts between 1913 and 1914.[45] Perhaps the onset of World War I put a stop to further acquisitions in this direction by Gardner.

It has been shown that Boston's rich and diverse collection of medieval and Renaissance manuscripts and printed books is the result of considerable individual and institutional effort over many years. These treasures are collectively a sizable inheritance, deserving appreciation for the beauty contained within them and also for the history that has brought them to reside in this city. They reflect not only Boston's growing cultural aspirations but also the city's considerable achievements in illuminating its residents.

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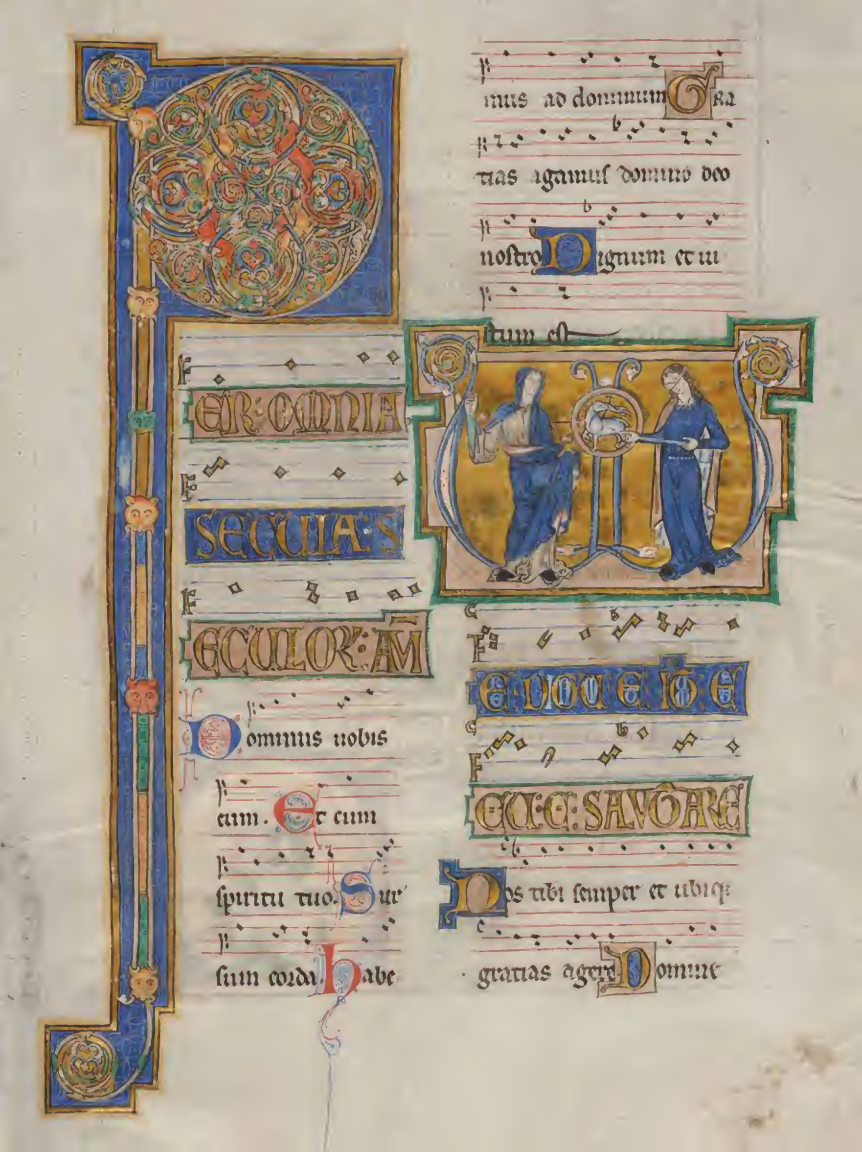
1 On American collecting of medieval and Renaissance art, see E. Smith 1996, Saltzman 2008, and Brilliant 2009.
2 Hall 1990, 13.
3 Medlicott 1878.
4 Everett 1821; Dennis 1983, 286–87; Light 1995, xii.
5 Part of a larger library donation described in Sumner 1879. See also Dennis 1990.
6 Light 1995, xiv. For Phillipps, see Munby 1967.
7 Dennis 1983, 289.
8 Walsh 1995.
9 *Monthly Bulletin of Books* 1897a and 1897b and Society of Arts & Crafts 1899. The Allston Hall show comprised a "Loan collection of old arts and crafts...drawn entirely from the private collections of Boston." Society of Arts & Crafts 1899, 41.
10 De Ricci 1935–40, 1:910–62 and 2:2297–301 (for Boston collections) and 2:964–1060 and 2:2301–8 (for Cambridge).
11 Conway and Davis 2015.
12 Tanis 2001, 12–13n20.
13 Ibid., 8.
14 Hall 1990, 28–29.
15 Bradley and Ousby 1987, 234 (no. 166).
16 Ruskin 1851–53.
17 Eze, forthcoming 2016.
18 Fergusson 2009, 3.
19 Bradley and Ousby 1987, 275 (no. 207). Interestingly this letter is not included in Norton's 1904 selection of Ruskin's letters to him, perhaps because it enumerates several gifts from Ruskin to Norton. The letter is Houghton Library, MS AM 1088, 6067. The manuscript is Houghton Library, MS Lat 267; Dearden 1966, 143 (no. 43) and 2012, 49 (no. 326).
20 Letter from Charles Eliot Norton to Isabella Stewart Gardner, Shady Hill, May 28, 1903, ISGM, Archives. Eze, forthcoming 2016.
21 Letter of Charles Eliot Norton to Isabella Stewart Gardner, Shady Hill, January 2, 1903, ISGM, Archives. Eze, forthcoming 2016.
22 Eze, forthcoming 2016.
23 Dupont 2011 and 2012.
24 W. Jackson 1951, 328.
25 Bentinck-Smith 1984, Garvey 1988, Dennis 1990.
26 See Index of Manuscripts & Printed Books in this volume. We are most grateful to Hope Mayo, Philip Hofer Curator of Printing and Graphic Arts at the Houghton, for lending so many books to this endeavor.
27 M. Jackson 1929; Rogers 2015; and Dutschke 2007, 10–11.
28 Tufts University, Digital Collections and Archives: Tisch Library records, 1853–2015; subject files, 1950–90; Komidar subject files, 1937–87; gifts, 1956–64. We are grateful to Christopher Barbour and Mary Travers for this hitherto unpublished information.
29 Vincz 1957.
30 For a fuller description of this acquisition, see Stoneman 2007.
31 The museum's book collection enjoyed a renaissance in the 1970s, largely thanks to its staff bibliographer Rebecca Karo. Fenway Court 1977, 1. Karo compiled a short title catalogue of highlights from the collection which, unfortunately, was never published. Karo c. 1979. During this period, the Museum's (now defunct) annual journal, *Fenway Court*, published several articles on manuscripts and books in the collection. The 1977 edition was dedicated to Gardner's books.
32 Hendy 1978, 222–24, 292–93, 297–98.
33 Painted by Martin Mower (1870–1960) in 1917. See Hendy 1978, 168, 170–72. Mower's portrait is a based on a photograph of Gardner taken on December 14, 1906 by Otto Rosenheim in the London home of his uncle Max Rosenheim (1849–1911), a wine merchant and collector of Renaissance art.
34 Hawley, Campbell, and Wood 2014, 53.
35 For Gardner and Norton's shared love of Dante, see Cunningham 1973.
36 Letter from Isabella Stewart Gardner to Charles Eliot Norton, London, July 12, 1886. Harvard University, Houghton Library, bMS Am 1088, 687, 2494.
37 Letter from John Marshall to Isabella Stewart Gardner, July 17 of an unspecified year [probably 1899]. ISGM, Archives.
38 New York, PML, MS M.1. For the Lindau Gospels, see Needham 1979, 25–26. For other masterpieces Gardner rejected or failed to acquire, see Hadley 1980.
39 Society of Arts & Crafts 1899, 49–51; *Monthly Bulletin of Books* 1897a and 1897b.
40 I. Gardner 1902 and 1906.
41 Isabella Stewart Gardner to Bernard Berenson, July 9, 1907. Hadley (1987) 2016, 400–401.
42 Letter from Morris Carter to Daniel Berkeley Updike. Museum of Fine Arts, Boston, May 14, 1919. The Huntington Library, Art Collections and Botanical Gardens, mss Merrymount Press.
43 Wentworth 1994.
44 Melton 2009, 150.
45 Horioka, Rhie, and Denny 1975, 105–8 (nos. 45 and 47).

I

Harvard University, Houghton Library

Manuscripts from Church & Cloister



mus ad dominum Gra
tias agamus domino deo
nostro Dignum et iu
stum est

ER: OMNIA
SECULA: S
ECULOR: AM

Dominus uobis
cum. Et cum
spiritu tuo. Sur
sum corda. Habe

E DOCE TE
EU: E: SAVGARE

Dos tibi semper et ubiq;
gratias agere Domine

The real beauty of all manuscripts, and of all books for that matter, is their ability to tell a human story and to bridge the gap from their original creators through centuries of use, and sometimes neglect, to the modern reader and user. Even the smallest fragment with minimal decoration can reveal much about its purpose and value. There are challenges to be sure: the script, the techniques, the language, and the culture can serve as barriers to understanding. This is especially true for manuscripts from the Middle Ages and the Renaissance, but the variety, the ingenuity, and the human nature of this productivity are also readily apparent. This catalogue and the accompanying exhibition invite viewers to look closely at a group of objects from Boston-area special collections and to observe and to interact with them.

The first part of this volume, Manuscripts from Church & Cloister, comprising manuscripts displayed at Houghton Library, focuses on the church's critical role as both producer and consumer of manuscripts essential to its operation. Until the development and spread of printing in the second half of the fifteenth century books were made by hand and usually one at a time. As unique objects they reflect where and how they were made and how they were intended to be used.

As Christianity spread and the church expanded and changed, so did its requirements for manuscripts. As Barbara A. Shailor notes in her essay, "The Monastic Scriptorium," "for much of the Middle Ages beginning in Late Antiquity, the centers of book production were located in monastic scriptoria." The entries in this section of the catalogue demonstrate the considerable regional variation in this early period.

In his essay, Jeffrey F. Hamburger invites readers to contemplate concepts of authorship and readership. Not until the advent of printing could the concept of intellectual property arise. Within a culture producing individual books, Hamburger says, "the concept of copyright, let alone plagiarism, also made no sense. A work that was not excerpted or copied had no afterlife." The implications for how authors are portrayed and how their work is arranged on the page are the focus of the entries in this section.

As Lisa Fagin Davis observes in her essay, "monks were educated, regulated, and governed by various kinds of texts and documents that worked together to serve the communal and individual goals of living a good life." "Guides to Good Living" discusses manuscripts that provide moral and spiritual education. Also included are manuscripts that concern administrative functions and that reflect the diversity of church hierarchy.

The final chapter of part I explores manuscripts necessary for the performance of the liturgy of the church. In "Songs of Praise" are some of the mostly elaborately decorated volumes; they were clearly designed for ostentatious public consumption. Their beauty was seen to reflect the glory of God, something for which the liturgy provided plenty of opportunity. As Consuelo W. Dutschke explains, "the medieval liturgical day revolved around eight services called 'offices' and the daily Mass. While Mass was the dramatic centerpiece of the cycle, with the giving and receiving of communion at its heart, the rhythm of the day was set by the eight offices."

William P. Stoneman

cat. no. 48, f. 4r

nientem in regno; Coll

Presta quesumus
omnipotens deus: ut qui
beati illi martyris tui nata
licia colimus: a cunctis
malis iminentib; eius in
tercessione liberemur. ℟.

In unius mar lc. i. Lectio
nes ex omel
.b. gregorii p.

Qui non
baiulat

1. The Monastic Scriptorium

Before the introduction of movable type for printing in the middle of the fifteenth century, books produced in Western Europe were planned, written, decorated, and bound by hand. And for much of the Middle Ages beginning in Late Antiquity, the centers of book production were located in monastic scriptoria ("rooms for writing")—where monks labored with book production as part of their daily religious duties. Among the more famous monasteries with robust scriptoria were the twin monasteries of Wearmouth and Jarrow in northeastern England (home of the Venerable Bede); St. Martin of Tours in France; Santo Domingo de Silos in northern Spain; and Monte Cassino in southern Italy. Scriptoria most often had a division of labor; there was close collaboration among monks who prepared parchment, ruled lines for the written space, copied text (including rubrics and various forms of display scripts), and drew and painted decorative initials, borders, and miniatures. The binding of the completed manuscript could range from a simple parchment wrapper to sturdy wooden boards, and the book might be covered in its entirety, or in part, in leather or cloth. Styles of bindings varied as much as those of script and decoration, each depending upon geographical location and period of production.

In the early Middle Ages, the type of handwriting used in a scriptorium could be unique to a particular monastery and then also practiced in houses founded by the monastery. Each letterform and each abbreviation of a word would be composed of a deliberate sequence of strokes—the "ductus" of that letterform or abbreviation. The shape, direction, and order of the strokes were determined by the style of script selected. Some scripts were definitely cursive, or running, hands with strokes joining letters together in interlocking patterns. Other scripts were text hands; these are more even, angular, and upright in appearance. Letters might also be capitals, called majuscules, which developed from Roman epigraphy. But most medieval scripts fall into the category of minuscule, a script derived from Roman cursive, and refined into Caroline minuscule script under the auspices of Charlemagne (cat. no. 15). Caroline minuscule eventually spread across Europe until it was slowly superseded by many types of Gothic scripts, both cursive and text.

This catalogue contains several excellent examples of early minuscule scripts. The six leaves of Gregory's *Moralia in Job* (cat. no. 12) were written c. 675–725 in the Merovingian French monastery of Luxeuil in a cursive minuscule script. This script is notable for spiky ascenders and descenders and for the fluidity of its ductus. Another style of Merovingian script was used in Theodore's *Commentary on the Pauline Epistles* (cat. no. 13), a somewhat later fragment (c. 750–800) that follows the calligraphic tradition of the French monastery of Corbie. Both of these fragments might be compared with the notated missal from southern Italy (cat. no. 17) that was copied c. 1075–1100 in the "Bari-type" of Beneventan script. The bold script is distinctive with its tall broken-back *C*, and the soft shades of yellow, blue, and green are characteristic of decoration in manuscripts written in Beneventan script.

Whatever the script or scripts used, the goal of a scriptorium was to produce legible, textually accurate, and coherently organized books both for reference, and for reading or singing aloud. Cat. no. 5, a lectionary originating in the monastery of Morimondo, contains both decorative initials that are spirited in design and execution, and the marking of some words of the text with pronunciation "ticks" above particular letters (e.g., line 7 at left, "liberémur") to guide the reader.[1] Although a person today may have difficulty deciphering the dense letterforms, the juxtaposition of the rubricated heading, the multi-line red initial, and the carefully written text script (with the occasional pronunciation guides) enabled the medieval monastic reader to navigate elegantly through the manuscript.

The Houghton Library and Museum of Fine Arts, Boston are fortunate to own a group of manuscripts that are all from important Cistercian monasteries that flourished in the twelfth century, notably Morimondo, Pontigny, and Royaumont. The Cistercian order, founded at Citeaux in 1098, established strict rules for the scribes and artists of manuscripts. Analysis of these manuscripts reveal how Cistercian scriptoria functioned. The underlying aesthetic principles adhere to the rules of the monastic order, which emphasized austerity in all areas of monastic life including book production, but each monastery was able to interpret those rules in distinctively recognizable ways. The volumes, when placed alongside one another, demonstrate certain Cistercian characteristics: large-size formats, bold text hands, and elegant aniconic decoration.

Cat. no. 7 is a cutting from what was once a bible with dazzling, yet appropriately aniconic initials, made in Troyes c. 1190 for the Cistercian monastery of Pontigny in Champagne. The cutting was once part of a multi-volume monumental bible of remarkable beauty—with the clarity of the calligraphy as striking as the intricacy of the interior vine-stem designs of the initial (with its little border extension) skillfully illuminated with gold and colors. When compared to the volumes from Morimondo (cat. nos. 5 and 6) mentioned above, it is possible to discern an overall Cistercian style of execution. This bible, however, also exhibits the influence of an English Cistercian monk from Canterbury who was working in Troyes on a number of manuscript commissions. Manuscripts might travel in the Middle Ages for personal use or as gifts, but scribes and illuminators might also travel, and thus influence the book-making practices in a neighboring or distant scriptorium.

Barbara A. Shailor

1 Palmer 2009a.

cat. no. 5, f. 178r

1. Alfonso de Cartagena, Lectura arboris genealogiae regum Hispaniae & specialiter in recta linea regum Castellae et Legionis

Northern Italy, after 1492, marginal notes datable to 1511
Paper, ff. 105, 390 x 270 (260 x 162) mm
Harvard University, Houghton Library, MS Typ 162[1]
James William Ellsworth; Rosenbach & Co., Philip Hofer, acquired from Rosenbach, February 1945, deposited, 1967, his bequest, 1984.

2. Peregrinus de Oppeln, Sermones de sanctis; Jean de Fribourg, Tractatus de Confessionibus audiendis and other texts

Germany, c. 1400–1500
Paper, ff. 194, 220 x 140 (160 x 95) mm
Harvard University, Houghton Library, MS Lat 269[2]
Originally at Erengall (?); in an unidentified English catalogue, c. 1870; bequest of Charles Sumner, 1874.

3. Engelbert of Cologne, Sermones de tempore et de sanctis and other texts

Germany, 1390–1410
Paper, ff. 290, 215 x 145 (165 x 108) mm
Harvard University, Houghton Library, MS Lat 304[3]
Bishop Johannes von Egloffstein; Castel Zabelstein; Pennsylvania Museum of Art; Houghton Library, presented by an anonymous donor in November 1966.

4. Johannes Nider, Sermones de tempore et de sanctis cum quadragesimali Conrad Fyner (printer)

Esslingen, Germany, c. 1476–78/9
Paper, ff. 372 (1, 358, and 372 are blank), 293–97 x 204 mm[4]
Isabella Stewart Gardner Museum, U30c11
Carmelites, Bamberg; G. Michelmore & Co., London, Catalogue 5 (1922), no. 270; Isabella Stewart Gardner, acquired from Michelmore in December 1922.

It may seem paradoxical to open a catalogue of books focusing on their bindings and with the volumes exhibited closed. In the case of these four examples, however, we can to some extent judge these books by their covers. Chained bindings stand as a potent symbol of the value that contemporary makers and readers assigned to the books which are the subject of this exhibition. Such bindings reflect the investment of time and resources that went into their making and further testify to the esteem in which their contents were held. The use of chains, moreover, permitted books to be made available for consultation by multiple readers without having to fear that the volumes might have wandered.

For example, in his will of 1481, Sir Thomas Lyttleton bequeathed a number of his books to the abbot and canons of the Premonstratensian convent of Halesowen in Worcestershire and stipulated that they "be laid and bounded with an iron chain in some convenient parte of the said churche at my costes, so that all priests and others may se and rede it when it plesith them."[5]

Entire libraries of chained books survive at Hereford and Wells Cathedrals and Wimborne Minster in England and at Zutphen in the Netherlands, for example, and the Biblioteca Malatestiana in Cesena, Italy. In most cases, however, chained books have been cut loose. While chained bindings may be an attempt to protect and preserve the property of an institution, they also restrict the uses to which the books can be put. These volumes are reference works and are, therefore, especially appropriate for general, but periodic, consultation and use for specific purposes. Three of the four volumes are collections of sermons which might serve as models. How each of the books is chained, some to the upper, others to the lower board of the binding, reflects geographic and cultural differences.

William P. Stoneman

1 Bond and Faye 1962, 265.
2 Sumner 1879, 17; de Ricci 1935–40, 1:1015 (as Sumner 56); Bond and Faye 1962, 244–45.
3 De Ricci 1935–40, 2:2102 (as Pennsylvania Museum of Art C.3.E.6); Fowler 1947, 208–9.
4 ISTC in00215000, MEI 02013870.
5 Blades 1892, 49 as quoted in Morgan 2010, 337.

5. Office lectionary

Morimondo, Italy, before 1174
Parchment, ff. i + 233, 370 x 240 (272 x 159) mm
Harvard University, Houghton Library, MS Typ 223
Joseph Martini (1931); bequest of Philip Hofer, 1984.

f. 227v

6. Haimo of Auxerre, Commentarius in Apocalipsis

Parchment, ff. i + 150 + i, 358 x 232 (248 x 163) mm
Morimundo, Italy, c. 1150–75
Harvard University, Houghton Library, MS Typ 1178
Bequest of Arthur Vershbow, 2012.

f. 31v

The Cistercian abbey in Morimondo, near Milan, was founded in 1134 by a small group of monks from a French abbey of the same name. The abbey soon developed a thriving scriptorium that produced dozens of manuscripts in the twelfth and thirteenth centuries, including cat. nos. 5–6.

Cat. no. 5 is an office lectionary (a collection of readings for the Divine Office for each day of the year), containing excerpts primarily from patristic authors. The manuscript includes slightly later additions of lessons commemorating the founder of the Cistercian order, St. Bernard of Clairvaux. It is fairly certain that the manuscript must have been written before his canonization in 1174. Otherwise, the scribe would have included such an important feast. Also added is the liturgy for St. Thomas Becket, archbishop of Canterbury, canonized in 1173 and observed by the Cistercians from 1175.[1] This codex is of special interest because it includes an early catalogue of the abbey's library on the final page. Medieval library catalogues such as this are a critical resource for understanding monastic intellectual life, as they indicate what the monks of Morimondo were reading, and when, as well as how soon after a work's composition a text had been disseminated to this library. In this case, we can identify several of the cited works with extant manuscripts.[2] The entry "Item Aimus super apocalipsis" on line eleven of the right-hand column of f. 227v refers to cat. no. 6, Morimondo's twelfth-century copy of Haimo of Auxerre's *Commentarius in Apocalipsis*. Cat. no. 6 was donated to Harvard in 2012 by Arthur Vershbow because of its presence in the library catalogue.

The Cistercian order was established in part as a response to the perceived excesses of the Benedictines. In keeping with the humble Cistercian aesthetic, these manuscripts are sparsely decorated, although their size and the care with which they were written marks them as luxury books, with elegant scribal and illuminated initials. Laura Light compares the initials in cat. no. 5 to those found in two other manuscripts associated with Morimondo: Oxford, Bodleian Library, MS. Canon. Pat. Lat. 214

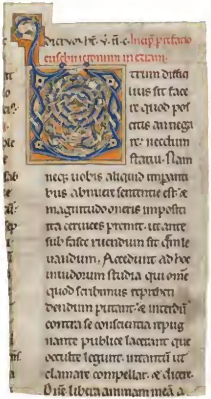
and Cambridge, UK, Fitzwilliam Mus., MS McClean 8.[3] Both manuscripts exhibit the same scrolling, leafy infill, and interlace found, for example, on f. 178r of cat. no. 5 (see image facing "The Monastic Scriptorium"). The script and initials of cat. no. 6 display similar characteristics.

Lisa Fagin Davis

1 Light 1988, 34n4.
2 Martini 1931, 12–14, no. 12 and Ferrari 1993, 256, 258, 291, 299, and 300.
3 Light 1988, 34n2.

7. Prologue to Ezra (cutting)

Troyes, France, for Pontigny Abbey, c. 1190
Parchment, f. 1, cut down to c. 295 x 150 mm, originally 537 x 362 (361 x 238) mm
Harvard University, Houghton Library, MS Typ 315
André-Jean Hachette (his sale, Hôtel Drouot, Paris, 1953, lot 48); sold by Quaritch, 1956; deposited by Philip Hofer, 1967, his bequest, 1984.



8. Rabanus Maurus, Expositio Iberemie propbete

Auxerre, France, for Pontigny Abbey, 1207–13
Parchment, ff. 11 + 208 + ii, 393 x 280 (268 x 180–84) mm
Harvard University, Houghton Library, MS Typ 200
Abbot Joseph-Félix Allard; Thomas Phillipps (MS 3726); Chester Beatty (his sale, Sotheby's, London, May 1933, lot 44); deposited by Philip Hofer, 1967; his gift in honor of Roger E. Stoddard, 1983.

The eventful history of the Cistercian abbey of Pontigny is mirrored in its library. In the 1160s new accessions included not only all the major new texts from Paris, but also reflected the interests of Thomas Becket and his entourage as well as those of Count Henry the Liberal.[1] In the years following the canonization of Becket and Bernard of Clairvaux, accessions become more personal and surprising, including such works as the *Policraticus* by John of Salisbury, William of Tyre's *History of the Kingdom of Jerusalem*, Elizabeth of Schonau's visions of the ascension of the Virgin, the miracles of Becket, and the *Liber Jacobi*, among others. At the same time, two magnificent bibles, each in five volumes, were commissioned or given to the abbey, one illuminated by a local artist from Auxerre,[2] the other by an artist from Troyes who worked in the style of the bible written for Saint-Loup de Troyes by the English scribe Manerius of Canterbury in the late 1180s.[3] The fragment cat. no. 7 is the opening of the prologue to the book of Ezra from the second bible made for Pontigny, illuminated in the style named for the Canterbury scribe, Manerius; two other fragments of the bible are known, and contain the openings of Genesis and Paralipomenon.[4] One scribal hand, possibly that of Manerius himself, wrote all the remaining fragments.

f. 2v

Most of the texts mentioned above and ten others are also decorated in the style of Manerius. They were written by several different monastic scribes, and their penwork decoration—which has deteriorated over the years—was obviously inspired by the presence of the bible.[5]

In the second decade of the thirteenth century the abbey commissioned research materials for the archbishop of Canterbury Stephen Langton, who like Becket was forced into exile by his king. From 1207 to 1213, Stephen spent his time at Pontigny reading and writing. The dozen books acquired for him are all eighth- or ninth-century commentaries on the Bible by Bede, Rabanus Maurus, Haimo of Auxerre, and Alcuin.[6] Among these is the commentary on Jeremiah by Rabanus Maurus, cat. no. 8. The books are written by three professional scribes and illuminated by one or two artists in Auxerre. The illuminator of cat. no. 7 also decorated Alcuin's commentary on the Gospel of John.[7]

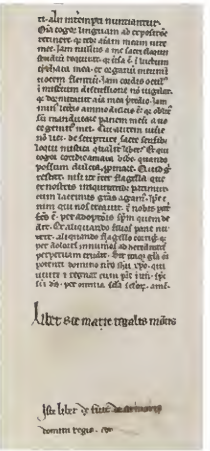
Patricia Stirnemann

1 For a chronological grouping of the manuscripts, see Stirnemann 2001.
2 Clamecy, Mus. Romain Rolland, CP 555, first folio of Genesis, and Paris, BnF, mss. lat. 8823, eight folios, beginning of New Testament. Five other manuscripts, including the miracles of Becket, belong to this Auxerrois production. Two were not made for Pontigny, a gospel book made for Saint-Marien d'Auxerre (Los Angeles, Getty Mus., Ms. Ludwig I 4) and Peter Comestor's *Historia scholastica* (Troyes, Bm, ms. 141). This latter book, not mentioned in Peyrafort-Huin 2001, 77, came from the Oratoire in Troyes and is painted by the same artist as the Pontigny Bible, CP 555.

3 Paris, BSG, Mss. 8–10.
4 Paris, BnF, ms. lat. 8823 and ms. nouv. acq. lat. 2525.
5 For a list of the manuscripts, see Peyrafort-Huin 2001, 69–70. For the miracles of Becket, see note 2.
6 For a list of the manuscripts, see Peyrafort-Huin 2001, 74. One of the manuscripts is an antiphonal, Paris, BnF, ms. lat. 8882, of which the author recently identified two more fragments at the École des Beaux-Arts in Paris, Mn.Mas 106 and 107.
7 Vatican City, BAV, ms. Reg. lat. 109.

9. Pope Gregory the Great, Homiliae in Ezechielem[1]

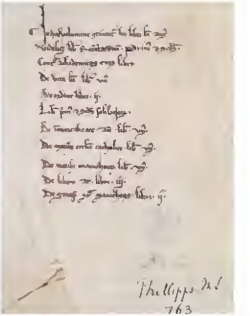
Royaumont Abbey, France, after 1228/35–1300
Parchment, ff. i + 117 (lacking original final flyleaf), 337 x 230 (220 x 150) mm
Museum of Fine Arts, Boston, 06.138, Denman Waldo Ross Collection
C. Chardin collection (Paris), no. 47; his sale, Paris, 1824, no. 223 to J.-P. Aillaud; Thomas Phillipps, no. 766; his sale, London 1896, no. 117, to Quaritch; given to MFA on March 8, 1906 by Dr. Denman W. Ross.



f. 117r (detail)

10. St. Augustine, bishop of Hippo, [Varia]

Royaumont Abbey, France, after 1228/35–1300
Parchment, ff. i + 216, 269 x 190 (191 x 125) mm
Museum of Fine Arts, Boston, 09.331, Denman Waldo Ross Collection
C. Chardin collection (Paris), no. 52; his sale, Paris, 1824, no. 202 to J.-P. Aillaud; Thomas Phillipps, no. 763; his sale, London 1896, no. 46, to Quaritch; given to MFA on August 26, 1909, by Dr. Denman W. Ross.



f. i verso (detail)

Although early Cistercian abbeys were, by intent, impoverished, having been established as a response to perceived Benedictine excess, the Cistercian monastery founded by King Louis IX of France in Val-d'Oise, not far from Paris, was just the opposite. The abbey served as a mausoleum dedicated to the commemoration of the royal family, and books from its library were proportionately luxurious. These two volumes from the Royaumont library, both with ownership inscriptions identifying the books as having been part of the royal collection, exemplify the care with which its books were produced and recorded. The decoration of both manuscripts is characteristic of thirteenth-century France: red and blue "puzzle" initials with detailed and complex penwork infill and delicate filigree flourishes extending into the margins.

Both manuscripts are copies of important patristic texts. Cat. no. 9 is Pope Gregory the Great's homilies on the book of Ezechiel (composed in the late sixth century), while cat. no. 10 is a compilation of various works of Augustine of Hippo, the fourth-century patristic theologian who was widely-read and quoted throughout the Middle Ages. Both texts survive in hundreds of medieval manuscripts, although this Augustine, copied with extreme care, was considered such an important witness to these texts that it was used by the Maurists for their seminal 1679 critical edition.[2] The editors' characteristic markings and notations are found throughout the manuscript.

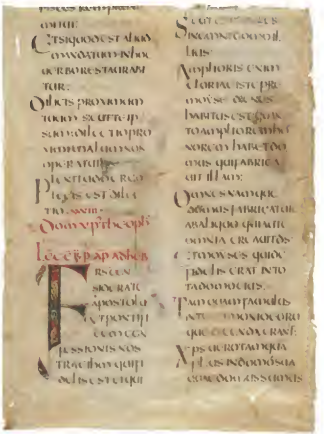
Both codices include inscriptions and marginalia that speak to their later histories. The Gregory manuscript includes an inscription identifying the codex not only with Royaumont abbey but also with the king's own book cabinet. It was later owned by Sir Thomas Phillipps (see cat. no. 20, f. 1r), one of the most prolific manuscript collectors of all time.

Lisa Fagin Davis

1 Due to conservation concerns, these manuscripts were not able to be included in the exhibition.
2 Gorman 1981, 263n1.

11. Liber Comitis

Mondsee, Austria, c. 785–800
Parchment, 1 leaf, 284 x 213 (253 x 172) mm
Harvard University, Houghton Library, MS Typ 694
Bequest of Philip Hofer, 1984.



This single leaf from a volume of lessons (lectionary) compiled from the Old Testament, Epistles, and Gospels contains liturgical readings for the third (Rom 12:17–21), fourth (Rom 13:8–10), and fifth (Heb 3:1–6) Sundays after Epiphany. Laid out in two columns of twenty-five lines, the folio of good quality yellow parchment has been trimmed, eliminating most of the first line of text. The scribe pens a regular, rounded uncial, a formal book hand of all capital letters devised in Late Antiquity and the preferred choice of Continental scribes for deluxe manuscripts until the Carolingian period. The present example resembles uncial script found in two fragmentary deluxe gospel books attributed to the scriptorium at the abbey of Mondsee in the late eighth century:[1] the Ingolstadt Gospels, and the other now divided between New York and Nuremberg.[2] The text is written in sense lines to aid the reader (in a manner called *per cola et commata*) with an enlarged capital that straddles the left margin beginning each phrase unit. The leaf shows a large *F* on each side to mark the beginning of a lection. Both are filled with colorful interlace (one of the "spaced" variety reminiscent of that found on f. 7r of the Nuremberg Stadtbibliothek fragment, ff. 9r and 33r of the Ingolstadt Gospels as well as in the Montpellier Psalter[3] thought to have been written at Mondsee in the 780s) and flourished with stylized half palmettes emanating from their upper and lower terminals. The decorative motifs and bold palette of red, yellow, mauve, green, and blue ally it with the gospel books from Mondsee.[4]

That the verso bears an impression with traces of gold leaf from another initial *F* on an adjacent folio suggests the lectionary was a deluxe production akin to the two known gospel books from the same scriptorium. Judging from the high numbers assigned to the lessons on this fragment, Roger Reynolds has concluded that the complete book contained an unusually large number of lessons, befitting a deluxe lectionary that might have served as a liturgical companion to one of the splendid Mondsee Gospels.[5]

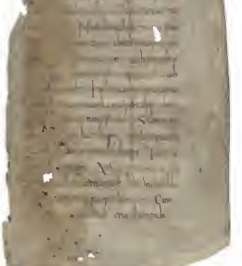
The manuscript appears to have continued in use for centuries as the leaf shows markings from the Middle Ages to modern times: flourishes on the initial *F*, doodles, trials at interlace in the margin, a farewell "vale vale" between the columns, and recent notes about the biblical citations and Hofer's purchase of the leaf from Maggs Brothers in London in May 1957.

Nancy Netzer

1 For discussion of the Mondsee scriptorium see Bischoff 1980, 9–26; Wright 1964, 37–54; and Neumüller and Holter 1959, esp. 132–51.
2 For discussion see Reynolds 1988, 329 and Bischoff, Brown, and John 1992, 289. For a digital reproduction of the Ingolstadt Gospels (Munich, BSB, Clm 27270 and Prague, NK, Cod. VI.D.4): see http://www.wdl.org/en/item/14687. For the New York-Nuremberg fragments (New York, PML, MS M.564 and Nuremberg, Germ. NMus., Hs. 27932, and StB, Fragm. lat. 1) see Koehler 1954, 238–65; Tholl 1995, 20; Hilg 1986, 39–41.
3 Montpellier, BU, Section Médecine, ms. H 409; see Neumüller and Holter 1959, 132–39.
4 Reynolds 1988, 328; Bierbrauer 1979, 85–88.
5 Reynolds 1988, 329–30.

12. Pope Gregory the Great, Moralia in Job

Luxeuil, France, c. 675–725
Parchment, 6 leaves, 228 x 140 (170 x 100) mm
Harvard University, Houghton Library, MS Typ 592
Thomas Phillipps (MS 36184); Sotheby's, London, November 28, 1973, lot 574; sold by Sotheby's via Rosenthal, 1973; gift of Lammot duPont Copeland, Philip Hofer, and Stanley Kahrl, 1974.



f. 1r

Gregory's *Moralia* are the most elaborate work of early medieval exegesis comprising thirty-five books, explaining the text in a historical, an allegorical, and a moral sense, to offer a paradigm of the Christian life. This volume, which originally contained part 5 starting with books 24 and 25, is one of the earliest copies of the text to have survived,

having been copied in the Merovingian monastery of Luxeuil, in the southern Vosges, the most influential Merovingian house. Another copy of a section of the *Moralia* copied at Luxeuil is in Verona (Bibl. Cap., ms. XL [38]).[1]

Monks trained at Luxeuil founded many other Merovingian monasteries. During the seventh century the monastery developed a distinctive cursive minuscule script, of great calligraphic virtuosity. Notable letters are the *b* which is often joined to a following letter, *g* with a headstroke prolonged to begin the following letter, the *ti* written as a single letter, and the high sickle shaped *u*. The manuscript begins with an elaborate framed titlepage and a large decorated initial *P* with the bow in the shape of a fish. Red uncial was used at the start of the biblical text of Job. Some thirty manuscripts and fragments copied at Luxeuil survive today, many of which were made for other religious houses. The minuscule script served as a model for other Merovingian cursive scripts.

The Harvard leaves had belonged to the great nineteenth-century manuscript collector, Sir Thomas Phillipps (1792–1872), in whose collection they were number 36184. Seventy-eight leaves of this manuscript are in London (BL, Add. MS. 11878). The British Library owns a further leaf (Add. MS. 41567 J). Two additional bifolia are in Paris (BnF, mss. nouv. acq. lat. 2243 and nouv. acq. lat. 2388). Two leaves are in a private collection. A further bifolium was sold at Sotheby's on July 10, 2012.

David Ganz

1 Dean 1935, no. 21; E. A. Lowe, *CLA*, II (1935, 2nd ed. 1972), no. 163 (as Phillipps collection); V (1950), 49; Supplement (1971), 24, Bischoff, Brown, and John 1985, 351, 363; Ganz 2002, 190, 200; Tewes 2010, 147–49.

13. Theodore of Mopsuestia, Commentary on the Pauline Epistles

Northern France, c. 750–800
Parchment, bifolium, 240 x 300 mm
Harvard University, Houghton Library, MS Lat 433
Sotheby's, London, December 5, 1995, lot 7; to Bernard Quaritch; for Martin Schøyen, his MS 2081, his sale, Sotheby's, London, July 10, 2012, lot 17; to Richard Linenthal for Houghton Library, acquired on the Bernard H. Breslauer Bequest Fund.

f. 2v

This bifolium, which contains part of Theodore's commentary on Paul's Second Epistle to Timothy 1:5–9 and 2:12–21,[1] was discovered in 1995 having been used as a wrapper around a volume of canon law published in Lyons, France in 1525. Rectangles had been cut out so that the holes would fit over raised bands on the spine of an earlier binding. Other leaves from the same binding were sold at Sotheby's, London, June 22, 1999, lot 14. Another group are preserved in the Bibliotheca Ambrosiana in Milan (ms. S.P. 57 bis).[2]

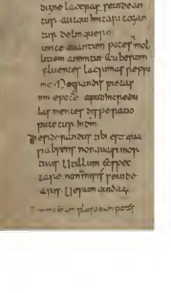
The original manuscript probably came from an institution influenced by the Benedictine abbey of Corbie in Picardy, northern France. Biblical lemmata, rubrics, and enlarged initials are written in an uncial script. The commentary, as demonstrated on the Houghton leaves, is in a scrolling and ornate Merovingian minuscule with a distinctive bend in the ascenders of *l* and *b*. The script bears some affinity to the distinctive Corbie ab miniscule[3] in which the letter *a* with an open top and a heavily curved second minim resembles *u*. In the present manuscript *a* is not as open and approximates two *c*'s. With an open side and a horizontal cross stroke, the letter *b* in Corbie ab usually resembles *t*, but in this manuscript it is not as open and thus resembles *d*. Other distinctive features include: a compact *t* with a cross stroke descending to form a bow on the left (like *q*), a single-stroke *o* that concludes by turning back over the letter (like *d*); a *z*-shaped abbreviation bar; and sporadic word division.

William P. Stoneman

1 Swete 1882, 195–98 and 206–10.
2 Described in Bischoff, Brown, and John 1992, 296–97 and pl. 4c.
3 For an example and description of classical Corbie ab script, see M. Brown 1990, 40–41, no. 12.

14. Jerome, Letter to Heliodorus on the Epitaph of Nepotianus

Fulda, Germany, c. 800
Parchment, f. 1, 310 x 140 (260 x 95) mm
Harvard University, Houghton Library, MS Typ 6
Guglielmo Libri; Thomas Phillipps, his MS 36185, acquired at the 1862 Libri sale; W. H. Robinson, booksellers, London; Houghton Library, acquired from Robinson with the Hofer Fund, January 1947.



A product of the Benedictines of Fulda, this fragment is one of the oldest manuscripts now in the United States. Its script is a well-formed Anglo-Saxon minuscule; the shafts of tall letters are often club-shaped, a sign of Continental influence.[2] Other distinctive letters are the theta-shaped *e* and the *g* that resembles an elongated 3. Small initials are highlighted with red and yellow daubs; at the beginning of paragraphs initials project into the margin.

The fragment consists of the outer part of one leaf and has been trimmed at the top and bottom so that one of two columns survives on each side of the leaf. The calculated width of the original folio is 190 mm.

Three bifolia from the same parent manuscript are now in Marburg, Hessisches Staatsarchiv (Hr. 2,4a–c). Another and a fragment of yet one other are in Nuremberg, Germanisches Nationalmuseum (Kapsel 536/SD 281 and 284).[3]

An omission in the text near the end of line 14 on the verso is marked by d for *deest* and the missing passage is included at the bottom of the page marked by h for *hic est*. The omission is a result of eye skip on the part of the scribe who skipped from *quantum potes* to *plusquam potes* in his source and left out the intervening *immo etiam* in his exemplar.

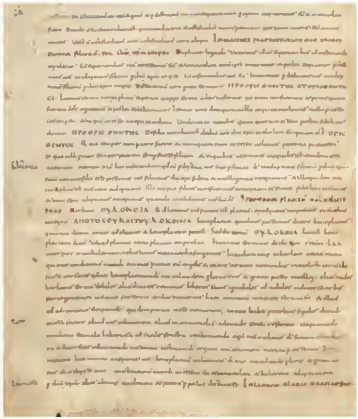
William P. Stoneman

1 E. A. Lowe's earlier ascription of the fragment (*CLA*, II, 1935) to "a German centre with South English connections" was questioned by Stewart (1950b, 488) who suggested "northern France."
2 E. A. Lowe, CLA, II (1935, 2nd ed. 1972), no. 146 (as Phillipps collection); XI (1966), 20; Supplement (1971), 19; Bischoff, Brown, and John 1985, 350; Bischoff 1998, no. 850, 187. See also Stewart 1950a.
3 Gugel 1996, 44–45.

15. Miscellaneous patristic texts Jerome, Commentarii in epistulam ad Galatas et Ephesios; Augustine, Enchiridion, Expositio epistulae ad Galatas et Romanos; ps.-Gennadius, Vita S. Hieronymi; ps.-Gregory, Concordia quorundam testimoniorum sacrae Scripturae

Northern France, c. 850
Parchment, ff. iii (paper) + 119 + iii (paper), 260 x 225 (222 x 185) mm
Harvard University, Houghton Library, MS Typ 495
St. Maximin in Trier (no. 56); Joseph von Görres (no. 16) after 1805; Baron von Cramer-Klett of Hohenaschau (1902); Harrison Horblit, 1957, gift in memory of his son Mark M. Horblit II, 1961.

Reviving the nearly square dimensions of Late Antique books, this Carolingian codex binds together Jerome's commentaries on Galatians and Ephesians, written about 387–88, with Augustine's two early treatises on Galatians and Romans from 394–95 and his handbook, *Enchiridion*, from 422–23, as well as a biography of Jerome attributed to Gennadius, and a concordance of Pauline texts with other passages of scripture attributed to Pope Gregory the Great, but of Irish origin. Recently, Warren Pezé has demonstrated that the book was owned by Bishop Prudentius of Troyes (d. 861), who had it annotated in preparation for his treatise *De praedestinatione adversus Joannem Scottum* (c. 851).[1] The texts are written by several scribes in a small Caroline miniscule, the "reform" script developed in the last quarter of the eighth century largely as a result of Charlemagne's interest in the accurate copying and dissemination of texts. Practiced throughout Europe, the script contributed to the standardization of texts produced by the various groups that formed the Carolingian Empire.



f. 56v

Its attraction lay in its clarity, uniformity, simplicity, and dignity. In the present book, the scribes combine Caroline minuscule with the older, more formal uncials and rustic capitals for rubrics (sometimes highlighted with red) and for Greek letters in the text. Enlarged initials often mark the beginning of divisions in the texts. Marginal references to biblical passages (like *ROM* on f. 56v referring to Paul's Epistle to the Romans) and key words from passages of theological importance (like *substantia* on f. 56v) were added by several scribes. S-shaped flourishes in the margins mark scriptural quotations. Shorthand notes in the margins follow the system thought to have been devised by Cicero's scribe Marcus Tullius Tiro and expanded and taught in monasteries throughout the Middle Ages. The Tironian notes in this manuscript are annotations of a learned scholar.[2]

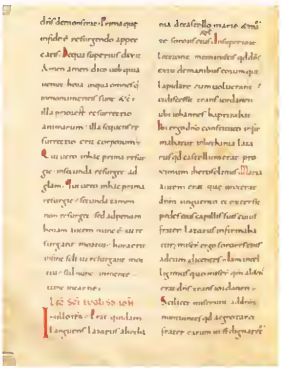
The script suggested to Bernhard Bischoff that the manuscript was written somewhere in northern France.[3] The manuscript was preserved at the monastery of St. Maximin in Trier, where it was bound with Ms. Ludwig XII 13 at the J. Paul Getty Museum from the Middle Ages until the monastery was dissolved in 1805.[4]

Nancy Netzer

1 Pezé 2014, 114–50 reveals similarities to annotations in Jerome's commentaries in Troyes, Bm, ms. 126, which he believes also was owned by Prudentius. Previously Michael Gorman (1985, 185–96) argued that the selection of patristic texts and their marginal notations indicated the collection was assembled for use by the Saxon theologian Gottschalk of Orbais (808–67?).
2 Gorman 1985, 187, 191–92 and Pezé 2014, 137–44.
3 Bischoff 1998, 187–88; Gorman 1985, 196n33; and Pezé 2014, 137n87.
4 Gorman 1985, 186.

16. Homiliary and saints' lives

Abbey of Saint-Allyre, Clermont (?), France, c. 900–35
Parchment, ff. ii + 93 + ii, 350 x 260 (ff. 1–72: 275 x 195 mm; ff. 73–92: 265 x 182) mm
Boston Public Library, MS f Med. 95 (formerly Ms. 1522)
Abbot Joseph-Félix Allard; Thomas Phillipps (MS 13842); his sale, Sotheby's, June 6, 1898, lot 796; purchased by BPL in 1947 from the firm of W. H. Robinson.



f. 44v

A miscellaneous collection of homilies and saints' lives, cat. no. 16 is one of the oldest Western codices in New England, having been written in France in the early tenth century. It was written by a very skilled scribe using Carolingian minuscule, the script developed under the auspices of Charlemagne in the late eighth and early ninth century, in part as a way to unite his kingdom with an alphabet that was easier both to read and to write, replacing the localized scripts used previously (such as those in cat. nos. 14 and 17). This alphabet, also known as Caroline, was the model for the humanistic scripts on display at the Isabella Stewart Gardner Museum and, by extension, today's Roman script and italic typefaces. Caroline script is notable for its ease of legibility as compared with earlier scripts such as those preserved in cat. no. 12: wider spacing between letters, fewer ligatures and abbreviations, and consistent graphemes. The manuscript preserves a miscellaneous collection of homilies (i.e., sermons) and saints' lives, and was probably intended to be read aloud to the monks, perhaps when they gathered in the refectory. Listening to sermons and the exemplary lives of the saints was an important way for the monastic community to learn by example how to live a virtuous, disciplined, and Christian life.

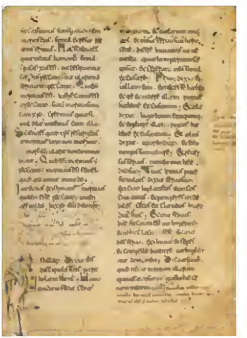
According to the great palaeographer and manuscript scholar, Bernard Bischoff, the codex was likely written at the Benedictine abbey of Saint-Allyre in Clermont.[1] This may be the "Sermones in Quadragesima" noted by B. Montfaucon in his c. 1735 inventory of the Clermont library.[2] It would have remained at the abbey until the library's dispersal around 1793 in the wake of the French Revolution. Like the manuscript of Gregory's *Homiliae in Ezechielem* in Boston (cat. no. 9), this manuscript was later owned by Sir Thomas Phillipps (his MS 13842), with his lion rampant stamp on the former front pastedown and ownership inscription on f. 1r.

Lisa Fagin Davis

1 See Bischoff's pencil notation on front flyleaf and Gorman 1982, 157.
2 Étaix 1977, 241n11.

17. Missal

Bari (?), Italy, c. 1075–1100
Parchment, 1 leaf, 355 x 255 (275 x 195) mm
Harvard University, Houghton Library, MS Typ 701
Sold by B. M. Rosenthal, 1972; bequest of Philip Hofer, 1984.



Cat. no. 17 preserves an example of a supremely localized script, primarily used in the Benedictine abbey of Monte Cassino in the region of southern Italy known as the Duchy of Benevento; the script is therefore called Beneventan. This manuscript preserves a subtype of the script known as the "Bari" type.[1] Its characteristic features—squared, broken, with several unusual letter forms—make it difficult for modern readers to interpret. The first line of the recto reads "facti sumus similitudinem"; note in particular the tall *c* and the ligature of *t* and *i*. The Beneventan neumatic musical notation—visible near the bottom of the left-hand column—is also typical for the time and place; the familiar four- or five-line staff would not be developed for several centuries. This script was remarkably persistent in the region; manuscripts were still being copied in this fashion well into the fifteenth century.[2]

Thomas Forrest Kelly has identified four successive leaves from this manuscript, "a notated missal of the eleventh century from the Puglia region of southern Italy." This is one of those four leaves; the others are two leaves in the Schøyen Collection (London and Oslo, MS 63), and a leaf that was formerly part of the Bernard Breslauer Collection in New York.[3]

The manuscript is a missal, preserving chants and readings for the Mass, in this case, the second Sunday after Pentecost. It is unusual in that it combines temporale with sanctorale; the Pentecost liturgy is followed by Masses for Sts. Marcellinus and Petrus and other saints celebrated in early June.[4] Throughout the surviving leaves, each Gospel reading is illustrated by an initial depicting the Evangelist's attribute. For example, on the present leaf, the initial of the Gospel reading for Luke is historiated with an ox, the animal typically associated with that Evangelist. Other known leaves preserve similar illustrations; the leaf formerly belonging to Bernard Breslauer that preserves a reading from the Gospel of Matthew is illustrated by his attribute, an angel.[5]

Lisa Fagin Davis

1 Kelly 2009, 207.
2 See E. A. Lowe 1980 for a detailed survey of the development of Beneventan script, and, for this manuscript, V. Brown 1978, 278 and V. Brown 1988, 593 and 602.
3 Kelly 2009, 207.
4 Ibid., 210, 212 and Stoneman 2006, 30.
5 Voelkle, Wieck, and Saffiotti 1992, 155.

18. Faustus of Riez, De amina; Claudianus Mamertus, De statu animae

Tournai, France, c. 1100–20
Parchment, ff. ii + 39 + ii, 308 x 215 (233 x 150) mm
Boston Public Library, MS f Med. 15 (formerly G. 31.66)
Owned by Jean-Baptiste-Joseph Barrois; his 1849 sale (no. 97) to Bertram, the fourth Earl of Ashburnham; his sale, Sotheby's, London, June 10, 1901, lot 196 to Sydney Cockerell for BPL.

f. 18v (detail)

This copy of *De anima* by Faustus of Riez (d. circa 490) and *De statu animae* by Mamertus (d. circa 474) was written at the prolific and important scriptorium of Saint-Martin in Tournai in the early twelfth century. The texts, both concerned with matters of the soul, complement one another and would have been appropriately found in a monastic library.

The manuscript is written in a typical twelfth-century script known by various names, among them Romanesque, Transitional, or Proto-Gothic. It continues to exhibit standard Caroline features (as seen in cat. no. 21) while also displaying some of the sharpening (for example, at the very top and bottom of vertical pen-strokes) that would eventually come to define the Gothic script that developed in the thirteenth century. The red and green initials are similar in style to cat. no. 21, with dragons and birds used to represent part, if not all, of the letter. The diagrams on f. 18v, shown here, depict the geometric definitions found within the text.

This manuscript can be affiliated with Saint-Martin's of Tournai due to the early inscription on f. 39v that reads in part "Liber sancti martini tornacensis." It is likely that this codex is number 124 in the twelfth-century Saint-Martin catalogue, where it is described as "Claudianus de anima, in uno volumine."[1] The manuscript was still in the Tournai library when the catalogue of 1614 was published.[2] Its modern history, however, is puzzling. Engelbrecht suggests that this may be the Tournai copy of Mamertus purchased from the abbey by Sir Thomas Phillipps in 1824, although there is no evidence of a Phillipps provenance on the manuscript itself.[3] It is likely that, as with other Tournai manuscripts he purchased in 1824, the manuscript, although bought and paid for, never actually arrived at Phillipps's Middle Hill estate in England. Instead, the manuscript remained in Belgium where it was bought by Jean-Baptiste-Joseph Barrois between 1824 and 1849. Barrois had the manuscript bound by Larriviere in its current luxury binding before selling it in 1849 to Bertram, the fourth Earl of Ashburnham (1797–1878). It was lot 196 at the sale of Lord Ashburnham's collection (Sotheby's, London, June 10, 1901), where it was purchased by Sydney Cockerell on behalf of the Boston Public Library.[4]

Lisa Fagin Davis

1 Delisle 1868–74, 2:491.
2 Sanderus (1641) 1972, 115, nr. 27.
3 Engelbrecht 1885, vi.
4 See Cockerell's notes on front flyleaf.

19. Four Gospels ("Garabed Gospel")

Čirak, Cilicia (mod. southeast Turkey), 1208
Parchment, ff. 248 + ii, 270 x 200 (205 x 145) mm
Armenian Museum of America, 2004.150

f. 72r

This gospel book was produced in Cilicia, in southwestern Asia Minor, shortly after the establishment of the Armenian Rupenid kingdom in 1198/9. Sparsely decorated but written in fine and regular lowercase (*bologir*), it was written and presumably illustrated by the scribe Garabed in 1208.[1] Commissioned by Vardan, a celibate priest, the manuscript attests to the production of modest works in Cilicia along-

side the celebrated royal tradition, and prior to the flamboyant pictorial styles of the latter thirteenth century.

The traditional Armenian binding is made of wooden boards covered in tooled leather; surface marks reveal that metal crosses were once attached to its front cover. A parchment back flyleaf, perhaps of the tenth century, contains the text of John 8 in uppercase (*erkat'agir*). The scribal colophon (ff. 247r–48r) relates that the manuscript was produced in the Taurus Mountains, in the desert (*anapat*) of Čirak, during the reign of the "great and pious" Lewon (1198/9–1219).[2] Garabed also writes that "old age and weakness have brought darkness to his eyes," suggesting that he went blind during the writing process.[3]

The opening of each gospel features *pi*-shaped headpieces filled with foliate designs and topped with birds. The incipit to the book of Matthew (f. 1r) takes the form of an angel draped in green and bright red, facing the viewer and extending his right hand. Mark's incipit (f. 72r) is formed by two yellow lions, sitting upright with books in their paws. Textual margins are filled with a variety of ornaments, including arabesques, trees, tempietti, and crosses, all outlined with quick, pen-like strokes. In general, designs are strongly linear, conveying a sense of liveliness and immediacy, and suggesting Garabed's particular confidence in the realm of the graphic rather than the painterly arts. The format of the decoration demonstrates continuity with twelfth-century manuscripts in the region: the *pi*-shaped headpieces, which ultimately reflect Byzantine tradition, appear also in an Armenian gospel made in nearby Edessa in 1161 located at the University of Michigan, Ann Arbor[4] and another, dated 1193, produced in the region of Cilicia and located at the Walters Art Museum in Baltimore.[5]

Christina Maranci

1 A single loose folio from a lectionary, probably of the thirteenth or fourteenth century, has been inserted into the manuscript.
2 Additional inscriptions from the early twentieth century, added throughout the book, tell a dramatic story about the movement of the manuscript during the Genocide and its status as a family heirloom.
3 Perhaps Garabed's failing condition explains why Mark 16 and John 8 are not in their correct position, but appear instead at the conclusion of the Gospel text.
4 Mich. Ms. 141. See Mathews and Wieck 1994, 146.
5 Ms. W.538. See Der Nersessian 1973, 6–9.

20. Bede, Commentary on the Gospel of Luke

Gladbach (?), Germany, c. 1125–50
Parchment, ff. 182, 297 x 206 (225–31 x 149–51) mm
Harvard University, Houghton Library, MS Typ 202[1]
Benedictine abbey of St. Vitus in Gladbach; Thomas Phillipps, his MS 1092; Chester Beatty, his MS W. 31; Philip Hofer, his MS 19, acquired at the 1932 Beatty sale, through Quaritch; his gift in honor of James E. Walsh in 1983.

Austere line drawings were typical of many medieval monastic commentaries, as opposed to liturgical manuscripts, in German-speaking lands. Rather than depicting the author, Bede (637–735), presenting the book to Bishop Acca of Hexham (at whose behest the commentary was written), this deft drawing (f. 1r) portrays the scribe of this particular copy presenting the book to an abbot of Gladbach.[2] This unusual iconography is explained by the three elegiac couplets with leonine rhymes written in Latin above the scribe's tonsured head: "Father, you wish that several things should be copied by me to the praise of Christ. Thanks are due to you. / But I want you to know that I still refuse to rest. It is for sure a pleasure to copy, for it is distasteful to be idle. / I shall not be a non-producer, O reverend parent."[3]

f. 1r

The presentation scene is devoid of any setting other than the footrest below the abbot's feet, a symbol of his authority. Whereas the abbot is shown frontally, the scribe appears in three-quarter view. Smaller in size than the abbot, he is also placed lower on the page. All these features are markers of relative status. The abbot's croiser, placed on a diagonal, balances the composition, framing the book at the center. The composition has its roots in presentation images of the Carolingian and Ottonian periods.[4]

Across the top of the page, an ex libris inscription reads: "Liber monasterii sancti Viti martyris in gladbach et est venerabilis Beda super lucam" ("A book of the monastery of St. Vitus martyr in Gladbach and [it] is by the venerable Bede on Luke"), clearly marking the manuscript as the property of the Benedictine abbey of St. Vitus in Gladbach in the diocese of Cologne. The book also preserves its post-medieval press mark "B.18"; under the letter *B* in the library at Gladbach were shelved books of the church fathers and its councils.

Bede's commentary on Luke enjoyed enormous prestige in the Middle Ages and served as the principal source for the *Glossa ordinaria*'s commentary on the same Gospel. Manuscripts like this one were fixtures of monastic libraries. Bede also composed commentaries on the opening chapters of Genesis, and on the books of Kings, Ezra and Nehemiah, Tobit, Proverbs, the Song of Songs, the Gospel of Mark, Acts, and the Pauline and Catholic Epistles.

William P. Stoneman & Jeffrey F. Hamburger

1 Millar 1927–30, 1:107–9, no. 31; de Ricci 1935–40, 1696; Bond and Faye 1962, 270; Light 1988, 69–72, no. 26; Garvey 1988, 2–3, no. 1.
2 Winkelmann-Giesen 1998, 23.
3 "Ad laudem xpi nonnulla pater voluisti / Per me conscribi, gratia digna tibi. / Sed te scire volo, quod adhuc requiescere nolo. / Scribere nempe libet, namque vacare piget. / Unde mihi carte, si dentur, in hac tibi parte, / Non ero non parens, o veneranda parens." *Colophons* 1982, 121, no. 19958 (as Phillipps MS 1029).
4 Bloch 1956 and Prochno 1929.

legis cerimonias sedu
bona recedant. Ad ub
separati et sex et etates et c

Apls
ihu xi p
uoluntate
di. et tymotheus fribus his qui
sunt colosis scis et fidelibus fribus
in xo ihu. Gra uob et pax a do pre
nro et dno ihu xo. Gras agimus
do et pri dni nri ihu xi sep
pro uob orantes audientes fi
de ura in xo ihu et dilectione

Paulus
onem
te op
to on
digni
do apli. sed puo
qui ÷ uir magne
sis fribus scis et a
minoribus in xo ihu
et c. ¶ Gras agim
uerborum orantes
et c. Sz pmittit
sit ordo uborum. Gra
ihu fide et dilecti
scos. in qbus. s. solam dilu
tione dilectione ostend
to. sz pp spem q m nuu
ta. reddenda in celis. C
stis in uerbo ueritatis eug
hesitaretis. non uob pr
aliis plibus qui ueritatis ei
ad uos p pdicatores ui
muniuso mundo. et fi
seminis q in bona tra
aliud sexagesimum. aliud
crescit. nuo et uirtute

2. Authors & Readers

Authorship and copyright are concepts too often taken for granted. Prior to the introduction of printing in the mid-fifteenth century, when title pages and printers' subscriptions began to provide readers with an indication of authorship, title, and the place and date of publication on a more regular basis, anyone who took a manuscript book in hand would just as likely have identified the work according to its *incipit*, that is, the beginning words of the text as by a given author's name. Medieval library catalogues, such as that from the Cistercian monastery of Morimondo (cat. no. 5, f. 227v), combine both methods. The celebrated commentary on the Apocalypse by Haimo of Auxerre (cat. no. 6) is listed under its author's name ("Item Aimus super apocalypsis"), but others, for example, a book simply described as "de materiali claustro," give no hint of their authorship. In the case of prominent church fathers, noted monastic authors or famous preachers and scholastics, an ascription of authorship (not always accurate) might be found, most often in a rubric (literally, a passage written in red, from the Latin *rubeo*, or a ruddy orange known as *minium*, whence the term illumination). Such rubrics were placed at the beginning of the book or a given section. Medieval attestations of authorship, however, are notoriously unreliable. The skill of accessing particular authors (*accessus ad auctores*) was an art in itself. In some cases, confusion (or wishful thinking) reigned. In others, forged assignations of authorship (as in the case of the theological writings assigned to St. Denis, now known as the ps.-Dionysius, supposedly the disciple of Paul and the first bishop of Paris) served to lend a heterodox or unconventional work an authority it otherwise would not have possessed. To the extent that innovation was prized, it often had to be presented in the guise of reform: a return *ad fontes*, to the sources, the root and origin of Christian tradition. Even the modern concept of a single-author work remained largely foreign to the medieval way of thinking. A manuscript combining chronicles by the church historian, Eusebius (c. 260–340) and Sigebert of Gembloux (1030–1112) (cat. no. 21) exemplifies the way in which medieval authors built on the accomplishments of their predecessors and appealed to the authority of the church fathers as part of a self-conscious appeal to tradition. Some "works" set identifiable authors aside altogether in favor of a tissue of quotations (sometimes known as a *cento*, or chain) or less literal paraphrases (in part the product of a monastic culture of reading that relied on memory to retain and reproduce certain texts, beginning with the liturgy, itself in large part a paraphrase of the Bible). A collection of choice passages took the form of a *florilegium* (literally, a bunch of flowers or bouquet, a concept that referred to the texts that the compiler had plucked, like flowers, from their sources). The catalogue from Morimondo lists a work simply under the title *Flores evangeliorum* ("Flowers from the Gospels"). Within such a culture, the concept of copyright, let alone plagiarism, also made no sense. A work that was not excerpted or copied had no afterlife; imitation proved the most sincere form of flattery.

Medieval representations of authors provide a record of medieval conceptions of authorship. In works of scripture, most notably, the Gospels, their authors traditionally were depicted in the guise of philosophers or poets of antiquity, seated at writing desks surrounded by the tools of their trade. The addition of attributes of inspiration in the form of Evangelist symbols (the winged man for Matthew, the lion for Mark, the ox for Luke, and the high-flying eagle for the visionary Evangelist, John) undermined any clear-cut notion of authorship in so far as the images, like the prologues that often prefaced each individual Gospel, stressed the Evangelists' role as divinely-inspired conduits for the word of God. Revelation could not be tainted by the contingencies of human invention. Such "author portraits," as they are known, already mix two different tasks or *personae*, that of the author per se, who until well into the Middle Ages would most often have dictated his work, and the scribe or amanuensis, who recorded the dictation, first, in shorthand on wax tablets that could easily be erased and only later in full, formal fashion within a presentation copy. A portrait of the Evangelist Mark in an Armenian bible (cat. no. 25) represents an instance of a contemplative Gospel writer receiving divine inspiration from a hand above. A single eleventh-century leaf from Trier (cat. no. 24) represents Pope Gregory the Great writing. Entire genres of medieval illustration are dedicated, less to the celebration of authors, scribes or even the all-important patron than to the their subjugation to the saints to whose service the books were dedicated.

By the late Middle Ages, conceptions of authorship had already begun to change. In this context, an early fifteenth-century copy of Christine de Pizan's *Livre de trois vertus* (cat. no. 182), a treatise of moral instruction for women and on their place in medieval society that included accounts (and sometimes images) not only of female authors, but also female artists of antiquity, represents a revolution. Women were rarely depicted as scribes, let alone as authors; de Pizan's arrogation of these roles for herself marks the beginning of the modern notion of authorial self-consciousness.

cat. no. 30, f. 116r

Reading in the Middle Ages was an active, not a passive process. Especially in the earlier Middle Ages, reading was spoken or at least mumbled and at times even sung, rather than silent. Monastic manuals compared the process of reading to the mastication and rumination of animals, which sought to extract spiritual nourishment from the text. For physical evidence of active reading, one need only look to the manuscripts themselves. To begin with, readers needed to expand the numerous abbreviations that were introduced to save space and, with it, precious parchment. These abbreviations, most of which were standardized, take the form of the "Morse code" of dashes, loops, and squiggles placed, for the most part, above words in the interlinear space (see, e.g., cat. no. 21). Underlining in red, whether introduced by readers or (as in cat. no. 22) by the scribe, served to identify authorities in the form of quotations. Corrections (cat. no. 29), *lemmata* (marks linking a gloss in the margin to a passage in the text that serve as the medieval equivalent of the footnote), as well as added, as opposed to integral, glosses all stand as traces of readerly interventions of a kind that modern librarians would frown on, but to which modern forms of electronic annotation have lent new life. Such glosses can either fill the margins or the space between lines, which sometimes was widened so as to accommodate them (hence the phrase "reading between the lines"). The fifteenth-century vovelle bookmark added to the twelfth-century copy of Gilbert de la Porrée's *Commentary on the Epistles of St. Paul* (cat. no. 30) represents but one of the many aids to readership that were invented over the course of the Middle Ages which left their mark on the book as a physical object and which, in due course, were passed on to modernity.

Jeffrey F. Hamburger

21. Jerome, De viris illustribus; Eusebius, Chronicon (pt. 2); Prosper of Aquitaine, Chronographia; Sigebert of Gembloux, Chronicon ab anno 381 ad 1112

Anchin and Saint-Amand, northern France, c. 1150
Parchment, ff. 1 i + 112 + i, 325 x 217 (243 x 265) mm
Boston Public Library, MS f Med. 75 (formerly Ms. 1481)
Henry Pelham-Clinton, the fourth Duke of Newcastle; sold as part of the collection of his great-grandson Henry Pelham-Clinton, the seventh Duke, at Sotheby's, London, December 6, 1937, lot 953, to Maggs; bought by BPL from Maggs via the James Lyman Whitney Fund in March 1938.

f. 75r

Cat. no. 21 combines St. Jerome's work about the lives of "Illustrious Men" with chronicles by Eusebius (c. 260–340) and Sigebert of Gembloux (1030–1112), serving as a historical reference work for its twelfth-century monastic readers. The chronicles of Eusebius, Prosper, and Sigebert are parallel chronologies that provide corresponding dates from different calendars for each year (Roman, Egyptian, Syrian, etc.). These are indicated in the upper margin by capital letters at the head of each column of dates. The manuscript thus serves as a kind of universal chronicle, allowing the reader to interpret and associate events from disparate lands and across multiple centuries.

Patricia Stirnemann has demonstrated that the manuscript was written in the abbey of Anchin and decorated at Saint-Amand, both in the far north of France. The script is quite similar to that found in Douai, Bm, ms. 16, a mid-twelfth-century manuscript from Anchin, while the decoration is closer to that produced in Saint-Amand, in particular, Valenciennes, Bibliothèque municipale, mss. 1, 48, 112, and 132.[1] The manuscript is identifiable as number CCLIII in the mid-twelfth-century inventory of Saint-Amand manuscripts, where it is described as "Ieronimi cronica, sequentibus cronicis Prosperi et Sigeberti."[2] It is not recorded in the 1635 inventory and had in all likelihood left the library by then.

The manuscript is illustrated with very fine historiated initials in the style and palette typical of this period. The initials, in which hollow vines twist around and through the body of the initial, itself often foliate as well, would later serve as the inspiration for the decoration of humanistic manuscripts such as cat. no. 197. The manuscript opens with an illustration (within the letter *V*) of St. Jerome seated and presenting a scroll of the text's incipit to Vincentius and Gallienus, the addressees of the preface to his *De viris illustribus*. In one opening (ff. 74v–75r), Emperor Theodosius is shown enthroned instructing his sons, Arcadius and Honorius, inhabiting an eighteen-line initial *T*.

Lisa Fagin Davis

1 Patricia Stirnemann, private correspondence. The catalogue was compiled during the abbacy of Hugues II of Saint-Amand.
2 Desilve 1890, 173.

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22. Johannes Andreae, Hieronymianus Masters of the Zwolle Bible (?) (illuminators)

Eastern Netherlands or Dutch-German border area, c. 1475–90
Parchment, ff. ii + 143 (ff. A, B, 1–141) + ii (modern binder's paper), 307–12 x 221 (c. 198 x 133–35) mm
Boston Public Library, MS f Med. 73 (formerly Ms. 1471)
Jan-Baptiste Verdussen III, printer in Antwerp; his sale, 1776 to Jean Marie Michel Gasparoli; his sale,1823 by Vander Hey; sold by Bayne and Son in 1826; acquired by BPL in 1939 from A. Rosenthal.

f. 7r

Johannes Andreae (c. 1270/5–1348), a lay professor at the universities of Padua and Bologna and one of the foremost medieval authors on canon law, completed the treatise known as the *Hieronymianus* in 1346, just two years prior to his death as a result of the plague that swept Europe in 1348. The text is an elaborate encomium of St. Jerome (d. 420), one of the four great church fathers, written, as Andreae states, in connection with the foundation of the Carthusian monastery of St. Jerome in Bologna in 1334 and in an overt effort to promote veneration of St. Jerome.[1] It is testimony as well to the author's personal devotion to the saint, whom he viewed as an exemplary figure for church scholars and scholarship. The text comprises extensive considerations of St. Jerome's life, his accomplishments and teachings, his death, and miracles associated with his person and cult, most derived from other sources, among them the *Legenda aurea* (a collection of lives of the saints) of Jacobus de Voragine (d. 1298). Letters to, from, and about St. Jerome figure prominently in the text, including three letters about Jerome composed only in the thirteenth century and attributed spuriously to Eusebius, Augustine, and Cyrillus.[2] Johannes Andreae's text played a significant part in a reevaluation of St. Jerome in the late Middle Ages that reached its apogee in the Renaissance.

The *Hieronymianus* survives in c. fifty manuscript copies and in two printed editions published at Cologne in 1481 and Basel in 1514.[3] It circulated primarily in monastic and ecclesiastical circles intended primarily, it would seem, for instruction and study. The great majority of the extant manuscripts date from the fifteenth century and are written on paper, many in cursive script and lacking significant decoration.[4] The present volume, in contrast, is of a much higher order of refinement. It is written on parchment in a careful formal text hand, and is outfitted at the beginning of each of its four books with imposing painted initials on elaborate pen-flourish fields. The text is introduced by a richly illuminated frontispiece (f. 7r) with a large and opulent historiated initial that portrays Johannes Andreae presenting his book to St. Jerome, all on a brilliant tooled and burnished gold background, and with finely executed border decoration in all four margins of ink sprays, gold discs and tri-lobes, and painted flowers and foliage.

Despite the high quality of the decoration and illustration of this volume, it is difficult to localize all of its elements with precision. The large pen-flourish initials in the manuscript have some analogies with works from the eastern Netherlands and the Dutch-German border area, but are not yet known to us in precisely similar form in any other codices.[5] The border decoration of the frontispiece and the figural style of the historiated initial, however, recall decorated and illustrated leaves in volumes five and six, dated 1473 and 1476, of the monumental six-volume bible from the collegiate church at Utrecht that was written and illuminated at the community of the Brethren of the Common Life at Zwolle (the *Domus Fratrum seu Clericorum*).[6]

Features such as the somewhat flattened and angular forms of the robe of St. Jerome in the historiated initial in the Boston frontispiece can be compared with the treatment of the robe of St. John in one of the historiated initials excised from the Zwolle Bible, who is also depicted against the letter *I* and against a burnished gold background.[7] The border decoration of the frontispiece of the Boston codex also has close analogies with that in volumes five and six of the Zwolle Bible, particularly in the use of gold bezants and tri-lobes, and sharply profiled floral foliage and flowers set against dotted backgrounds.[8] The similarities seem sufficient to attribute the decoration and illustration of the frontispiece of the Boston *Hieronymianus*, at least provisionally, to the Masters of the Zwolle Bible, perhaps working at a later date than the Bible, c. 1475–90.

Like the Zwolle Bible, which was commissioned by a wealthy ecclesiastic from and for use in Utrecht, the Boston copy of *Hieronymianus* could have been commissioned for use elsewhere in the Netherlands or the Dutch-German border area, such as a monastery dedicated to St. Jerome, of which there was one in Roermond, in Guelders, founded by monks from Zwolle.[9] There is unfortunately insufficient evidence either to identify its patron or to assign its ownership to any particular institution. This volume must nonetheless have been a significant commission and a prized possession of the library to which it belonged.

James H. Marrow

1 Klapper 1926 and Bauer 1989.
2 Lambert 1970, 642–53, no. 903, and Bauer 1989.
3 For the manuscript tradition, Lambert 1970, 668–71, no. 907, including the present manuscript (cited under the old signature, Ms. 1471).
4 This is true, for example, of two copies produced in the northern Netherlands, Utrecht, UB, Ms. 3 J 12 (cat. 140) and Ms. 4 J 12 (cat. 141), the latter written by Johannis Petri of Delft in 1454 and from the collection of the Carthusian monastery of Nieuwlicht in Utrecht. The contents of these two manuscripts parallel those of the Boston copy, with the exception that they reverse the sequence of the first two texts in the Boston manuscript, placing Guigo I's letter to the Carthusians of Durbon before the table of contents listing the names of famous doctors who praised St. Jerome. For a richly illuminated and illustrated example, see the former Dyson Perrins copy (Siena, late fourteenth century) offered for sale by Folter and Kebabian 1981, 8–9, cat. no. 1, pl. 2.
5 In personal correspondence, Anne Korteweg kindly suggested general analogies for some of the pen-flourish decoration in the Boston volume with manuscripts from the German border region or the eastern Netherlands, such as a codex in Deventer, StB, hs. 1, 25, which she attributes to the IJssel region and dates to the late fifteenth century.
6 Utrecht, UB, Ms. 31, for which see Byvanck and Hoogewerff 1922–26, cat. no. 98, Van der Horst 1989, 193–223, and Defoer, Korteweg, and Wüstefeld 1990, 244–46, cat. no. 84, as well as cat. no. 127 in this catalogue.
7 Utrecht, RMCC, ABM h5, f. 42v, for which see Defoer, Korteweg, and Wüstefeld 1990, cat. no. 84, 244, fig. 138 and Wüstefeld 1993, 64, cat. no. 34.
8 Byvanck and Hoogewerff 1922–26, fig. 78, pls. 213b–215.
9 House of the Regular Canons of St. Augustine at Roermond (*Domus sancti Hieronymi*), for which see Kohl, Persoons, and Weiler 1980, 383–92. For a copy of the *Hieronymianus* mentioned in the "memorieboek" of the Regular Canons of Roermond that has been connected with Adolf of Egmond, Duke of Guelders (1438–77), see Nijsten 1993, 174. Another important house in Guelders dedicated to St. Jerome was that of the Brethren of the Common Life at Hulsbergen by Hattem (the "fraterhuis St.-Hieronymusberg," or "Monte sancti Iheronimi prope Hattem terre Gelrensis"), supervised during the years of its foundation in the early fifteenth century by Brethren from Zwolle; it had its own scriptorium, which is known particularly for having produced a number of very finely written copies of the Vulgate (Geurts 1984, 132–39, cat. nos. 38–41, and 250–60, cat. nos. 92–96).

23. Byzantine Gospels ("Harvard Gospels")

Constantinople (?), Turkey, c. 1000
Parchment, ff. 250 + ii, 280 x 220 mm
Harvard University, Houghton Library, MS Typ 215[1]
Nea Mone; sold by H. P. Kraus, 1954; bequest of Philip Hofer, 1984.

The Harvard Gospels is a fine, small parchment codex, a *tetraevangelion* made for private use. The text of the four Gospels is written in a calligraphic *Perlschrift* ("pearl script"), which is comparable to other manuscripts dated to the eleventh century.

Originally the manuscript contained at its beginning the set of ten Eusebian canon tables commonly found in gospel books, but several folios have been lost and of these only five are still bound in the codex. These are impressive in the finely detailed execution of their elaborate designs, which stand out on account of their bright blue, green, and red colors. Flower-petal motifs enclosed within intricate geometrical patterns establish the luxuriousness of this codex at the outset. The manuscript contains also four head-

pieces and four ornamented initials each at the beginning of each Gospel with very similar complex patterning and colors as the canon tables.

f. 75v

On the verso preceding the headpiece of each Gospel was a four- or five-line poem written in large epigraphic gold uncial script honoring the individual Evangelist. At some point, however, not too many years after its production, these honorific inscriptions were rubbed off and replaced in each case by a pen-sketch in brown ink of the portrait of the appropriate Evangelist (e.g., Mark on f. 75v, illustrated here). The intended illustrations were never completed. Even so, these drawings are most important because each Evangelist has his symbol included in the composition. These ink drawings are the earliest known depictions of the Evangelist symbols in a Byzantine manuscript. These symbols do not appear in Byzantine gospel books until very late in the eleventh and early twelfth century and then in differing combinations. For the most part, they follow Irenaeus's arrangement of the beasts of Ezekiel's vision (1:5–10), which differs from that used in the Western tradition.

At some later date individual leaves with painted Evangelist portraits on gold backgrounds were inserted at the beginning of each Gospel, preceding and thereby covering, so to speak, the earlier preparatory drawings. These illustrations are copies of the drawings in composition and almost all iconographic details.

The manuscript has also an interesting colophon added in the thirteenth century when the codex was given to a monastery dedicated to the Virgin Eleousa by a certain John Angelos, uncle to the late emperor Theodore I Laskaris (r. 1204–22).

It has been suggested that the Evangelist portraits might have been added when the manuscript was presented as a gift to the monastery. To complete the original intended decoration, the donor most likely had the Evangelist portraits added into the manuscript. It would make sense for a member of the imperial family to enhance his gift with the appropriate images, since a luxury manuscript such as this would have seemed incomplete. Possibly out of respect for the handsome volume, he chose not to cover the original images but to add new ones, keeping to the older iconography and composition. We also know that these painted portraits on gold backgrounds were originally protected by purple silk cloths.

Ioli Kalavrezou

1 Battifol 1887; Alexoudis (1896–97) 1900, 360–62, no. 15; Alexoudis 1901; Von Soden 1913, 378, nos. 5–8; Bond and Hofer 1955, no. 6, pl. 2; Bond and Faye 1962, 271; Vikan 1973, 142–47, nos. 38 and 39; Vikan 1980, 9–12; Nelson 1980, 27 and 110; Garvey 1988, 8–9, no. 4; J. Duffy and Angelov 2000; Kavrus-Hoffmann 2011, 35–45 and figs. 6–7; Saminsky 2013.

24. Gregory the Great, leaf

Belgium (?), c. 975–1025
Parchment, 1 leaf, 336 x 227 (264 x 200) mm
Museum of Fine Arts, Boston, 49.492, William Francis Warden Fund
R. Schilling, Frankfurt am Main; V. Goldschmidt, Heidelberg; sold by Joseph Brummer (cat. 1949, 29); purchased by MFA May 12, 1949.

Now a single leaf, this remarkable portrait once formed the frontispiece to a manuscript of Gregory's *Moralia in Job* (books 28–35), preserved today in Trier (StB, Hs. 178/1205).[1] In its original context the miniature would have been painted on the verso, with the text of the *Moralia* beginning on the facing recto. The close relationship between the painted frontispiece and the manuscript's text is confirmed by the incipit, written in four lines of red majuscule placed directly below the portrayal of the author, which announces the beginning of the treatise's twenty-eighth book.

Both the miniature and the incipit are set within a continuous red frame, with two blue columns flanking the inner left- and right-hand sides. From these columns springs a gable roof, upon which two birds appear to be nibbling on vegetation. The space around the gable has been painted with an ocher-colored wash, which seems to stand in for gold as it was also used as the color of Gregory's halo. In a pose reminiscent of contemporary Evangelist portraits, Gregory holds the book open with one hand while pausing from writing. As if stopping mid-thought the author is depicted as looking beyond the book itself, which may be understood as a visual nod to the contemplative nature of Gregory's text.

Several twelfth-century inscriptions added to the (originally blank) recto of the leaf attest to the manuscript's long-standing presence in Trier.

Chief among these is a partial transcription of a letter from Hildegard of Bingen addressed to the city's clerics.[2] The text relates to a sermon on church corruption, which Hildegard herself delivered in Trier during the feast of Pentecost in 1160. An earlier inscription, written in a noticeably larger script, occupies the center of the leaf and comprises a list of transactions mentioning place names such as Steimburch and Fossa, which corresponds in content to a similar list found at the end of the parent manuscript. Despite the certainty of a link with Trier, scholars have debated the manuscript's place of origin. Hoffmann proposed Belgium, linking the Gregory miniature to an early-eleventh century portrait of a bishop now in Brussels.[3] Such a comparison, however, is tenuous at best. Nevertheless, a thorough study of other examples of contemporary Flemish illumination, such as a manuscript of the Lives of Saints in Ghent, may indeed prove promising.[4] Above all, any future attempts to clarify the date or origin of this leaf will certainly find a more sturdy footing in a rigorous examination of the parent codex from which this leaf ultimately stems.

Joshua O'Driscoll

1 Keuffer 1891, 93–95; Swarzenski and Schilling 1929, 3, pl. 4; Exner 1989, 187–89; Rathbone 1957, 92, fig. 51; Fabrizio Crivello and Donatella Frioli in Ricci 2006, 109.

2 The letter is 223r according to the critical edition of Van Acker 1993, 490–96. Several lines of text have been cropped from the upper margin and from the inner margin, where the leaf was once attached to the book. In its current state, the text begins with "doctores et magistri tuba iustitiae canere nolunt" and ends with "nova scientia infusi sunt."

3 See Hoffmann 1986, 377. The manuscript is Brussels, BRB, ms. 1814–16, f. 24r.

4 See Ghent, UB, Hs. 308.

25. Four Gospels

Sanahin Monastery, Lori Province, Armenia, 1504
Parchment (ff. i + 3) and paper (ff. 314), 171 x 130 mm
Harvard Divinity School, Andover-Harvard Theological Library, MS. 24 (formerly R.B.R. BS1995.5.M47 1502)[1]

f. 95v

This manuscript was produced at the celebrated monastery of Sanahin during the conquests of Armenian territory by Shah Ismail I (1501–24), founder of the Safavid Empire.[2] The scribe, Mkrtič, recounts terrible suffering caused by heavy taxation, famine, and plunder. The construction, organization, and decoration of this gospel book nevertheless testify to the continuity of Armenian book arts in the early sixteenth century.

The tooled leather binding features raised endbands and a fore-edge flap, devices characteristic of medieval Armenian manuscripts. A parchment flyleaf preserves the Georgian text of 2 Chr 12:20–26.[3] Canon tables are missing: the gospel book begins with a full-page portrait of Matthew. On the facing page is a headpiece decorated with foliate motifs, signaling the opening verses, which are written in uppercase (*erkat'agir*). The first word of Matthew is written in multicolored letters, the incipit taking the form of a bird biting its own body. The following pages of Matthew, and the subsequent Gospel texts, are arranged in two columns of nineteen lines each. The script is careful and regular; most of the text is in black lowercase, or *bolorgir*, with exceptions for initial letters and verses, which are written in red uppercase.

Three of the original four Evangelist portraits are preserved; John is missing. The painter, who identifies himself as the "unworthy sinner" Šmawon (Simeon) on the reverse of the portrait of Luke, favored abstract patterns in rich hues. His style is exemplified by the image of Mark (f. 95v), which shows the seated author receiving divine inspiration. Mark seems lost in thought: his left hand is raised to his mouth, while the right rests on an open blank page. He is enclosed in repeating rectangular frames of saturated red, blue, green, and yellow, inviting the viewer to participate in the meditative mood of the scene. Textual ornamentation includes marginal arabesques and tempietti, and incipits composed of birds or flowers, all typical of medieval Armenian manuscript illumination. The painting finds stylistic parallels in a gospel book of 1495 in London at the Wellcome Library and especially another, at the Philadelphia Free Library, also written by Mkrtič at Sanahin in 1504.[4]

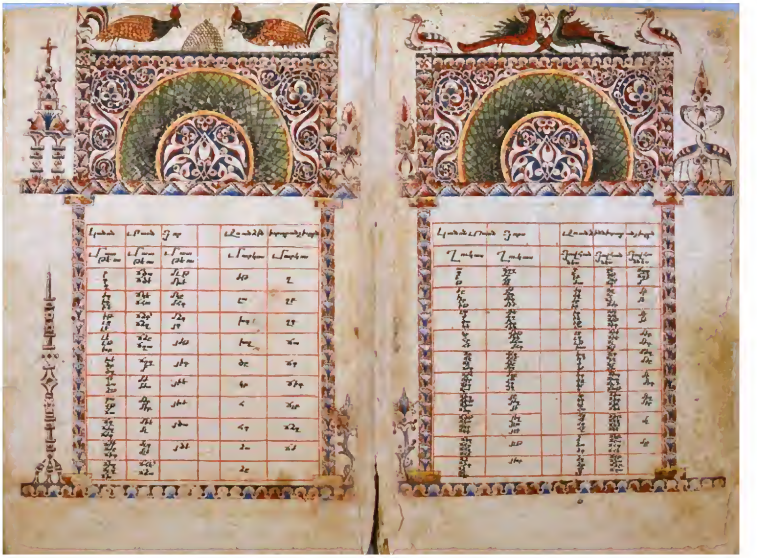
Christina Maranci

1 Maranjian 1954 (?).

2 Ismail I is referred to in the colophon as "Sawfi." Sanahin was a royal Armenian Bagratid foundation and was well known for its manuscript activity and architectural monuments. It is perfectly possible that the building identified today as the library of Sanahin, dated 1063, was the place of work of Mkrtič. See Manoukian and Manoukian 1970.

3 This flyleaf may reflect contact with Georgia during the early Zak'arid period (1201–36), in which Armenia was vassal to the Georgian state, and/or the position of Sanahin close to Georgian territory in the north.

4 Wellcome Library, Armenian MS 1 and FPL, Lewis O 115. For the Philadelphia manuscript, see Mathews and Wieck 1994, 197–98 and Sanjian 1976, 654–60.



ff. 5v–6r

26. Canon tables

Vaspurakan, historical Armenia (mod. Turkey), 1300–1400
Paper, ff. 20 (later paginations added in pencil and ink), 255 x 174 mm
Armenian Museum of America, 1986.846

The canon table system, ascribed to Eusebius, bishop of Caesarea (c. 260–c. 340 CE), and found in gospel books across the world, allowed the reader to identify correspondences of individual passages across the Four Gospels texts.[1] This set of canon tables features ornate designs characteristic of the medieval Armenian tradition. Columns frame numerals and support a headpiece, which is surrounded by feeding birds, flowering trees, and architectonic forms. This visually pleasurable imagery held symbolic meaning, evoking themes of salvation, paradise, and the heavenly city.[2] In medieval Armenian theology, canon tables (Arm. *xoran*: lit. temple, altar, pavilion) were also understood as places to purify the eyes before beginning the biblical text.[3]

Two colophons give precious information about the making of these canon tables and the manuscript to which they belonged. On f. 4v, we are told that the bishop Step'anos Yaṙənǰec'i ornamented this gospel "with flowers," (*calkov*) and that it was commissioned by Smawon (Simeon), the monk. In a colophon located below the full-page image of Matthew (f. 9v), Step'anos refers to himself as "artless" (*anarhest*) but also tells us he ornamented the canon tables with gold.[4]

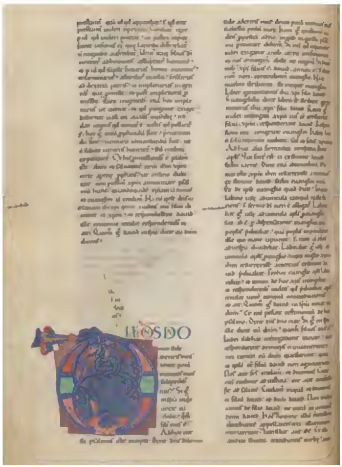
The basic format of these canon tables may be traced to Armenian pictorial conventions from the tenth century, but the limited palette (blue, magenta, and green) and the painting style are typical of late medieval Armenia. Strong, dark colors are juxtaposed with light tones, creating a delicate, open graphism, well suited to rendering the tendrils and blossoms of Step'anos's "flowers." Certain forms are emphasized with more saturated color: on ff. 5v–6r, inset arches of deep green enliven the rectangular headpieces. The same pages display the diverse fowl that typically populate Armenian canon tables; on f. 5v, chickens peck at a pile of grain, while on the facing page, water birds catch fish in their mouths. The style and specific imagery of these canon tables find visual parallels in contemporary Armenian manuscripts, including a gospel of 1488 in the Walters Art Museum (Ms. W.542) and another in the collection of the University of Chicago of the fifteenth or sixteenth century at the University of Chicago (Goodspeed Collection, Ms. 139).[5]

Christina Maranci

1 Nersessian 1987, 2–3.
2 Mathews and Sanjian 1991, 166–76.
3 "Two Interpretations of the Ten Canon Tables," translated by James R. Russell, in Mathews and Sanjian 1991, appendix D, 206–11.
4 There is no visually identifiable gold in the folios; perhaps diluted gold paint was used in the yellow tones.
5 Der Nersessian 1973, 52–55; for the University of Chicago manuscript, see Sanjian 1976, 187–88.

27. St. Augustine, bishop of Hippo, Enarrationes in psalmos, 101–50

Germany, 1130–50
Parchment, ff. ii + 178, 465 x 312 (350 x 215) mm
Harvard University, Houghton Library, MS Typ 703
William Bateman and Thomas Bateman (Sotheby's, London, May 25, 1893, lot 233); William Morris (Ellis inv., no. 9); Richard Bennett (Sotheby's, London, December 5, 1898, lot 148); Quaritch; Laurence W. Hodson (Sotheby's, London, December 3, 1906, lot 28); Quaritch; Chester Beatty (Sotheby's, London, June 24, 1969, lot 45); Alan Thomas; Colin Franklin; sold by David and Anne Bromer, 1979; bequest of Philip Hofer, 1984.



f. 46v

Cat. no. 27 was the last of what was probably a three-volume set of Augustine's *Commentary on the Psalms*, a text that was considered a necessary component of any twelfth-century monastic library. This large and impressive codex includes the sermons on psalms 101 through 150; the first two volumes of the set have not been identified. The luxurious margins and wide spacing leave ample room for commentary and annotation, many examples of which are found throughout the manuscript.

The *Enarrationes in Psalmos* is Augustine's longest, and perhaps his most influential, exegetical work. Each sermon dissects a particular psalm line by line and even word by word, delving deeply into the theological and spiritual implications of each text. Read aloud from a lectern in the refectory at mealtime and excerpted in the daily liturgical offices, these texts were well-known to everyone in the monastic community. Portions of each sermon were incorporated into the daily office liturgy at matins, recited at daybreak. For liturgical use, each sermon was divided into three sections, each of which was to be read during one of the three parts, or *nocturns*, of matins. The first few words of each reading are indicated in the margins of this manuscript.[1] On f. 46v (shown here), the annotation "ii. Na[m] cu[m] ip[s]e" in the left-hand margin indicates that the reading for the second nocturn (of an unidentified feast day) should begin with the words "Nam cum ipse" found in the text directly to the right. An accompanying breviary would have given the same incipit at the appropriate point, directing the officiant to this manuscript for the full text of the lesson.

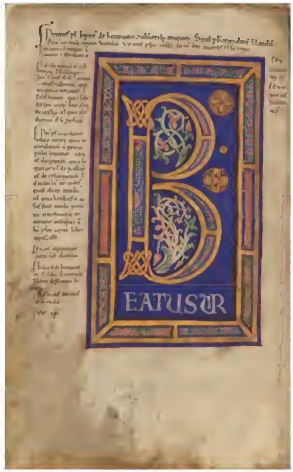
The manuscript is written in a late Romanesque script and decorated with the interlaced, colorful initials typical of this time and place. The codex has an esteemed provenance, having been owned by nineteenth-century printer and designer William Morris (1834–96) (as was cat. no. 86) and the great collector Sir Alfred Chester Beatty (1875–1968) (in whose collection it was MS 129) before eventually being purchased by Philip Hofer.

Lisa Fagin Davis

1 Light 1988, 43–45.

28. Glossed psalter

Tuscany (?), Italy, c. 1150–1200
Parchment, ff. 235, 290 x 190 mm
Harvard University, Houghton Library, MS Typ 260
Charles and Mary Lacaita (sale, London, July 20, 1936, lot 189); H. Harvey Frost; sold by Maggs, 1952; deposited by Philip Hofer, 1967, his bequest, 1984.



f. 1v

There is a clear progression in the development of the gloss on the psalms. The gloss originated in northern France in the early 1100s as a scholastic text for study in the cathedral schools of Laon and elsewhere. The page layout was initially very simple, with the biblical text in the middle of the page and explanatory glosses ranged on either side. By the 1140s, scribes in France were making whole sets of glossed books of the Bible like this (see cat. no. 29), including the psalms, all in matching style. The gloss on the psalms, however, was soon entirely rewritten and expanded by Peter Lombard, and by the time of Peter Lombard's death in 1160 his new "Great Gloss," as it was called, was quickly

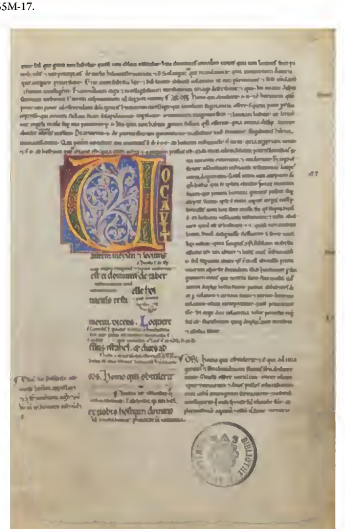
replacing the old text for the psalter in comprehensive sets. Its page layout was different, with bible and gloss now written in an interlocking grid. This proved so attractive that by about 1170 all glossed books of the Bible in France conformed to this new arrangement. The obsolete "Small Gloss" for the psalms was hived off and left behind.

The present example represents a fascinating throwback. It was made for devotion, not for academic study. It includes the Canticles and the Creed, which are not part of the psalms in the Old Testament. Probably made in Tuscany toward the end of the twelfth century, far from the fashionable centers of scholastic study, the manuscript was doubtlessly commissioned by a cleric or devout layperson. The book opens with a great "Beatus" initial like that in any private psalter of the time (f. 1v). In order to supply this grand initial page with a gloss, however, the scribes have had to resurrect a text and (more remarkably) a page layout, which had both been obsolete in sets of glossed bibles for fifty years. Here the biblical text and the gloss are ruled independently, just as they had been at the beginning of the century. They have even had to create new passages of gloss for the Creed, which originally was never glossed.

Christopher de Hamel

29. Leviticus with the Glossa Ordinaria

Paris, France and Admont, Austria, c. 1140–60
Parchment, ff. i + 74 (foliated 1–73, f. 74, blank, lifted pastedown), 265 x 180 (text and gloss, 176–78 x 139–46; text, 176–78 x 24–76) mm
Harvard University, Houghton Library, MS Typ 204
Abbey of St. Blaise, Admont, Styria, Austria, MS 347; E. P. Goldschmidt, 1935; Philip Hofer, 1935, presented by Hofer, September 15, 1955; accession record, *55M-17.



f. 2r

This is a copy of the complete text of Leviticus, which begins with the painted initial shown here and then continues down the center of the page. The complex page also includes selections from patristic and medieval commentaries that explain the biblical text copied in a smaller script on either side and between the lines. This ingenious combination of Bible and commentary, the *Glossa Ordinaria*, was one of the twelfth century's greatest achievements, and remained the standard reference tools for the study of the Bible for centuries.[1]

The layout of glossed bibles varied over time. Here the biblical text was copied first, and the glosses, ruled independently, were then added. The essential layout is the same on every page. In Paris after c. 1165, scribes used a more sophisticated "alternate line" layout, copying the text and gloss on the same set of ruled lines (using every line for the gloss, and every other line for the text), and also adjusting the width of the biblical column as necessary, even on a single page.[2]

This manuscript remains in its original twelfth-century binding, decorated with rows of stamps in fanciful shapes, pressed into the leather. These particular stamps are related to the set of glossed books made for Prince Henry, son of Louis VI of France, who entered Clairvaux in 1146, but left in 1149 to become bishop of Beauvais.[3] Its binding is one of the clues that suggest this manuscript was copied in Paris, even though it made its way to the Benedictine monastery at Admont in Styria, Austria very early in its history, almost certainly during the abbacy of Godefridus of Admont (1138–65).[4] The illuminated initial in this manuscript is clearly not Parisian, and was probably added at Admont, copying the style found in Italian manuscripts from the end of the eleventh and twelfth centuries.[5] Admont in fact owned several Italian manuscripts with initials in just this style that could have served as the model for this manuscript.[6]

Laura Light

1 The *Glossa Ordinaria* was not a text compiled, or even thought of by a single author. It originated with the teachings of Anselm (d. 1117) and his brother Ralph (d. 1134) at the cathedral school of Laon with only selected books of the bible, and was extended over the whole bible over the course of the twelfth century. General overviews of the scholarship on the Gloss, Smith 2009, and online at Glossae.net. Important studies include de Hamel 1984, Froehlich and Gibson 1992, Gross-Diaz 1996, Stirnemann 1997 and 1994.

2 The pioneering study of the layout of the glossed bible is de Hamel 1984. His discoveries apply to manuscripts copied in Paris; conservative layouts are found in many glossed bibles copied elsewhere in Europe even after c. 1165.

3 De Hamel 1984, 64–86, especially 75–80 (listing this manuscript, 66n11, 71, 75) and Stirnemann 1994, 264–65. See also G. Hobson 1929, appendix B, no. 36, pl. 16, and G. Hobson 1935, 198, 205, and Schmidt-Künsemüller 1985, 59, no. 12.

4 This manuscript was Admont, Cod. 347 (Möser-Mersky 1961, 24, catalogue of Peter de Arbon of 1376, and Wichner 1888, 165, handwritten catalogue); on Admont in general, see Naschenweng 2000. On Godefridus of Admont, see Stammberger 2005, 237.

5 Buberl 1911, 158, no. 195. See de Hamel 1984, 78–81, discussing the question of glossed books copied in Paris (and bound there), but with painted initials executed at other places (or with blank spaces left for the decoration).

6 Buberl 1911, 115, cod. 105 (1), and 119 cod. 106 (2), both Passionales, Italy, early twelfth century, with similar decoration; online http://cdm.csbsju.edu/cdm/singleitem/collection/HMMLClrMicr/id/11896/rec/185; see also the geometric style initials in Admont's Italian giant bibles: Ayres 1982, fig. 5, Cod. D, f. 25 of the bible, Admont StiftsB, Codd. C and D, c. 1074, a gift of its founder, Archbishop Gebhard of Salzburg (1060–88), and fig. 8, Admont, StiftsB, Cod. E, f. 123, a gift of Konrad I of Salzburg (1106–47).

30. Gilbert de la Porrée, Commentary on the Epistles of St. Paul

Chartres, France, c. 1160
Parchment, ff. 168, 304 x 220 mm
Harvard University, Houghton Library, MS Typ 277[1]
Belonged in the fifteenth century to the Augustinian house of St. Mary and St. Alexander the Martyr at Neuwerk bei Halle; gift of Philip Hofer in honor of Rodney G. Dennis, 1983.

Gilbert (d. 1154) wrote his commentary on the Epistles in the 1130s while chancellor at Chartres. He wove the *Glossa Ordinaria* into a continuous text and enhanced it. From the outset, this catena ("chain") text often circulated without the sacred text. Before c. 1170, if the sacred text is present, the catena was written first, as is the case with the present manuscript, to which the sacred text was then added; attempts to synchronize the two are often awkward.[2]

f. 115v and bookmark

Of the over seventy known manuscripts, the vast majority date from the twelfth century, and at least seven were written at Chartres.[3] The manuscript at Yale University (Beinecke Library, Marston MS 152) is the earliest illuminated copy made entirely at Chartres, and its floral initials are in the same style as the bibles of St. Bernard and the counts of Champagne,[4] which date to c. 1145–50. Cat. no. 30 and Vendome, Bibliothèque municipale, ms. 23, both c. 1160, are the earliest manuscripts with historiated initials. The three historiated initials in this book illustrate the conversion of St. Paul (f. 1r, Romans) and St. Paul writing a letter (f. 110v, Philippians, and f. 116r, Colossians [see detail of f. 116r at beginning of this chapter]). The first initial is of particular interest. Paul lies limply across the center of the initial with his hands open, as Christ sends down a red beam of light toward his head. Behind him, two spear-bearing soldiers wearing Phrygian caps look at each other in surprise. The upright of the letter *P* contains three medallions, with one frontal and two profile faces, all beardless. It is probable that the iconography has been inspired by a Carolingian bible, such as the Vivian Bible, in which Paul's conversion takes place in the presence of spear-bearing soldiers.[5] The bust medallions in the initial also recall the medallions and busts in the Vivian Bible.[6] Although most of the floral initials are descendants of the style of the bibles of St. Bernard and the counts of Champagne, the floral clusters on the uprights of the initials on ff. 1r and 116r find arresting comparisons in the Second Bible of Charles the Bold.[7] A venerable Carolingian source for the Pauline iconography helps explain the precocious depiction of the events from Paul's life in the two Chartrain Bibles now in Troyes and in the early thirteenth-century windows in the apses of the cathedral of Chartres and the cathedral of Sens, a salient example of the schools of Chartres looking to the past to enrich the future.

The bookmark, which is attached to the upper headband, dates to the later Middle Ages and was repaired in the early modern period, indicating that the manuscript found ongoing use. The long strip of parchment covered with a nonsensical string of letters permitted a reader (or a scribe) to mark a given opening. The novelle, which slides along the strip and consists of a wheel that rotates to show the Roman numerals I, II, III, or IV, in turn allowed the reader to mark not only the line but also the column where his reading left off. In its precise indication of vertical and horizontal coordinates, the bookmark offers the equivalent of modern mapping software. It further indicates that the opening and not the page per se was the operative semantic unit within the manuscript.[8]

Patricia Stirnemann

1 Stirnemann 1994, 270ff.; Hamburger 2010b, pl. 12.
2 Light 1988, no. 36, pl. 24 gives a detailed description of the writing of the manuscript, building on the historical observations of de Hamel 1984, 20.
3 Bordeaux, Bm, ms. 62; Lisbon, BN, Alcobaça 178; Madrid, BNE, ms. 491 (painted initials added in Spain); Troyes, Bm, ms. 2266 (painted initials, one with a bust figure, added in Dijon) are all *sine textu*. Paris, BnF, ms. lat. 12028 is decorated in Paris, and is half sine and half *cum textu*. Cat. no. 30 and New Haven, Beinecke Library, Marston MS 152 were written and illuminated at Chartres.
4 Troyes, Bm, mss. 458[1–2] and 2391.
5 Paris, BnF, ms. lat. 1, f. 386v. This is the only example of the conversion taking place with soldiers recorded by Eleen 1982.
6 Folios 1r, 2r, 9r, 329v, 339v.
7 Paris, BnF, ms. lat. 2.
8 Hamburger 2010, 80.

Heronimianū. hoc opus per io
hannē andree vigente deuocione
cōpositū. in partes rite diuidit tes
tante iheronimo sup ezechielem
li. xi. in pincipio q diuisus dicta
tis scribentis et legentis labor re
spirat in partibus. Ipsius vero
partes sunt quatuor notabilit

Spernere uis mundum: uis mentem scandere sursi
Hoc lege profundum. sanctum sic perfice cursum.
Ysaac doctrina fugit orbis corde ruina.
Interior uita claret per dura petita.

Incipit ysaac de contemplationis perfectione, de quo sancta et admiranda scribit beatus Gregorius libro tertio dyalogorum capitulo. xiiij°. Incipit capitulum primum de paupertate. lectione et oratione. Rubrica.

Anima que deum diligit in deo solo quietem habet. Anticipa i soluere omnem colligationem extrinsecam a temporibus. et tunc deo corde poteris colligari; precedit i eum colligari deo solutio a mundanis. Esus panis post ablac

3. Guides for Good Living

Monastic life was both communal and solitary, with the daily regimen of cenobitic (communal) prayer, work, and mealtimes offset by hermetic (solitary) sleep and reflection. The ultimate goal of the monastic life was not simply to pray and to acquire learning, but to live a good and moral life, defined in terms of asceticism and devotion to God. Throughout the monastic day, cenobites heard and read lessons on this ideal in liturgy, commentary, sermons, saints' lives, and treatises on human nature. Monks were educated, regulated, and governed by various kinds of texts and documents that worked together to serve the communal and individual goals of living a good life.

This moral life required guidance and education. To serve this goal, a number of didactic tools developed that were designed to help students find their way. The twelfth century saw a massive increase in the number of texts being transcribed with marginal commentary, necessitating innovative and increasingly complex design and layout of text and illustration on the page. Readers needed to be able to navigate the text and accompanying commentary and to find their place upon returning to the book. A twelfth-century copy of Gilbert de la Porrée's *Commentary on the Epistles of St. Paul* (cat. no. 30), copied at Chartres during the author's lifetime (1075–1154), incorporates many of the design innovations of this period. The large inhabited initials function not only as decorative elements but also serve to delineate sections of the text. The marginal commentary is written in a smaller script than the primary text, making the two easily distinguishable. The manuscript also includes a rare example of a volvelle (wheel) bookmark.

Young ("novice") monks went through years of training and education before they were fully inducted into the monastic order. Large diagrams on single sheets of parchment, hung on walls or laid out on tables, helped novices understand complicated concepts and theological mysteries. The *Septenarium pictum* (cat. no. 32) is a schematic diagram of various sets of seven, also known as septenaries: Deadly Sins, Beatitudes, Petitions of the *Pater noster*, and Gifts of the Holy Spirit. Such diagrams, few of which survive, would have helped young monks understand the relationships between these complex concepts.

The dichotomies so clearly laid out in the *Septenarium pictum* would have been reinforced by guidebooks known as monastic rules. Each monastic order—Benedictine, Cistercian, Franciscan, Augustinian, among others—had a set of rules that governed daily life for the community. Cat. no. 36, for example, is a fifteenth-century manuscript preserving a set of rules governing the life of the Poor Clares, nuns of the Franciscan order. St. Clare of Assisi was a contemporary follower of St. Francis, and the women's order she founded adhered to the same principles of poverty and simplicity as did its male counterpart. Cat. no. 35 is a rule for the male community of the Order of St. Jerome, compiled from the writings of Jerome himself by Lupus de Olmedo (1370–1433). Such rules were typically illustrated with a portrait of the founder (in these manuscripts, St. Clare and St. Jerome).

Though mostly living apart, monks could not help but be part of the outside world. Abbeys were by turns landowners and tenants, producers and consumers. Unless completely isolated, they were by necessity involved in worldly transactions. The administration of secular monastic affairs was governed by documents such as the collection of fifteen charters, some with seals intact, from Sawley Abbey, England, dated c. 1325–44 (cat. no. 41). Another document, cat. no. 42, preserves an inventory of the property of the Camadolese monastery of Santa Maria in Porciglia, Padua, illuminated in 1489 by Antonio Maria da Villafora. Such manuscripts are important resources for understanding an abbey's relationship to the secular world.

In late medieval Venice, lay confraternities developed along the lines of modern faith-based organizations such as the Lions or Knights of Columbus, designed to emulate monastic virtues in a worldly environment. Confraternities were also governed by rules and regulations, known as *mariegole*. Cat. no. 37 is a typical *mariegola* (illuminated by Benedetto Bordon and workshop around 1504), made for the lay confraternity of the Holy Sacrament of the Church of San Geminiano, Venice. Most *mariegole* open with elaborate frontispieces such as this one, an image of members of the confraternity venerating the Eucharist in the form of an oversized chalice from which Christ emerges as a Man of Sorrows.

Lisa Fagin Davis

cat. no. 33, f. 90r

31. De regimine mensium

Austria, c. 1250–1300 (?)
Parchment, 3 leaves, 193 x 147 (148–54 x 98) mm
Harvard University, Houghton Library, MS Typ 590
Acquired by Bernard M. Rosenthal before 1967 (see his cat. 19, no. 165) and sold to Philip Hofer from his cat. 23, no. 91; gift of Philip Hofer, 1973.

ff. 2v–3r

The booklet, *On the Regime of the Months*, which may never have been attached to a larger manuscript, presents a compact compendium of advice relating especially to matters of diet that extends over the full course of the calendrical year. Each of the months—as in the case of the July and August (f. 2v) and September and October (f. 3r)—is illustrated, as in a medieval calendar, with a roundel (drawn with a compass) depicting the appropriate sign of the zodiac (Leo, the Lion; Virgo, the Virgin, who wears a bridal chaplet and holds a flower in her hand; Libra, Scales; Scorpio, Scorpion). The figures, which are drawn and tinted in red, blue, and yellow, stand without any indication of setting against alternating red and blue grounds.

In the Middle Ages, the passage of the months and seasons marked by the calendar and charted by the signs of the zodiac supplied an indispensable guide to practical matters of life and death. Diet, the balance of the bodily humors, and blood-letting depended on the seasons and the stars. To help both doctors and patients keep track of this essential information, it often was boiled down and served up in the form of rhyming verses in both Latin and the vernaculars that made it both memorable and easily digestible. Although embedded in other aphoristic dicta concerning various aspects of diet and a health regime, at its core, the advice offered to the reader of cat. no. 31 consists of a series of hexameters.[1] In the case of the exhibited opening, the verses read as follows: July—"Venam non ledas hiis utendum fore credas" ("Do not pierce your vein, you ought to be believe this will be useful"); August—"Hic calidos vitare cibos, hoc mense nocivos" ("Avoid warm food, this month you have no need of it"); September—"Hic venam pandes, species tunc sedule mandes" ("Blood-letting is good, and then you ought to eat spices"); October—"Lac ede caprinum, cariophyla, lac vel ovinum" ("Drink cattle or curdled sheep's milk"). These verses correspond, but only in part, with a widely disseminated set, perhaps the most influential of its kind, the anonymous *Regimen sanitatis Salernitanum*, which sometimes bore the title *Flos medicinae* or *Lilium medicinae*. The compilation, whose attribution to the famous medical school in Salerno most likely is spurious, once was dated as early as the eleventh century, but is now generally held to have originated in the late thirteenth century. Printed in over 250 editions, the text, in whole or in part, survives in thousands of manuscript copies. Cat. no. 31's verses, however, correspond more closely with another *regimen mensium* that, although it shared certain sources with the Salernian text, enjoyed far more limited circulation. Known after the sole surviving manuscript (Graz, UB, Hs. 287 [olim 39/17 f°]) as the "Grazer Monatsregeln," this monthly regime represents the oldest surviving German translation of a Latin regimen mensium.[2] The manuscript in Graz acquires significance in relation to cat. no. 31 in that the latter's set of hexameters corresponds to that in Graz with the sole exception of those for May. Previously dated to the late twelfth century, it is now placed more reliably in the early thirteenth century. In content, if not in disposition, and to a certain extent in style, the program in the Houghton booklet resembles that found in the Austrian missal of Heinrich von Walihlinge, otherwise known as the Walling Missal, dated c. 1310 (St. Florian, StiftsB, cod. III, 221 A).[3] The two schemes are similar in adopting zodiacal imagery from a calendrical context without illustrating a calendar per se.

Jeffrey F. Hamburger

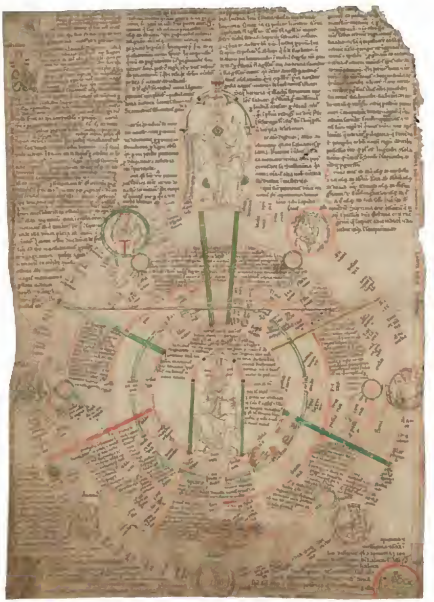
1 Hamburger 2010d. For the use of poetic forms in medicinal treatises, see Keil 1979.

2 Wilhelm 1960, 1:48–49 and 2:123–25; Keil 1968; Keil 1972 and 1981; Schnell 2003, 252, 254–55. A full digitization of the manuscript can be found on the digital library of the Graz Universitätsbibliothek, https://ubuni-graz.at/de/kontakt/oeffnungszeiten-standorte/sondersammlungen/digitalisierte-bestaende/. See more generally Hirth 1982–83.

3 G. Schmidt 1962, 60–61.

32. Septenarium pictum

Paris (?), northern France, c. 1200
Parchment, 1 leaf, 440 x 331 mm
Harvard University, Houghton Library, MS Typ 584
Joseph Baers, Frankfurt, *Lagerkatalog* 750 (1929), no. 822; Florence (1932), no. 2; Bernard M. Rosenthal, cat. 23 (1971), no. 93; gift of Mr. and Mrs. James H. Case III, 1971.



A large circular diagram, divided by green and red spokes into seven pie-like "slices" and crowned by a compartment containing an enthroned figure of *Superbia* (Pride), dominates the center of the sheet, extending all the way to the (trimmed) edges to either side and displacing the columns of explanatory text, four above and two below. Complementing the figure of Pride at the margin is that of Christ at the center. A tiny prick at the center of his chest indicates that a compass was used to draw the large circle (as it was for the others as well). Each wedge-shaped portion of the diagram is marked at its outermost circumference by a roundel containing a seated female figure personifying one of the Seven Deadly Sins (Vainglory, Anger, Envy, Sloth, Avarice, Greed, and Lust), which in turn are linked to other sets of sevens (septenaries): the seven Beatitudes as enumerated in the Sermon on the Mount, the seven petitions of the *Pater noster* ("Our Father"), and the Seven Gifts of the Holy Spirit. In their attributes, the Seven Deadly Sins clearly follow one of the most influential moralizing treatises of the Middle Ages, the *Psychomachia* of Prudentius (348–after 405). In a roundel at the upper left, a bust-length figure of Christ as judge (labeled "iudicans"), holds a book in his left hand and with his right extends an open palm signifying speech, as if to make of the sheet an open appeal to the viewer. The entire diagram is predicated on numerological exegesis, to which is linked typology. Above the roundel of Christ, another contains the figure of Adam, the typological counterpart of Christ, the New Adam. The roundel has been trimmed, as have all other sides of the sheet, which was originally blank on the verso and never formed part of a book. Comparison with other examples suggests that Adam originally would have been paired with Moses at the upper right. At the lower left and right representations of the Resurrection and the Nativity can still be seen, although they too are partially trimmed. The four corners thus mark four stages of salvation history, which would have been defined by inscriptions on the frame, had it survived, in traditional terms as *ante legem*, before the law; *post legem*, after the law; *sub gratiae*, under grace (*tempus peregrinationis quantum ad Christum*); and *post gratiam* or *tempus peregrinationis ecclesie*, after grace. Further inscriptions would have complemented the septenaries at the center with the seven Sundays of Septuagesima, the penitential period of seven weeks prior to the beginning of Lent on Ash Wednesday. This framework serves to define the function of the diagram not simply as a tool of theological exposition, but also of penitential practice.

The structure and content of the diagram indicates that it derives directly from the illustrations and accompanying commentary in Lothar of Segni's commentary on the Mass, *De missarum mysteriis*, written in the late twelfth century before he became Pope Innocent III in 1198, but first illustrated in Paris very close to 1200, as indicated by a recently discovered manuscript (Gotha, ForschungsB, Cod. Memb. I 123).[1] The diagram served as an independent aid to teaching, in this case offering an allegorical exposition of the *Pater noster*, which survives in eight examples, all of which also point to its origin in the context of the Parisian schools toward the very end of the twelfth or the beginning of the thirteenth century.[2] Although bound into a book, the copy in Oxford (Bodleian Library, MS. Lyell 84) originally also stood as a separate sheet, as did that in Philadelphia (FPL, Lewis E M 66:16a). Those in Lyon (Bm, ms. 863), London (BL, Add. MS. 60628 and Royal MS. 14 B.IX), and a second copy in Oxford (Bodleian Library, MS. Lat. th. c. 2) are appended to the end of Peter of Poitier's *Compendium historiae in genealogia Christi* in roll form, which also served as an aid in classroom instruction (cf. cat. no. 94). Only in one copy, that in Naples (BN, ms. VIII C 3), which can be associated with a workshop active in Paris c. 1200 and is perhaps the oldest extant example, is the diagram incorporated into a codex and spread across an opening (ff. 5v–6r).

Jeffrey F. Hamburger

1 Hamburger 2013b.
2 Rehm 1994, 78–81, not consulted by Cleaver 2013. For early modern representations of the *Pater noster*, see Mastacchi 2012.

33. James of Milan, Stimulus divini amoris (ff. 1r–89r); Isaac of Nineveh, De contemplationis perfectione (ff. 90r–162r)

Northern Italy, c. 1430–35
Parchment, ff. 162, 170 x 120 (ff. 1–89: 110 x 71) (ff. 90–162: 108 x 70) mm
Harvard University, Houghton Library, MS Typ 146
Cardinal Niccolò Albergati; sold by Otto Ranschburg in 1943; deposited by Philip Hofer, 1967, his bequest 1984.

f. 1r

A FIFTEENTH-CENTURY NOTE ON F. 89R OF THIS MANUSCRIPT informs us that it was donated by the Bolognese cardinal Nicolò Albergati to the Carthusian monastery of San Lorenzo in Florence, where he was buried. Albergati's choice of recipient for this gift and numerous other manuscripts, including an extremely lavish bible created for the cardinal himself now at Yale University, was influenced not only by his membership of the Carthusian order, but also by his special relationship with the monastery.[1]

It is unlikely that the present manuscript was originally made for the cardinal, since it contains two distinct texts, copied by different scribes: the *Stimulus amoris*, a Franciscan devotional work written by friar James of Milan, and the *De contemplationis perfectione*, which is attributed to the mystic theologian Isaac, bishop of Nineveh.[2] The combination of different texts and hands leads us to believe that cat. no. 33 was assembled at a later date, perhaps when Albergati came into possession of the two works and affixed his coat of arms at the beginning of each (ff. 1r and 90r). It is true that in the first folio, the palette of the medallion with Albergati's arms—surrounded by a filigree frieze drawn in ink with floral elements and gold ciliated spheres—is very similar to that of the decorated initials, which are analogous to a number of manuscripts produced in Bologna and Emilia in the 1420s and 1430s. The comparison might also be extended to the image of the Crucifixion, which is stylistically close to certain works by the so-called Master of 1446, whose decorative solutions in the embellishment of golden grounds as well as the framing type, point to a different circle of production in Emilia.[3] Consequently, we might compare the Houghton figure of the crucified Christ (f. 1r) with that of a painting in the National Gallery in Prague, attributed to Antonio Orsini, an artist who played a leading role in the d'Este court at Ferrara. The image of the blessed Isaac of Nineveh presenting his work to two kneeling monks that introduces the *De contemplationis* (f. 90r, see image facing "Guides to Good Living"), on the other hand, evinces strikingly different associations, and must be attributed to a different artist, one more inclined to subtle renditions of skin. This tendency, which is characteristic of Lombard or Veneto traditions, is visible here in the figure of the saint, as well as the detailed quality of the shaded landscape.[4] Likewise, the vertical frieze and the historiated initial on f. 90r differ markedly from the bas-de-page decoration, suggesting again the possibility of connections between Lombard and Ferrarese production: further indication that this manuscript may have been produced in Ferrara, at the time of the council of Ferrara, which was solemnly inaugurated on January 8, 1438 by Pope Eugene IV's delegate, the very same Cardinal Albergati who may have also obtained the sumptuous Yale bible on that occasion.[5]

Massimo Medica

1 Da Bisticci 1976, 2:133–34. On the Yale bible (New Haven, Beinecke Library, MS 407) see Chiarelli 1985, 195–200.
2 Until the nineteenth century, the *Stimulus amoris*, which was written in the second half of the thirteenth century, was attributed to St. Bonaventure.
3 On the Master of 1446 see Medica 2004b.
4 The Crucifixion on f. 1r also shows affinities to the Massari Pietà in the Pinacoteca Nazionale, Ferrara (inv. 43), attributed to a talented artist active in Ferrara at the beginning of the fifteenth century. As for the decoration on f. 90r, it is noteworthy how the kneeling figure, perhaps the soul modeled on the psalmist, in the initial *A* (*Anima que deum diligit*) is dressed in white, possibly an allusion to the Carthusian order. I am grateful to Andrea de Marchi for drawing both of these points to my attention.
5 Mariana Canova 1997, 250.

34. The Dream of St. Romuald (cutting)
Master of San Michele Murano (illuminator)

Murano, Italy, c. 1420
Parchment, 210 x 135 mm
Museum of Fine Arts, Boston, 1973.692, gift of Mr. John Goelet in honor of Hanns Swarzenski
Owned by Jacob Hirsch as of 1961; collection of F. Stern, New York; given to MFA by John Goelet on December 18, 1973.

This fragment, probably cut from the interior of a large historiated *O* (*Os iusti meditabitur*), comes from a now dispersed gradual from one of two Camaldolese monasteries on the Venetian island of Murano, San Michele or San Mattia, of which other initials have been identified.[1] The anonymous artist, known as the Master of San Michele a Murano, was active in the first quarter of the fifteenth century. He worked on numerous commissions for the Camaldolese in Venice, among these a gradual (Berlin, SMPK-KK, Cod. 78 F 1), which was a companion to the book from which the present cutting was taken.[2] Formerly identified with the young Belbello da Pavia, the illuminator of this fragment was probably also originally from Lombardy.[3] Recently, another initial surfaced at a Christie's sale in London that can be attributed to the anonymous master.[4] Like cat. no. 34, its protagonist is a haloed monk, almost certainly Romuald, founder of the Camaldolese order.

Dressed in a white habit, St. Romuald sleeps, kneeling, his head resting on an altar. The saint is surrounded by his brothers, witnesses to his vision. A ladder extends from the altar to God the Father, who is seated on one of its upper rungs. Three angels, climbing the ladder, invite the monks to ascend with them.[5] The episode, absent from the *Vita beati Romaldi* by St. Peter Damian, was recorded in the *Alia vita sive Sermo de vita S. Romualdi*.[6] Romuald, seeking a site for the foundation of a new monastery, encountered a man called Maldulus, who told him of a place in the Alps, which the saint, upon seeing it, immediately named *Campum bellum*. Tired from the journey, Romuald fell asleep. In his dream he saw a ladder similar—his hagiographer added—to that of Jacob (*instar Jacob scalam*), on which monks, clothed in white, climbed to the heavens. It is this foundation story, broadly dispersed through hagiographical sources, that the illuminator of this cutting depicted, though the narrative is compressed. Only angels climb the ladder, a choice probably determined by the biblical model of Jacob's ladder (Gen 28:10–17).[7] The celestial ladder rests directly on the altar, suggesting the sacred nature of the place where the monastery would be built, and further assimilating Romuald's dream with that of Jacob at Bethel, who slept with his head on a stone that he later consecrated as an altar (Gen 28:18).

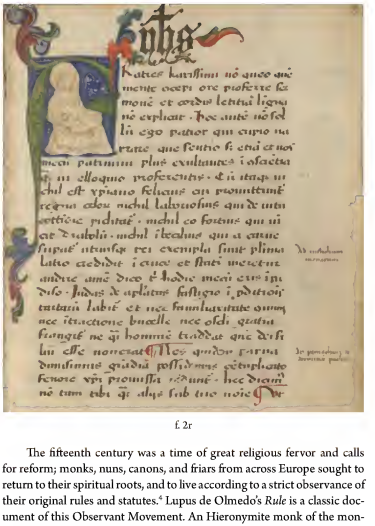
Milvia Bollati

1 Levi D'Ancona 1970, 3–56; Padovani 1975, 48n28; Edith Kirsch in Vikan 1975, 70–74, no. 21; Russell 1980; Toscano 1998c.
2 Meiss 1961, 132n28 with an attribution to the workshop of Belbello; Padovani 1975, 48n28 and Padovani 1978, 31 assigning it to the Master of San Michele a Murano.
3 For biographical information on the artist see Lollini 2004b.
4 Christie's, London, June 12, 2013, lot 11.
5 On the theme of the celestial ladder see Heck 1997.
6 Tabacco 1957; AASS, February, part 2, ch. 10, 136–37.
7 A more faithful depiction of the event with monks rather than angels climbing the ladder, is encountered in a painting attributed to the ps.-Jacopino in the Pinacoteca Nazionale, Bologna (inv. 287) and a leaf painted by the Florentine Attavante degli Attavanti, preserved today in the Wildenstein collection of the Musée Marmottan, Paris (no. 15). Both were published by Christian Heck (1996, 293, figs. 110–11).

35. Lupus de Olmedo, Regula monachorum

Northern Italy or Spain, c. 1430–60
Parchment, ff. 182, 174 x 124 (107–10 x 82–84) mm
Harvard University, Houghton Library, MS Lat 189
Gift of Imrie de Vegh (1906–62), November 25, 1949; accession record: *49M-53.

Although St. Jerome (c. 347–520) never wrote a rule for monks or nuns, his life and writings inspired followers of the monastic life throughout the Middle Ages.[1] In the fourteenth and fifteenth centuries no fewer than five new monastic congregations were founded that adopted his name, inspired in particular by Jerome's accounts of the extreme asceticism of the early monks and hermits living in the Egyptian desert (Jerome himself lived as a hermit in the desert for three years).[2] The monastic rule in this manuscript by Lupus de Olmedo (1370–1433) was composed entirely from sentences taken from Jerome's writings.[3]



f. 2r

The fifteenth century was a time of great religious fervor and calls for reform; monks, nuns, canons, and friars from across Europe sought to return to their spiritual roots, and to live according to a strict observance of their original rules and statutes.[4] Lupus de Olmedo's *Rule* is a classic document of this Observant Movement. An Hieronymite monk of the monastery of Our Lady of Guadalupe, one of the most important monasteries in Spain, Lupus served as general of the order from 1418–21. His attempts at imposing reforms were met with resistance, however, and he founded a new branch of the order, the Hieronymites of the Observance, or of Lombardy (*Girolamiti dell'osservanza o di Lombardia*, or the *Monaci eremiti de S. Girolamo di Lombardia*). His new *Regula* was approved by Pope Martin V in 1428. His vision of the monastic was an austere one, discouraging study, for example, and prohibiting eating meat entirely. Seven houses were founded in Spain (they rejoined the original Hieronymite order in 1567); twenty foundations in Italy persisted until the nineteenth century.

This manuscript has been attributed to the Netherlands and to Italy by previous scholars.[5] It is in fact difficult to find exact parallels to the style of the opening initial of St. Jerome (f. 2r), which is drawn in silverpoint and left uncolored (possibly unfinished). The small initials within the text which are alternately red and green (instead of the expected blue), are also unusual. Based on details of the script and spellings, as well as the evidence of the binding, however, we suggest Spain as the likely place of origin.[6]

Laura Light

1 The very popular *Regula monachorum* (Lambert 1970, no. 560; *PL* 30:391–426), a rule for nuns in the form a letter from Jerome to Eustochium, is spurious and probably dates from the fourteenth century (Rice 1985, 246n47); note that the manuscript described here does not include this text, although

it was listed as if it did by Lambert.

2 Rice 1985, 68–72.

3 Variant forms of his name include Lope de Olmedo, Lopez Olmedo, Lupo d'Olmedo; printed in *PL* 30:319–86. Thirty-five manuscripts listed in Lambert 1970, no. 552.

4 A good introduction is found in Mixson and Roest 2015.

5 Bond and Faye 1962, 239–40, no doubt influenced by the opening initial suggested the Netherlands; Wieck 1983b, 110 and fig. 81, suggested "Italy?, XVth century." A parchment label on the back cover reads, "Regula sancti hieronimi. Loci sancti b[eate] verone"; perhaps the monastery of the hermits of St. Jerome, Fiesole congregation, an Hieronymite order found in 1360 by Carlo di Montegranelli (d. 1417). There is also a fifteenth-century ex libris: "Petri de <erased> est liber iste." The manuscript has been discussed by Alcina 1964;Revuelta Somalo 1982; Revuelta Somalo 1984; Sangrador 2010, 264; Sigüenza and García López 1907.

6 Abbreviations characteristic of Spanish manuscripts found here include oia (omnia), cu (cum), aie (anime), no (non), pot (potest); notable spellings include: "hedificant," and perhaps "yeremia" and "yeronimi." The binding was examined by Nicholas Pickwoad in 1993, who suggested it could have been bound in Spain or Italy.

36. St. Clare, The Rule of St. Clare

Probably Bologna, northern Italy, c. 1420
Parchment, ff. ii (a non-consecutive fourteenth-century bifolium from an imperfect copy of the same text) + 25 + ii (a bifolium from an imperfect copy of the same text), 210 x 154 (143 x 105) mm
Boston Public Library, MS q Med. 123 (formerly Ms. 1545)
Sold at Sotheby's, London, February 7, 1951, lot 274; purchased by BPL in 1953 from Maggs (cat. 816, no. 155).

f. 2v

The text of the first rule written by St. Clare of Assisi (1194–1253) was approved on September 16, 1252 by Cardinal Rinaldo di Lenne, and authorized by Pope Innocent IV on August 9, 1253.[1] Through the offices of Giovanni Gaetano Orsini, cardinal-protector of the Order of Minors, Urban IV (r. 1261–64) issued the papal bull *Beata Clara* on October 18, 1263 establishing the Order of St. Clare that allowed female followers of St. Francis to be cloistered and, at the same time, to hold communal property rights.[2] The names of Orsini, who was cardinal deacon of S. Nicola in Carcere Tulliano in Rome, and of Pope Urban IV, are recorded in the present manuscript in the first lines of the prologue to the text of *The Rule of St. Clare*.

This copy was written and illuminated in the fifteenth century. Its incipit is illustrated by a full-page miniature of an enthroned St. Clare presenting *The Rule* to her sisters (f. 2v). St. Francis, accompanied by two angels, prepares to crown her from above. Despite having been heavily repainted in the eighteenth or nineteenth century, the illumination still displays some fifteenth-century traits which allow its original place of production to be localized to Emilia, and most likely to Bologna. For example, the rich foliate border, punctuated by buds and floral motifs, are strikingly similar to those in a Venetian Servite missal (now Venice, BNM, ms. Lat. III, 120) painted around 1420 by a Bolognese artist recently identified as Giovanni di Biagio, who is documented in his native city and Venice.[3] Furthermore, the design of the saint's throne is almost identical to that in the Coronation of the Virgin on folio eight of the aforementioned missal, and also in a miniature that marks the opening of one of five volumes of the *Lectura super psalterio* (Padua, Bibl. Univ., ms. 692), which was also executed by Di Biagio in Venice.[4] Though the poor condition of the miniature of the presentation of St. Clare's rule impedes further comparison, the evidence presented here permits us to date and localize the Boston Public Library manuscript. Without a doubt, it was made for an as yet unidentified community of Urbanist Poor Clares (*Ordo Sanctae Clarae regulae Urbani IV*) from northern Italy, perhaps with ties to Venice.[5]

Massimo Medica

1 Frugoni 2006, 49–50. The original bull remained hidden for a long time, despite the existence of a few copies, therefore it had a limited circulation until the fifteenth century, when the order was reformed by Sister Coletta di Corbi (1381–1447).

2 Ibid., 130.

3 Medica 2014, 60–62. On this artist see Medica 2004d.

4 Medica 1992.

5 Nothing is known of the provenance of the manuscript before its appearance for sale in London at Sotheby's (February 7, 1951, lot 274) and at Maggs in 1953 (cat. 816, no. 155). On f. 25v, a vernacular text apparently written in the late 1400s, which reproduces part of the prayer of the Venetian humanist Leonardo Giustinian (Luisi 1983, 1:391), suggests a connection between MS q Med. 123 and Venice. Perhaps the manuscript belonged to the convent of Poor Clares, Santa Chiara in Isola.

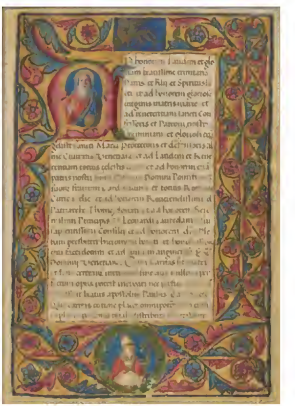
37. Mariegola della Scuola del Santissimo Sacramento nella Chiesa di San Geminiano

Benedetto Bordon and workshop (illuminators)

Venice, Italy, 1504–1799
Parchment (ff. 79) and paper (ff. 32), 295 x 203 (188 x 117) mm[1]
Isabella Stewart Gardner Museum, 2.b.2.4
Owned by Edward Cheney; John Ruskin, and Charles Eliot Norton, who sold it to Isabella Stewart Gardner in 1903.

This manuscript is a relic from the ancient Venetian parish church of San Geminiano, which was demolished in 1807 by the Napoleonic regime to make way for a grand staircase and ballroom for the French royal palace in St. Mark's Square. Founded in the sixth century, the church stood for a millennium opposite the Basilica of St. Mark, which it predated by two centuries. After it was refashioned by Jacopo Sanso-

vino in 1557–60, San Geminiano was renowned as "a ruby among many pearls."[2] Calls for the Renaissance landmark to be rebuilt after the fall of Napoleon in 1814 were to no avail as its sumptuous interior was gone; its paintings, sculptures, altars, and tombs dispersed. San Geminiano's destruction was the most dramatic and mourned architectural casualty of the fall of the Republic of Venice.[3]



ff. 9v–10r

The manuscript was the statute book (*mariegola*) of the lay confraternity of the Holy Sacrament, which in 1504 was granted patronal rights of the chapel dedicated to the church's titular saint Geminianus, a fourth-century bishop of Modena. The sodality was one of the numerous Eucharistic brotherhoods that rapidly established themselves in every parish church in Venice during the first four decades of the 1500s in response to growing lay devotion to the Holy Sacrament. Its primary purpose was to organize celebrations for the feast of Corpus Domini and to transport the host to its terminally ill members.[4] Every Venetian confraternity owned a mariegola, in which they recorded their constitution, agreement with the host church, and government-passed laws and acts that regulated their administration. Mariegole could also include additional documents such as inventories of possessions, lists of members, hagiographical legends, liturgical texts, and other miscellaneous items. Confraternities commissioned professional scribes to write the books' vernacular texts and often major artists to paint prefatory illuminated miniatures depicting iconic subjects that portrayed their spiritual ideals, or occasionally narrative scenes to illustrate specific laws. Encased in bindings of tooled leather or velvet embellished with ornamental metal bosses and plaques, the bound volume was used as a para-liturgical object, and its illuminations as devotional images. Members were instructed to gaze at the holy figures depicted in the illuminations and even to kiss them as a sign of piety. Mariegole were also carried in processions and displayed on the altar during confraternity functions.[5]

The Confraternity of the Holy Sacrament in the church of San Geminiano commissioned Venice's leading book artist, Benedetto Bordon (c. 1450–1530), to decorate its mariegola for its inauguration at the church in 1504.[6] Bordon was a versatile illuminator, draughtsman, editor of illustrated texts, and master of a workshop. Highly sought after around 1500, he enjoyed the patronage of patricians and erudite printer-publishers, while his workshop served devotional confraternities whose members were largely non-noble *cittadini* and *popolani* (see cat. nos. 234, 240–41).[7] The Gardner manuscript has a double-page illumination with a foliate border framing a verdant landscape where a vision of the Eucharistic pietà (the dead Christ emerging from a chalice, known as *Cristo in cain* in Venetian dialect) appears atop a processional standard before kneeling confraternal brethren attending to the host monstrance held by a priest (f. 9v).[8] Inhabiting the margin is the holy monogram and, in the border of the facing page are depicted the lion of St. Mark symbolizing the scuola's submission to the secular jurisdiction of the State,[9] and St. Geminianus holding his bishop's croiser (f. 10r). Within the painted initial *A* is God the Father holding a globe and raising his hand in blessing. The figure types, attention to dress, saturated palette, and atmospheric open-air setting are analogous with contemporary religious and classicizing secular miniatures and woodcuts universally attributed to Bordon and his workshop. Jesus's sorrowful face with sunken eyes and hollow cheeks is akin to that of the crucified Christ in the Vallumbrosan Missal printed by LucAntonio Giunta in 1503 (see cat. no. 242). The angels holding his bloody arms, posed in contrapposto stances and dressed in vibrant short-tunics and gold boots recall Bordon's classical males, particularly the figure of Mercury painted in a copy of the 1494 edition of Lucian's *Opera varia*,[10] and musicians in the *Triumph of Caesar* monumental print of 1504 (see cat. no. 245).[11] God the Father, whose bearded face is lit from the left producing a pronounced chiaroscuro, is strikingly similar to God the Creator in an antiphonal for the Franciscan convent of San Nicolò della Lattuga in Venice dating to around 1500.[12] The men's accurately depicted costumes indicate their roles within the confraternity and the host church. The short-haired man wearing a crimson cope embroidered with gold is likely a portrait of Girolamo Boneto described as the "piovan de dicta giesa" (parish priest of the church) in the mariegola (f. 1r). The two prominently placed men dressed in purple togas with black shoulder sashes (stolae), were probably important members of the *banca*, the scuola's governing board.[13] The hooded brother dressed in white is the *sfadigante*, whose task it was to carry the heavy Eucharistic standard in processions.[14] Typically for Bordon's compositions, the figures are posed close to the picture plane in a landscape populated by fluffy trees and rocks highlighted with gold, a distant brown-walled and turreted city, and a receding blue mountain range.[15] The exceptional naturalism of the anatomy of Christ, whose finely modeled muscular torso heightens the miniatures' pathos and mysticism, suggests the intervention of Bordon in an otherwise workshop production.

The Gardner mariegola was used and added to continuously for three centuries and so is an unparalleled historical record of the confraternity's activities and occupation of San Geminiano.[16] Noteworthy entries among its hitherto unstudied texts include an early sixteenth-century inventory of their liturgical possessions, including silver, paintings, and ceremonial

banners (ff. 71r–74r);[17] two rosters of the confraternity's male members dated 1545 and 1572, the former recording their professions (ff. 63r–64r and 42r–43r, respectively); a bequest to the confraternity in 1569 from Benedetto Manzini, the famed parish priest who instigated and supervised Sansovino's renovation of San Geminiano to which he donated a new organ with shutters painted by Veronese (ff. 36r–39r);[18] and a description of the church's interior in 1572 with the location of altars and tombs, including the funerary monument of Melchiorre Michiel (1489–1572), the procurator of St. Mark (ff. 44r–46r).[19] Inserted at the end of the volume are printed government decrees dating from 1771 to 1799, of which the last item is a license granted to the confraternity by Austria, which vied with France for control of Venice after the Republic collapsed.

Anne-Marie Eze

1 The justification dimensions apply to the sixteenth-century document only.
2 According to the architect's son. Sansovino 1583, 60.
3 Franzoi and Di Stefano 1976, 314–16; Zorzi 1984, 69–71, 223–27; and Plant 2002, 65–67.
4 Vio 2004, 20–21 and Marcon 2007, 280–82.
5 Humphrey 2007, 6–7. See also Humphrey 2015.
6 Szépe 2004, 233–34, fig. 172 and Le Deschault de Monredon 2015, 188, fig. 3. For Bordon, see Marcon 2004a.
7 For six confraternity commissions of Bordon's workshop dating from the early 1490s to 1510s, see Marcon 2007, 291, figs. 12 and 14, and Armstrong 2012, 358–59.
8 Puglisi and Barcham 2011, 108–13, no. 40. Women were also members of the confraternity but they are not depicted in the miniature. Vio 2004, 20.
9 Marcon 2007, 289.
10 Vienna, ÖNB, Ink. 4.G.27. Hermann 1931, 220–25, no. 140, especially plates LXX, no. 40, LXXI, nos. 1 and 3, LXXII, nos. 2 and 4.
11 For the twelve-sheet woodcut designed by Bordon and cut by Jacob of Strasbourg in 1504, see Massing 1990, esp. 2, woodcut I, and Armstrong 2008b.
12 Vatican City, BAV, ms. Ross. 1195, f. 46 (originally Antiphonal No. 2, f. 4). Armstrong 2003, 2:653–62, esp. 668, fig. 5. See also Armstrong 2014a and 2014b.
13 For the administration of *scuole piccole*, see Vio 2004, 18–19.
14 Ibid., 28.
15 Armstrong 2003, 2:662; Armstrong 2012, 356.
16 The earliest contents of the mariegola are written in a formal Gothic book hand. Thereafter, texts are written in cursive script by numerous hands or are printed. Its contents are not strictly chronological due to insertions and apparent reordering of leaves. The mariegola was bound three times. Its first binding is described in the inventory of possessions as "Una mariegola fornida de arzento e couerta de veluto cremexin" (f. 71r). It was rebound between 1639 and 1648, and its present faded red velvet binding dates to between 1739 and 1744 as evidenced by rust marks from these covers' metal ornaments on ff. 75r and 113r.
17 Though the inventory appears between two entries dated 1636 and 1639, it can be assigned to the 1500s by its formal Gothic script.
18 Manzini was commemorated in the church by a marble bust portrait by Alessandro Vittoria of around 1561 (now Venice, Galleria Giorgio Franchetti alla Ca' d'Oro) and a painted portrait in the guise of St. Severus on the organ shutters of San Geminiano by Veronese, 1560 (Modena, Galleria Estense). Martineau and Hope 1983, 388, cat. S38; Zorzi 1984, 223, 225, fig. 198; and Rearick 1988, 68–71, cat. nos. 29–31.
19 Probably owing to Michiel's donation of a relic of the True Cross to the guild of scabbard-makers, who had patronal rights of the altar dedicated to St. Helen in San Geminiano, he was permitted to erect a full-length sculpture of himself in military dress flanked by figures of Justice and Fortune inside the church above its main entrance. Zorzi 1984, 223 and Vio 2004, 263.

38. Pope Innocent IV, Bull

Lyons, France, March 7, 1248
Parchment leaf with lead seal, 360 x 350 mm
Harvard University, Houghton Library, MS Typ 418
Purchased from Rosenthal with Philip Hofer's Printing and Graphic Arts Fund, 1956.

The contemporary term for this kind of papal letter is "bull" from the Latin *bulla*, which is the word for the lead seal found at the bottom of the document.[1] The papacy offered bulls on a variety of subjects, but the prerogatives of ecclesiastical bodies made up a large portion of papal business. Monasteries such as Saint-Bertin frequently petitioned the papal court—at no small expense—for letters outlining their rights and obligations, especially in the face of encroachment from both secular lords and ecclesiastical rivals.

The seal, a guarantor of the document's authenticity and a sign of its official nature, is imprinted on one side with name of the pope issuing the bull and on the reverse with the faces of the apostles Peter and Paul. The *plica*, or fold, at the bottom of the parchment helped support the weight of the seal. The red and yellow cord that attached the seal was a standard feature. The document is written in the chancery hand, a minuscule script with elongated ascenders and descenders (the stems and tails of letters). Here the name of the author is in an elongated majuscule script.

This particular letter defends the right of the monastery of Saint-Bertin to send representatives to their granges, distant farming estates typically worked by tenants, to collect debts. This bull is dated 1248 and was rendered from Lyons, the residence of Innocent IV for most of his pontificate. It was copied into a cartulary of the abbey and was the first of two such papal letters rendered to the abbey within a span of eight days.[2] The second letter also certifies privileges of the abbey, allowing the monks to retain and use their movable and immovable property save for lands granted to them by a lord. Taken together, these bulls underscore the desire of local religious houses to gain the imprimatur of the pope and the desire of medieval popes to exert power through the written word.

Zachary Matus

1 Frenz 1986, 23; Barbiche 2000, 35.
2 Dewitte, Haigneré, and Bled 1886, 29–30.

39. Pope Clement IV, Bull

Perugia, Italy, August 4, 1265
Parchment leaf with lead seal, 190 x 270 mm
Harvard University, Houghton Library, MS Typ 736
Bequest of Philip Hofer, 1984.

The term papal bull refers more to the appearance of the letter—i.e., a document to which is appended a lead seal—than to its content. This letter, however, is representative of much of the business of the papacy in the thirteenth century and includes a number of stock phrases and vocabulary. Papal bulls frequently record papal decisions rather than papal dictations. In this bull from 1265, Pope Clement IV allows the brothers and sisters of a hospital in Stendal (a Hanseatic town in Saxony-Anhalt, Germany) the right to use their own chapel for religious services. While such an issue might seem beneath the notice of the papacy, Masses and other sacraments generated offerings or fees that were jealously guarded. Whether the rector of the hospital sought this bull to raise money or simply for the sake of convenience, the papal decision prevented local religious authorities from rescinding the privilege.

The hand is that of the apostolic chancery, a legible minuscule developed from Caroline script, but also recognizably Gothic.[1] The chancery hand prized legibility and allowed for only a few standardized abbreviations. As this example demonstrates, scribes justified and ruled (in hard point) the text without the use of visible lines or pin marks. The letter itself has few adornments, limited to the elongated majuscule at the beginning of the letter, the flourishes between the letter pair *c* and *t*, and elongated ascenders and descenders. All of these forms represent standard chancery practice.[2]

The standardization of both the script of the document and the language of the decision indicates the growth of a papal bureaucracy with unparalleled (if inefficient) international reach that relied on the exchange of letters. By 1260, the papal chancery employed a hundred specialized "draftsmen of apostolic letters" directed by a smaller group of notaries under the authority of a vice-chancellor and chancellor. To put this in perspective, in the same era, the kingdom of France had no more than ten notaries and secretaries.[3]

Zachary Matus

1 Frenz 1986, 25.
2 Ibid.
3 Barbiche 1984, 118.

40. Pope Sixtus IV, Dum fructus uberes

Rome, Italy, 1475
Parchment, ff. 17, 166 x 114 (114 x 67) mm
Harvard University, Houghton Library, MS Richardson 28[1]
Purchased in 1936 by William K. Richardson, his bequest, 1951.

f. 10v

This manuscript has long been described as a presentation copy of papal letters to the Augustinians compiled by the order's cardinal-protector Guillaume d'Estouteville (c. 1412–83) and gifted by him to Pope Sixtus IV (r. 1471–84), whose coat of arms and portrait are painted within.[2] In fact, the volume's fifteen decrees issued by ten popes between the thirteenth and fifteenth centuries constitute a single papal bull, the *Dum fructus uberes* (*Privileges for the Eremite Friars of St. Augustine*).[3] Granted by Sixtus IV to the Augustinians on February 7, 1475, the bull confirmed privileges promulgated by his predecessors, abolished limiting bulls, and added new rights.[4] The watershed bull extended to mendicants privileges granted by the della Rovere pope with the *Mare magnum* to his Franciscan confrères a year earlier, thus promoting greater parity between the two orders.[5] D'Estouteville was a wealthy career ecclesiastic, successively, bishop, archbishop, abbot, and cardinal of a series of important institutions in his native France and Italy until he eventually became dean of the College of Cardinals in Rome (1472) and chamberlain to Sixtus IV (1477).[6] He was considered *papabile* twice but never elected pope due to fears that through him France would exert excessive influence over Italy. After settling in Rome in the mid-1450s, he built a formidable public profile as a pioneering patron of Renaissance architecture and financier of the popes.[7] The *Dum fructus uberes* was obtained for the Augustinians through d'Estouteville's offices in his capacity as the order's protector, a position he performed with great munificence for over three decades.[8] A prefatory letter and coda to Sixtus's bull composed by the French cardinal indicate that the Houghton manuscript was made at his behest (ff. 1r–2r and 16v–17r).[9] The cardinal's status as intercessor between the pope and

the Augustinian order is emphatically communicated in two miniatures that depict an enthroned Sixtus IV, dressed in sumptuous papal robes and a Franciscan cowl, presenting the bull to kneeling friars (f. 2r), and a group of first, second, and third order Augustinians, represented by a tonsured friar, a nun, and lay brothers and sisters, called *pinzocheri* (f. 10v). The first scene, observed approvingly by St. Augustine, father of the order, portrayed in a profile bust as bishop of Hippo and wearing the Augustinian black habit, is set in the simple interior of a convent. The second, illustrated here, takes place in a landscape with a city on the horizon representing the lay, urban communities to whom the friars ministered. In both presentations, the cardinal takes center stage between the bull's donor and recipients. As the only standing figure and dressed in the scarlet of his rank, he not only mediates but dominates proceedings. These prominently placed portraits recall the monumental likenesses of d'Estouteville on the public art he commissioned to memorialize himself.[10]

The copy of the *Dum fructus uberes* in the Houghton manuscript, was witnessed in d'Estouteville's palace at Sant'Apollinare in Campo Marzio, Rome on March 29, 1475 by two compatriots, Jean Chauveau, treasurer of the cathedral of Angers, and Robert Marniere, archdeacon of Rouen (f. 17r), and authenticated by the cardinal's private secretary and apostolic notary Marco de Maziis of Sassoferrato (ff. 2r, 17v).[11] Produced less than two months after the bull's promulgation, the manuscript was one of multiple commemorative copies, similarly decorated with presentation scenes and bust portraits of Sixtus IV's predecessors blessing their decrees, sent to Augustinian houses.[12] Therefore, the manuscript never belonged to the della Rovere pope but to an unidentified Augustinian first order congregation, which explains the inferior quality of the illumination in comparison to contemporary papal codices. The convent of Sant'Agostino in Rome is a likely candidate, since the Augustinian tertiaries were particularly active at the church where their devotions to the tomb of Monica were conspicuous.[13] Material clues to its provenance are the binder's waste from a fifteenth-century Italian manuscript of the Aristotelian physical *Summa naturalium* (1417) by the Augustinian Paolo Veneto (c. 1369–1429),[14] and two capital letters *D*'s inscribed in black and red ink on the upper cover of its binding and frontispiece, respectively. The latter refer to a single-letter pressmark denoting the location of documents in an archive as opposed to the three-figure alphanumerical shelfmark used in libraries of the period.[15] The manuscript was not copied directly from the original bull—an important license authenticated by a heavy lead papal seal, which was carefully preserved in the order's archive in Rome[16]—but from a less precious exemplar, Philadelphia, University of Pennsylvania, Ms. Codex 736, which contains the text of the bull and letters from d'Estouteville and was witnessed at his palace by the same French prelates and authenticated by de Maziis. However, it is decorated with simple red initials and its script less carefully written.[17] Its contents are almost identical to the Houghton manuscript, diverging only where an error in the Philadelphia manuscript was amended and integrated in its correct form in the exemplum.[18] The anonymous illuminator of the Houghton manuscript's *bianchi girari* frontispiece, miniatures, and papal portraits, whose figures have strange mask-like faces, was probably a friar at a Roman Augustinian convent or at the recipient house. His miscopying of the cardinal's first name "Gulielmus" (in the Philadelphia manuscript) for the Catalan form "Guielermus" (f. 1r) perhaps betrays Spanish origins. Further research on Augustinian scriptoria patronized by d'Estouteville may reveal other works in his hand and identity.

Anne-Marie Eze

1 I am grateful to Elena De Laurentiis for her generous assistance with this entry. There is a notable collection of Augustiniana among the manuscripts bequeathed by W. K. Richardson to Harvard. It comprises five codices in total, including the present manuscript, dating from the twelfth to fifteenth centuries and originating from France, England, and Italy: Houghton Library, MSS Richardson 14, 22, 26, 27, and 28.

2 Hamburger 2010a. Earlier descriptions of the book's author and recipient were ambiguous. Sotheby's, London, December 15, 1936, lot 177; de Ricci 1935–40, 2:2301; Kristeller 1963–97, 5:231; and Wieck 1983b, 115.

3 See Empoli 1682, 328–50 for a full transcription of the bull dated to 1474. The date was corrected to 1475 by Gutiérrez 1983, 177 and Alonso 1997–2006, 3:274, no. 718. The *Dum fructus uberes* consisted of the following bulls in chronological order: Innocent IV: *Religiosam vitam,* 1254 (ff. 7r–8v); Alexander IV: *Quanto studiosus,* 1255 (f. 4r), *Ute eo fortius,* 1256 (ff. 8v–9r), *Oblata nobis,* 1257 (ff. 4v–5r); Boniface VIII: *Sacer orde vester,* 1299 (f. 9r–9v) and *Inter solicitudinis,* 1302 (ff. 2v–3v); Clement VI: *Ad fructus uberes,* 1348 (ff. 9v–10v); Urban VI: *Solet annuere,* 1389 (ff. 3v–4r); Boniface IX: *In sinu sedis apostolice,* 1400 (f. 6r–6v); Martin V: *Sincere devotionis,* 1423 (f. 4r–4v) and *Dum fructus uberes,* 1426 (ff. 5v–6r); Eugene IV: *Ex clementi provisione,* 1434 (f. 5r–5v) and *Ex apostolice provisione,* 1438 (ff. 6v–7r.); Nicholas V: *Sincere devotionis affectus,* 1450 (f. 2v). The discrepancy by a year in the dates of the bulls recorded in different publications stems from the use in the original documents of the pre-Gregorian calendar *Ab incarnatione* with the year beginning on March 25 in the liturgical manner.

4 Gutiérrez 1983, 177–78.

5 Empoli 1682, 328–50; Gutiérrez 1983, 177; Alonso 1997–2006, 3:274, no. 718; and Biferali 2002, 33. According to these scholars the *Dum fructus uberes* is also called *Mare magnum*. I am grateful to Eric Saak for discussing Augustinian bullaria with me.

6 Originally a Benedictine monk of the Cluniac congregation, by his death, his other titles included bishop of Angers and cardinal priest of Santi Silvestro e Martino ai Monti (1439), archpriest of Santa Maria Maggiore (1443), cardinal-protector of the Augustinian order (1446), archbishop of Rouen (1453), bishop of Porto (1457), and bishop of Ostia and Velletri in (1461). Callisen 1936, 405; Esposito 1993; Antoniutti 2003, 23–24; Gill 2009, 25–26.

7 Gill 2009, 29–40.

8 According to a letter sent by Giacomo da L'Aquila to all provincials on March 31, 1475. Gutiérrez 1983, 177–78. For d'Estouteville's major architectural projects for the Augustinians at Sant'Agostino, Rome, and Sant'Oliva, Cori, see Samperi 2003 and Biferali 2002. For the bequest of his library to Sant'Agostino, see Gutiérrez 1965; Esposito Aliano 1980, 319–20; and Sciarra 2009.

9 In the prefatory letter d'Estouteville gives an honorary mention thrice to Ambrogio Massari da Cori (1432–85), the Augustinian order's procurator (representative to the Holy See) from 1470 and later prior general (1476). He enjoyed the favor of Sixtus IV and obtained many privileges for the order from the pope. Gersbach 2013. On the close relationship between Massari and d'Estouteville, see Biferali 2002, 28–40.

10 For example, two sculpted portraits at Santa Maria Maggiore: a marble ciborium with relief of *Pope Liberius Drawing the Plan in the Miraculous Snow* and an altar for the relics of St. Jerome made by Mina da Fiesole, in the early 1460s. Callisen 1936 and Valiela 2011.

11 For Marco de Maziis, see Parisi 2007, 153, doc. 14.6 and 176, doc. 99.5. For the two Frenchmen, also referred to as Giovanni Cavem/Caven/Cavan/Canuta) and Roberto Maginiere, see ibid. under Chauveau and Maginiere. The former also witnessed d'Estouteville's will, and the latter is perhaps identifiable with Robert de Croixmare, canon and archdeacon who succeeded d'Estouteville as archbishop of Rouen in 1483. Gill 2001, 371.

12 Three examples known to me are:
1. Leiria (Portugal), Bibl. do Seminário Maior, Bulário dos Eremitas de Santo Agostinho, Rome, November 10, 1476, for the order's Portuguese mother house Santo Agostinho de Lisboa. Gomes 1992, esp. 373–75.
2. Bergamo, Bibl. Civ., ms. Cassaf. 1.10, Rome, February 1496, for the Lombard congregation of Augustinians in Brescia, commissioned by Bartolomeo da Palazzolo (1426/30–1502), prior of the Augustinian convent of Santa Maria del Popolo in Rome from 1492. It was apparently illuminated in the scriptorium of Sant'Agostino in Cremona (Marubbi 1995). The manuscript is inscribed: "Fratris Bartolomei de Palazzolo" (f. 1r) and "Ad usum fratris Faustini de Brixia" (f. 3r) (Gamba 2009). Also at the Biblioteca Civica Angelo Mai, ms. MAB 9 is a late fifteenth-century manuscript of the *Apologia religionis Fratrum Eremitarum Ordinis Sancti Augustini* by Paolo Olmo da Bergamo (1414–84), first prior of the Lombard congregation installed by Sixtus IV in 1472 at Santa Maria del Popolo, Rome. Its frontispiece with *bianchi girari* decoration features the arms of Sixtus IV and of d'Estouteville. The manuscript was possibly copied in Bergamo from an exemplum sent by Olmo from Rome (Bandera 1995). For Olmo at Santa Maria del Popolo, see Esposito 1986, 573–75.

3. Philadelphia, UPenn, Ms. Codex 85, Ms. Codex 85, Crema, 1506 (?), for Sant'Agostino, Crema, commissioned by Antonio Meli da Crema (d. 1528) while he was prior of Sant'Agostino, Lucca (Zacour and Hirsch 1965, 158–59 [Ms. Lea 51 (Lat.)]). The manuscript is fully digitized at *Penn in Hand: Selected Manuscripts*: http://hdl.library.upenn.edu/1017/d/medren/1551751. For Meli, see Moruzzi 2013, 254. Curiously, neither the text of MS Richardson 28 nor of any of the above copies of the bull clearly state the manuscript's intended recipient. Their provenance has been deduced from material evidence.

13 Verbal communication from Meredith Gill.

14 I am grateful to Lisa Fagin Davis for this identification. One leaf from the manuscript, written in two columns, was used as the back flyleaf and pastedown.

15 Another clue to the book's later provenance is borne by the upper cover of the binding, on which the word "Cayetti" (?) is lightly blind-stamped in a late, probably nineteenth-century, cursive under the letter *D*. Perhaps it is the clumsily placed stamp of the restorer who rebacked the binding.

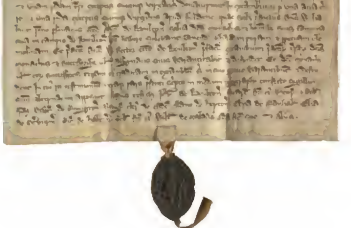
16 Empoli 1628, 328. Now in the Archivio della Curia Generalizia Agostiniana, according to Gutierrez 1983, 177.

17 Zacour and Hirsch 1965, 44 (Ms. Latin 189). The manuscript is fully digitized at *Penn in Hand: Selected Manuscripts*: http://hdl.library.upenn.edu/1017/d/medren/2487587.

18 For example, the marginal correction "olim" in the Philadelphia manuscript, f. 6v, line 13, was correctly integrated into the text of MS Richardson 28, f. 4v, line 20. Zacour and Hirsch 1965, 44 (Ms. Latin 189), erroneously described the Philadelphia manuscript as "compiled probably at the request of, and for, the Augustinian Hermits of Rouen," probably because of d'Estouteville's bishopric and Robert Marniere's archdeaconship in the French city. A survey of the other copies indicates that there is no relation between the origins of the witnesses and the recipient congregation.

41. Two documents for the Cistercian abbey of St. Mary at Sawley

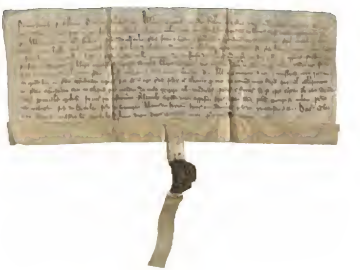
Yorkshire, England, c. 1265 and 1344
Parchment, f. 1, 99 x 155 mm (MS Lat 421 [5])
Parchment, f.1, 94 x 230 mm (MS Lat 421 [13])
Harvard University, Houghton Library, MS Lat 421 (5) and 421 (13)
Cistercian abbey of St. Mary at Sawley in Yorkshire (present day Lancashire), suppressed in 1536; Christie's, London, December 9, 1981, lot 222; private collection; Les Enluminures; acquired on the Edgar Huidekoper Wells Memorial Fund in 2003.



MS Lat 421 (5)

These documents underscore the important role in secular life played by the church and its related institutions and the extent to which it required written documentation. Both are from a group of fifteen relating to land in Bolton-by-Bowland, Lancashire, and were once in the possession of the Cistercian abbey of Sawley. Ten of the fifteen are recorded in the abbey's cartulary (London, BL, Harley MS. 112).[1]

MS Lat 421 (5) is an indenture of Hugh, abbot of Sawley, granting lands in Braderode to William of Blackburn, rector of Bolton Church, in exchange for lands at Fooden. The indenture is undated, but is datable to c. 1265 during the abbacy of Hugh, and bears William's seal in black wax. Contemporary endorsements on the back of the indenture include the name of the property and a brief summary of its contents to aid in ease of retrieval and use. The indenture is also recorded in the Abbey's institutional record book or cartulary.[2]



MS Lat 421 (13)

A complete indenture was made from a single sheet of parchment. Each party to the agreement verified that the parts were identical and then the sheet was cut along jagged lines or into teeth, hence the term "*inden*ture." Each party retained a part and in case of future disagreements the parts could be refitted to confirm authenticity. This part of the indenture was retained by the abbey and the other, which survives in the archive of members of the Pudsay family, who were lords of Bolton, was kept by William.[3]

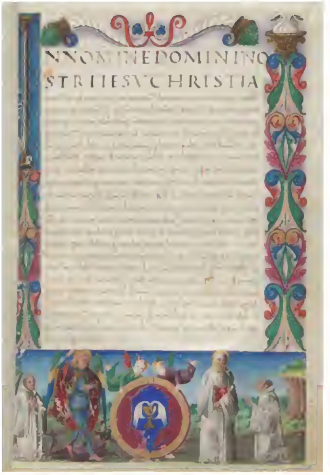
MS Lat 421 (13) is an agreement between the abbey and John of Bolton, rector of Bolton Church, over disputed lands at Fooden. The agreement is dated at York on Monday July 26, 1344 and closed with John's seal in green wax which is now partially gone. Two later documents in this group dated in 1344 and 1345,[4] also record agreements between John of Bolton and the abbey.

William P. Stoneman

1 G. Davis 2010, 176–77, no. 876; for the edition, see McNulty 1933.
2 McNulty 1933, 92–93, no. 146.
3 Littledale 1916, 122, no. 4.
4 MSS Lat 421 (14) and 421 (15).

42. Catasticus sive repertorium bonorum...ancte Marie de Purcilia
Antonio Maria da Villafora (illuminator), Antonio delle Conchelle (scribe)

Padua, Italy, c. 1489
Parchment, ff. i (paper) + 71 + i (paper), 275 x 185 (186 x 125) mm
Harvard University, Houghton Library, MS Typ 327
Made for the Camaldolese monastery of Santa Maria di Porcilia, Padua; bought by Philip Hofer from Olschki in 1955, deposited 1967, bequeathed 1984.



f. 1r

Italian monasteries regularly made inventories of their possessions, often following the death of an abbot. Some of these documents were enhanced with illuminations, as in cat. no. 42 from the male half of a "double" Camaldolese (Camaldolite) monastery in Padua, Santa Maria di Porcilia (Porciglia). Dates in the text confirm that the manuscript was initiated in 1489, with additions up to 1524.[1]

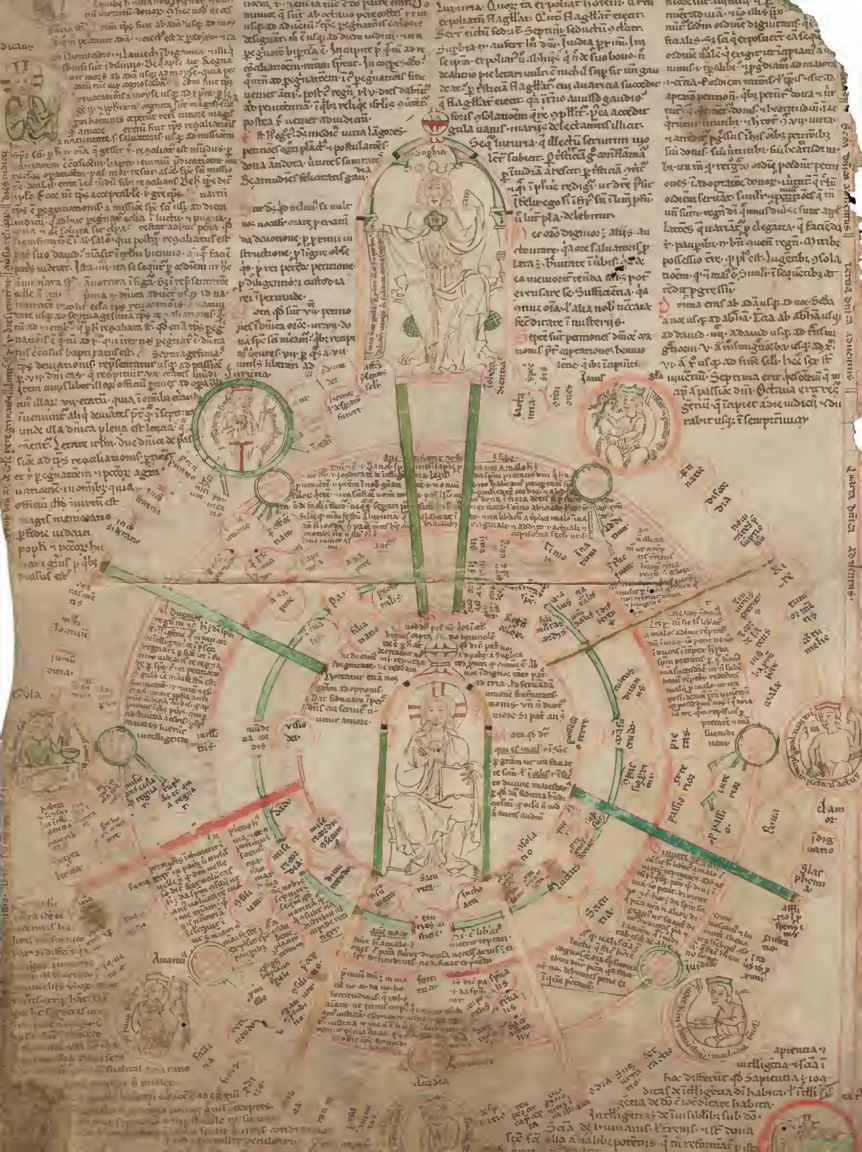
Central to the bas-de-page scene of the opening page (f. 1r) is the Camaldolese coat of arms: *azure, two doves argent drink from a chalice or* (on a blue ground, two white doves drink from a gold chalice). The two saints are St. Romuald, founder of the order, and St. Michael Archangel, patron of the mother house of Porcilia, San Michele di Murano, Venice (both are also pictured in cat. no. 34).[2] To their left and right kneel two Camaldolese monks, robed in white as is St. Romuald. The figures are convincingly set before a deep landscape with green trees and rocky cliffs below an intense blue sky. They have ovoid heads, orange-yellow hair, long noses, and deep-set eyes; features that result in mournful expressions. The solemn mood is perpetuated by St. Michael who languidly spears a dragon at his feet.

The composition is easily recognizable as the work of Antonio Maria da Villafora, the most prominent miniaturist working in Padua from 1469 to 1511.[3] Antonio Maria commanded a fully Renaissance style, and illuminated numerous manuscripts and incunables for Pietro Barozzi, bishop of Padua in the 1490s.[4] Because the Houghton inventory is dated, it has been cited to confirm his stylistic development. Close in style to cat. no. 42 are sacred figures in a missal of 1483–85 (Milan, BN Braidense, ms. AE.X.30) coincidentally produced for the female half of Santa Maria di Porcilia.[5] Sts. Peter and Paul are framed by elegant classical columns in a Renaissance portico; they flank a large crouching leopard in front of a characteristic deep landscape with swans in a river, rocky cliffs, and distant mountains.

Lilian Armstrong

1 Wieck 1983b, 132, and fig. 45; Mariani Canova 1980, 85.
2 Mariani Canova 1975, 100.
3 Gnaccolini 2004a.
4 Mariani Canova 2014, 2:521–28; Mariani Canova, Minazzato, and Toniolo 2014, 2:928–47; Fumian 2014a, passim.
5 Gnaccolini 1999.

cat. no. 32



Sic incipiūt vigilie mortu

nexi: ¶ Pla
quoniam ex
dn̄s vocem o
mee ¶ ue
nauit aurē
uncli: et in diebus meis inu
¶ Circūdederunt me dolores
et pericula inferni īuenerunt
bulacionē et dolorem inuen
dn̄i inuocaui ¶ O dn̄e libera
meā misericors dn̄s et iustus
noster miseretur ¶ Custodien

4. Songs of Praise

Essential to the outfitting of any church, liturgical books are among the largest and most lavish of all medieval manuscripts, a clear indication of the importance they held for the religious communities, whether monastic or secular, which expended such time, effort, and resources on their production.

The medieval liturgical day revolved around eight services called "offices" and the daily Mass. While Mass was the dramatic centerpiece of the cycle, with the giving and receiving of communion at its heart, the rhythm of the day was set by the eight offices (at roughly three-hour intervals): matins (after midnight), lauds (before daybreak), prime, terce, sext, none, vespers, and compline (before retiring). The liturgy for these hours was recorded in two types of books: breviaries (used by those who recited the service) and antiphonals (used by those who sang). Both evolved from and around the central text that is woven throughout Catholic liturgy, the Psalter.

The Psalter, in its simplest form, is the text of the 150 psalms in the Bible, with the psalms varying in length from two to 176 verses (being psalms 116 and 118, the shortest and the longest psalms). The text of the psalms occurs during the Middle Ages in three possible formats: the *Versio Romana*, which was Jerome's first revision of the text, composed by him in 384; the *Versio Gallicana*, which was Jerome's second version, and the one that is the most standard throughout the Middle Ages and Renaissance; and the so-called Hebrew Psalter (but really, of course, in Latin), which was Jerome's third translation that he compiled working directly from the Hebrew text. These Latin translations always add up to the "official" number at 150, but they do not follow the same internal divisions, so, in citing them, one needs to be aware of the numbering system followed: for the Middle Ages, one should always use the Vulgate numbers of the *Gallicana* translation (and not the Hebrew/Protestant psalm numbers). Once extracted from the Bible as a separate book, the Psalter often acquired a number of additional texts: a liturgical calendar, a litany of saints, canticles from the Old and the New Testament, and other prayers, such as those found in cat. no. 46, a mid-thirteenth-century psalter from Saint-Riquier. Psalters are often illustrated, sometimes with a prefatory series of full-page miniatures of, for example, the life of Christ (as in cat. no. 96) or, in a calendar, the labors of the months (cat. no. 46). More typical are smaller initials illustrating King David, highlighting the division of the Psalter into eight or ten sections, also as in cat. no. 46.

Like most psalters (and many liturgical books), cat. no. 46 begins with a liturgical calendar. Such calendars are perpetual, identifying the saint or feast commemorated on each day, many of which are of significance to a particular nation, region, city, church, or order. Calendars thus often contain hints to the identity of the first owners of the book. Some saints (e.g., Francis or Dominic) point to a particular religious order. The inclusion or absence of other saints can serve to provide a terminus post or ante quem for the production of the book. Some saints are universal, but others point to a particular place. For example, cat. no. 45, shown opposite, can be localized to England—in spite of its many Continental decorative elements—because of particular saints recorded in the calendar, such as Cuthbert, John of Beverley, and Thomas of Hereford. Calendars also include church dedications and obits (death days), which refer to locally important families.

The psalter was incorporated into the breviary and antiphonal, of which it forms the core text (as in cat. no. 44, a breviary for the use of St. Peter's Blandinium). To a psalter, office books add the hymns, readings, antiphons, responses, versicles, and prayers necessary for the recitation of the Divine Office. In these books, the goal is to recite the entire book of psalms over the course of the week; the distribution of which psalms on which days and at which canonical hours varies somewhat from one religious community to another.

For Mass, the monks required different types of books such as missals (preserving the spoken texts recited by the celebrant, as in cat. no. 48), graduals (for the use of a choir), and lectionaries (preserving the extra-liturgical biblical or patristic readings, as in cat. no. 47). In the choir books (antiphonals for the office and graduals for the Mass), musical notation develops from the unheightened "St. Gall style" of the Gottschalk Antiphonal (cat. no. 43) to the more recognizable four- or five-line Gregorian notation of, for example, the Noyon Missal (cat. no. 48), some of it written in burnished gold. Although books of hours (such as cat. no. 45) are not liturgical books per se, their core text, the Hours of the Virgin Mary, is similarly structured to office books. Like some other English books of hours (cf. cat. no. 132), the fifteenth-century example included here is unusually large; its dimensions bring to mind the liturgical books to which it is related.

Consuelo W. Dutschke

cat. no. 45, f. 72r

43. Antipbonal ("Gottschalk Antipbonal")

Lambach, Austria, c. 1175–1200
Parchment, ff. 2, 288 x 215 (235 x 153) mm and 278 x 221 (239 x 171) mm
Harvard University, Houghton Library, MS Typ 704 (5) and (6)
Sold by B. M. Rosenthal, 1955; bequest of Philip Hofer, 1984.

MS Typ 704 (5)r

These two leaves were originally part of a late twelfth-century liturgical manuscript known as the Gottschalk Antiphonal, named for the Benedictine monk who was responsible for the script, notation, and initials. Antiphonals record chant for the Divine Office; in the case of these leaves, liturgy for the feasts of St. Benedict (March 21) and the Annunciation (March 27) (MS Typ 704 [5]), and the Common of Virgins (generic chants for feasts lacking a Proper liturgy) (MS Typ 704 [6]). The interlinear music is written using unheightened neumes in the St. Gall style, an early type of musical notation in which each symbol functions as an abstract representation of a particular relative melodic movement, more mnemonic than transcriptive. The Greek letters visible along the outer margin of MS Typ 704 (5) recto are called tonary letters. The two letters assigned to each chant indicate the mode (similar to what in modern music would be the key) and the final cadence of each chant.

Gottschalk was active in the Benedictine abbey of St. Kilian in Lambach, Upper Austria, at the end of the twelfth century. His activity can be generally dated by his contributions to a Lambach chronicle in which he wrote entries for 1197–1204.[1] It is likely that he was active in the scriptorium for years before being given the important responsibility of contributing to the chronicle. Over the course of his career, Gottschalk was extremely productive, working on at least twenty-five manuscripts as a scribe and/or artist.[2] Among these is the manuscript that gives him his name, Berlin, Staatsbibliothek zu Berlin, Ms. theo. lat. 4°140, in which an inscription in his hand declares "Hic liber est Gotscalci de Lambach"[3] ("This book belongs to Gottschalk of Lambach"). The illustration and rubrication in that manuscript are clearly by the same hand as the present leaves. The white-vine penwork initials in red and purple and the Byzantine features of the human figures all reveal the influence of the Salzburg style that is best manifested, perhaps, in the great St. Peter Antiphonal.[4] Gottschalk, however, has a style all his own, exemplified by "small bands, usually in purple ink, which wrap around the body of the letters," among other features.[5] The angel of the Annunciation on MS Typ 704 (5) recto and the virgin saint inhabiting the initial on MS Typ 704 (6) recto are typical of Gottschalk's human figures, with their long graceful fingers, elaborate drapery, and delicate features accentuated by small red dots on the cheeks.

MS Typ 704 (6)v (detail)

By the late Middle Ages, the manuscript had outlived its usefulness, as the notation would have been illegible to the monks and the liturgy outdated. In the fifteenth century, the Gottschalk Antiphonal was dismembered and its leaves used as scrap in manuscripts and incunables bound by the Lambach abbey bindery. During World War II, the abbey sold these and many other binding fragments to raise cash. Several dozen Lambach leaves eventually made their way to the Beinecke Rare Book & Manuscript Library at Yale University, including seventeen leaves of the Gottschalk Antiphonal.[6] Others can still be found in bindings in the Lambach abbey library. Thirty-one whole or fragmentary leaves are known in all, comprising about a third of the original manuscript.[7] The remainder may not have survived, although the recent discovery that a previously unknown Gottschalk Antiphonal leaf was once a binding fragment in a Yale incunable suggests that there may be more leaves waiting to be identified.[8]

Lisa Fagin Davis

1 Vienna, ÖNB, Cod. 373. See L. Davis 2000, 20.
2 Ibid., 25.
3 Ibid., 17.
4 Vienna, ÖNB, Cod. Ser. n. 2700.
5 Babcock and Davis 1990, 138.
6 New Haven, Beinecke Library, MS 481.51. See Babcock 1993 for an account of the Lambach leaves and their journey to New Haven.
7 For a complete list of known leaves, see L. Davis 2000, xiv-xv.
8 The leaf was a pastedown inside the lower cover of New Haven, Beinecke Library, Zi +1525. See Beinecke Fragments (Yale University). "Zi +1525 Back Board." Flickr. Oct. 2, 2014. https://www.flickr.com/photos/beinecke_fragments/15470061095/in/album-72157648733087167/.

44. Breviary, use of St. Peter's Blandinium

Ghent, Flanders, c. 1400
Parchment, ff. 423, 192 x 140 (128 x 85) mm
Harvard University, Houghton Library, MS Lat 267 (formerly Norton 2001)
English sale, c. 1830; Augustus Frederick, Duke of Sussex (MS VI.H.h.15); William Maskell; John Ruskin; Charles Eliot Norton; with funds from the Friends of the Library, 1905.

f. 228v

Like the Gottschalk Antiphonal (cat. no. 43), this manuscript contains liturgy for the Divine Office. The manuscript, however, is a breviary instead of an antiphonal. In addition to its unnotated chant texts, it includes lessons, features which indicate it was not made for use by the choir. This volume contains the Divine Office for the winter half of the year.[1] It would originally have been part of a two-volume set with a separate summer part that is now missing. As is usual, the text is divided into temporale, psalter, sanctorale, and Common of Saints. The manuscript is quite small and has a one-column textblock, unusual in a breviary, suggesting that it was made for personal use. The liturgical evidence in the calendar, litany, Office of the Dead, and sanctorale indicates that this monk must have been attached to the Benedictine abbey of St. Peter's on the Blandijnsberg in Ghent.[2] Indeed, the enthusiasm for "our saints…whose relics are in the church" is striking in the repeated feasts for the adventus, deposition, elevation, and translation of their relics. Possession of these saintly remains was clearly essential to the identity of the abbey, which was locked in an ongoing battle for influence in Ghent with the rival Benedictine abbey of St. Bavo.[3] A large three-volume institutional breviary dated to 1373 for the same institution also survives.[4] In its smaller scale, the Houghton volume finds closer parallels in other personal-sized breviaries such as one also for St. Peter's in Ghent made in the early fourteenth century,[5] and one from Liège dating to the 1420s–30s made for a canon of the cathedral of St. Lambert.[6]

Two historiated initials mark Advent and Christmas in the temporale. In the psalter, David plays his harp at psalm 1 while the other psalm divisions are illustrated by figures of prophets holding inscribed scrolls. This iconographic cycle harks back to the mass-produced thirteenth-century Flemish "apostles" psalters of Bruges and Ghent, which depicted similar figures with scrolls at the major psalms. The Presentation and Annunciation feasts are singled out by historiated initials in the sanctorale, while the Common of Saints begins with a figure holding a scroll like those in the psalms. Decorated pages have maroon and blue bar borders on three or four sides of the page with large rounded gold brooches enclosing vines at the corners. Small gold trilobed leaves on pen-sprays fill the outer margins. This distinctive vine decoration resembles that of the Gentse Roodboec, a cartulary of documents brought together and illustrated in Ghent c. 1400.[7] The Houghton breviary appears to have been produced by the same atelier.

Illuminated pages are enlivened with marginalia including a lady riding a stag, a lady and unicorn, an ape with a book, a rabbit hunt, a Saracen archer, and a knight afraid of a snail; all conventional motifs. At psalm 68 ("Save me o God") a cat with a rat in its jaws prances across the upper margin, while an attractive girl in a provocative pose plays bells in the lower right corner adjacent to verse thirteen (f. 228v): "They that sat in the gate… made me their song." There are also a number of musicians at the other psalm divisions (usually hybrid figures, as well as a boy with a psaltery). These musical themes were perhaps inspired by the psalms themselves that were sung.

Judith Oliver

1 De Ricci 1935–40, 1:998 (Norton 2001); Bond and Faye 1962, 244; Wieck 1983b, 112, fig. 26; Scott 1996, 2:96; Haggh 1996, 40n51 and 62.
2 For Ghent liturgical usage see: Coens 1963; Coens and van der Straeten 1966; and Haggh 1996. An ownership inscription on f. 1r for "Sti. Petri in Blandino (iuxta Ganda[yum])" was deciphered by Wieck 1983b, 112.
3 Their saints are: Wandregisilus, Ansbertus, Wulfrannus, Florbert, Gudwalus, Bertulphus, Winwaloeus, and Amalberga.
4 Ghent, UB, Hs. 3381. Gent 1975, 352–53, no. 579, figs. 83–84. The so-called Breviary of Louis le Male made in Ghent in 1347 (Brussels, BRB, ms. 9427) is actually just a ferial psalter with calendar and litany.
5 London, BL, Add. MS. 29253.
6 Baltimore, Walters Art Mus., Ms. W.83. L. M. C. Randall 1997, 1:97–104, no. 228. It measures 182 x 137 mm and has 537 folios covering only the summer half of the year.
7 Ghent, StA, serie 93 registre C, no. 3. Smeyers 1998, 192, color fig. 22; Gent 1975, 353–54, no. 580.

45. Book of hours

London (?), England, 1470–80
Parchment, ff. 111, 332 x 235 mm
Harvard University, Houghton Library, MS Widener 2
Edward Darbe; purchased by Harry Elkins Widener from Quaritch, 1902, his bequest 1912.

The basic production of this unusually large book of hours is English, in contrast to the illustration and border decoration, which show strong Continental influence.[1] Thirty-five prayers and suffrages survive before matins as well as thirteen suffrages after lauds.[2] The importance of the prayers is emphasized by an initial of Christ as Man of Sorrows with Instruments of the Passion and by a full border with two images: Christ's head and a shield with his five bleeding wounds, the latter a devotion widespread in later medieval England.[3] The hours have, however, only one historiated initial and one full border. A terminus ante quem for the manuscript is suggested by the lack of the feast of the Visitation (1480).

f. 89r

Other illustrations and full borders occur at the Penitential Psalms, Vigil for the Dead, Commendation of the Souls, and Psalter of St. Jerome, all of which draw attention away from the central Marian hours. The pictorial subjects of the initials are largely conventional, though the Annunciation expands on the minimal exchange between angel and Virgin, typical of English manuscripts, with a figure of God the Father and a lily pot. The Commendation of Souls was rendered with a strong presence of God the Father in a nebuly of angels, whereas angels bearing a soul in a cloth and an open tomb are conventional elements in the scene (f. 89r). This artist is known in at least seven other manuscripts.[4]

The most striking aspect of the manuscript is the borders. Although by two English artists, the full borders are replete with items of Continental origin: blue and white vases, golden vases, snails, a fly between two birds, grape bunches, and sprays of roses, pinks, thistle flowers, columbines, and strawberries. A stork and snake motif (f. 72r) was used earlier by the Dutch master of the Hours of Catherine of Cleves and by the Burgundian master, Nicolas Spierinc. The two artists in the Widener hours have been identified in numerous manuscripts and clearly were prominent at the time.[5] The partial borders, much less decorated and in a different style, are difficult to assign to either of the two artists, though there is some similarity of smaller motifs.

Kathleen L. Scott

1 Certain saints in the calendar support the English provenance, e.g., (f. 2r) Cuthbert, (f. 3r) John of Beverley, and (f. 5v) Thomas of Hereford. Patrick (f. 2r) is an unusual addition.

2 I am grateful to Roger Wieck for his help in understanding this section of the manuscript.

3 E. Duffy 1992, 245–48.

4 Scott 1996, 1:329.

5 Scott 1996, 2: nos. 128, 123, and 124.

46. Psalter

Saint-Riquier, France, 1240s or 1250s
Parchment, ff. 134, 215 x 155 (146 x 94) mm
Harvard University, Houghton Library, MS Typ 311
Sieur (Guillaume?) Mathon of Arras; Jean Durlin, abbot of Dommartin, 1700; sold by H. P. Kraus, 1955; deposited by Philip Hofer, 1967, his bequest, 1984.

f. 101r

Weekly recitation of the entire psalter in the Divine Office formed the central occupation of medieval monks. Psalters (in this case a choir psalter for monastic use) thus ranked among the most popular manuscripts produced in thirteenth-century France, and, as is typical of the genre, this manuscript has illustrations to both its calendar and psalms.[1] Labors of the months are depicted in the Kalends monograms and signs of the zodiac occupy roundels. The psalter is divided into ten parts with typical French themes in the historiated initials depicting literal illustrations of the words of the psalms. Those for psalms 1 and 109 are notably twice as large as the others.[2] This reflects their liturgical importance as the psalms beginning matins and vespers on Sundays. Psalm 109 ("The Lord said to my Lord: Sit thou at my right hand") was interpreted as God's invitation to Christ to share his throne in heaven.[3] A final historiated initial depicts Isaiah as author of the first of the canticles.

Text pages are enlivened by geometric line-fillers in red, blue, and gold, as every psalm verse begins a new line. The simple rectilinear initial frames and rudimentary large-fold drapery style date the book to the 1240s or 1250s at the latest, as it lacks the marginal vine extensions and drolleries universally popular later in the century. Drapery is embellished with the three-dot *cintamani* pattern widespread in French Gothic manuscripts. Mongol in origin, it reached Western Europe through imported silk textiles.[4]

The book's relatively large size argues for institutional rather than personal ownership. Numerous astronomical annotations in the calendar marking the Easter season, emphasis on the first of the Gradual Psalms, and the unusual presence of three Marian sequences with musical notation also argue for monastic usage. Saints in the calendar and responses in the Office of the Dead both indicate that the book was made for the abbey of Saint-Riquier near Abbeville in the diocese of Amiens, which followed the Benedictine rule.[5] This manuscript thus illustrates centuries-old monastic use of the psalter in an era when this type of book had largely become the "best selling" devotional book of the laity.

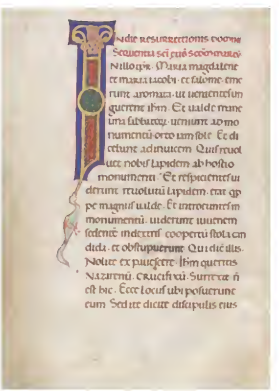
Judith Oliver

1 Garvey 1988, 18–20, no. 9; Stones 2013–14, 1.1:61 and 2.2:214 and 224.
2 Atypically, David is accompanied by musicians at psalm 1. One is even dressed in particolor as a minstrel. Mellinkoff 1993, 1:8 and 2: fig. 1.8.
3 The dove of the Trinity, traditionally present in this composition, was omitted by the artist.
4 Folda 2007, 158–66.
5 Few manuscripts from this abbey survive as most of its library was destroyed during the French Revolution. For the history of this psalter, see Meyvaert and Huglo 1992, 101–13.

47. Gospel lectionary

Cremona (?), Italy, c. 1150–75
Parchment, ff. ii + 88 + i, 307 x 206 (201 x 120) mm
Harvard University, Houghton Library, MS Typ 138
Conte Paolo Vimercati-Sozzi; Walter Seton (Sotheby's, London, June 28, 1927, lot 65); Acton Griscom; sold by L. C. Harper,1948; deposited by Philip Hofer, 1967, his bequest 1984.

Cat. no. 47 provides readings from the Gospels for Masses throughout the year. The priest would have said Mass from an accompanying missal that would likely have included only the first few words of each lection, and so he would have referred to this manuscript for the complete texts.



f. 33v

The script is clearly Italianate, recognizable as such by its rounded features, in particular the prominently circular bows of *b*, *d*, *o*, and *p*. The geometric style of the initials, with their squared compartments filled with bright colors, was used throughout Italy in the mid-twelfth century. Although the style is usually ascribed to southern Italy or Tuscany, examples can be found that were definitely produced in the north (cf. Paris, BnF, mss. lat. 797 and 6540).[1] The initials in the latter are particularly similar to the present manuscript. A northern Italian origin is supported by the contents of two leaves added to the manuscript in the late thirteenth century that record prayers to various saints, including St. Homobonus. Homobonus was a pious merchant from Cremona who became that city's patron saint soon after his death in 1197 and canonization in 1199. The inclusion of these prayers suggests that the manuscript, if not actually written in Cremona, was produced nearby and was in that city by the early thirteenth century.[2]

Folio 33v provides the reading from the book of Mark for Easter Sunday ("In die resurrectionis domini"), recounting how the Three Marys entered the tomb to anoint Jesus's body and found it open and empty. The lection from Luke is for the following day (f. 34r). Some of the lessons, such as that for Palm Sunday on f. 17v are marked with red letters (*p*, *c*, and *s*) indicating the speakers in a multi-part dramatic reading of the lection. In this manuscript, *p* indicates Jesus's words, *c* the narrator, and *s* the words of crowds and disciples. It is not clear what these letters actually stand for; in other lectionaries, for example, the words of Jesus are indicated by a small cross or f.[3]

Lisa Fagin Davis

1 Light 1988, 31n3.
2 Ibid., 30.
3 Ibid., 31n2.

48. Noyon Missal

Noyon, France, 1225–50
Parchment, ff. 5, 431–33 x 279–80 (274–75 x 178–80) mm
Harvard University, Houghton Library, MSS Typ 120 and 120.1
Typ 120: F. 2 given by Philip Hofer, 1981; ff. 1 and 3 bequeathed by Philip Hofer, 1984; f. 4 given to David Becker by Philip Hofer, and presented by him in honor of Hofer, 1991. Typ 120.1: Purchased with the Arthur and Charlotte Vershbow Fund, 2013; formerly owned by Philip Hofer and held at Houghton Library as MS Typ 120H.

Before its dismemberment, the missal, made for the cathedral of Noyon in northeastern France, must have been among the most magnificent of its kind. In addition to the splendor of their materials and manufacture, the surviving leaves exhibit carefully considered iconography. The temporale opened with an author portrait of Gregory the Great (f. 1r), seated at his writing desk and inspired by the dove of the Holy Spirit. The Gregorian chant that fills the pages of the notated missal was attributed to the pope. Placed against a burnished gold ground, the image of Gregory is akin to Evangelist portraits in early medieval gospel books and, like them, draws on a tradition that can be traced back to portraits of ancient poets and philosophers. As if to express his awareness of this tradition, the artist portrays Gregory in a classicizing manner; the delicately modeled trough-like folds of his garments depend on classical models such as those reflected in the famous Visitation group on the façade of Reims cathedral or in the so-called sketchbook of the itinerant artist, Villard de Honnecourt (Paris, BnF, ms. fr. 19093), both of which are dated to the second quarter of the thirteenth century. The initial introducing the Easter liturgy (f. 3v) portrays an athletic Christ rising from his tomb, which, due to the three columns that support it, also resembles an altar table. The image likens the body of the risen Christ to the Eucharistic offering. Drawn from an image of Christ in Majesty, the Four Evangelist

symbols in the corners of the irregular frame surrounding the letter *R* of "Ressurexit" ("He rose up") underscore the Resurrection as a manifestation of Christ's divinity. No less exquisite is the initial *D* ("Dominus") for the Sanctus (f. 4v). Dressed in shades of green and light brown, Christ sits on a bench-like throne directly confronting the celebrant.

f. 1r and f. 3v (details)

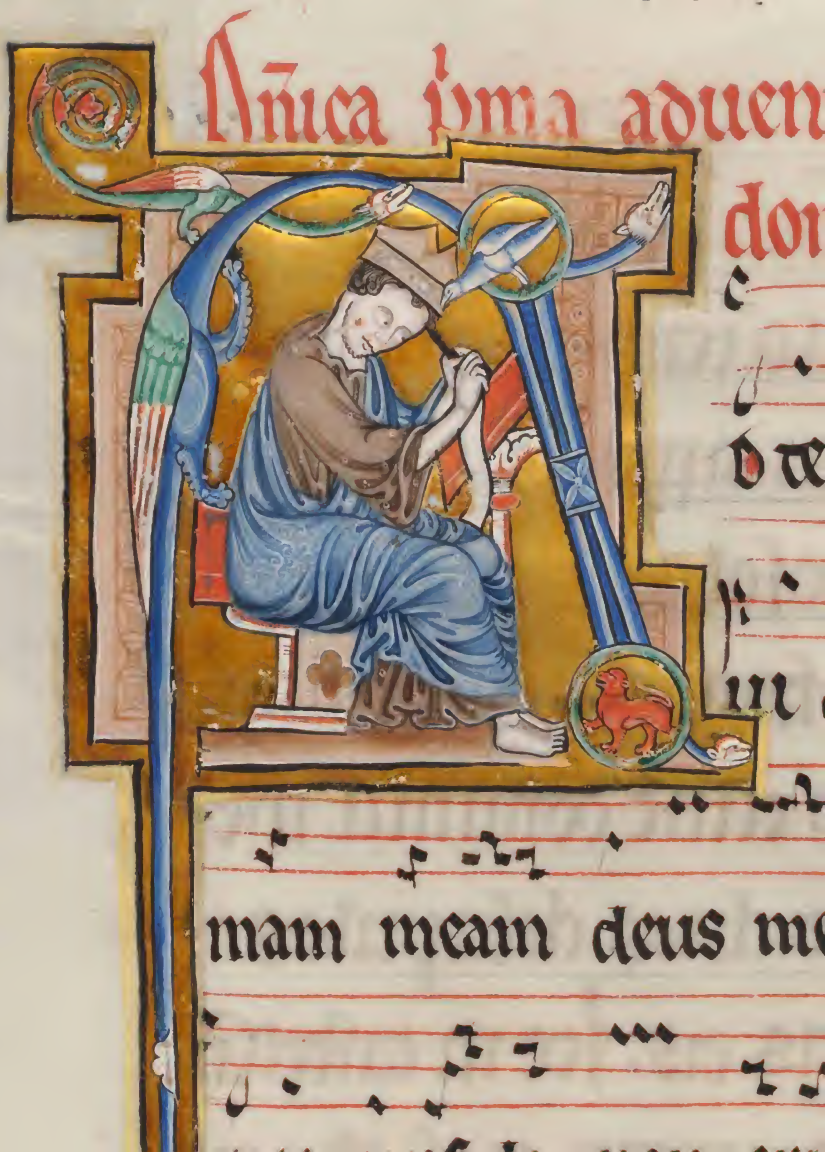
Several smaller initials are devoted to St. Eligius (c. 588–660), the patron saint and first bishop of Noyon. A small initial (MS Typ 120.1, f. 1v, but as indicated by the layout originally a recto) marks the feast of the saint's translation. Eligius appears in ecclesiastical garb, with miter, chasuble, and orphrey, his right hand raised in blessing. A second small initial (f. 2r) for the saint's principal feast (December 1) refers to his having been a goldsmith, which made him the patron saint of the trade. Eligius sits in front of his workbench offering an item to the Merovingian king Dagobert. According to the life of Eligius written by bishop Dado of Rouen, the historical Eligius practiced as a goldsmith for the Merovingian monarchy; among the works attributed to him is the fragmentary Eligius Cross from the royal mausoleum of Saint-Denis, a church said to have been founded by Dagobert, for which he also is said to have fashioned the ciborium that crowned the royal saint's tomb.[1] A sixth folio now in a private collection bears another small initial of the bishop-saint, shown three-quarter length, wearing a pallium and holding a croiser, in this case prefacing the feast commemorating his ordination.[2]

Of all the surviving pages, however, that for the canon (the prayers of consecration employed every time Mass was said) is by far the most elaborate (f. 4r; see image introducing part I). A gigantic letter *P* ("Per omnia saecula saeculorum"), packed with four symmetrically disposed spiraling vines entangling addorsed and confronted lions, marks the preface. In keeping with the solemnity of the occasion, the letters are presented in the form of display script: in burnished gold capitals against alternating pink and blue grounds. Even the notes for the accompanying chant are written in gold, as are the clefs. Heightening the effect still further, the gold is punched and tooled so as to increase its sparkling effect. Bulging beyond the confines of the second column, there follows a large initial *U* for the common preface. The initial presents personifications of *Ecclesia* (Church) and *Synagoga* (Synagogue) standing to either side of the upright that usually forms part of a "VD" monogram standing for the opening words, "Vere Dignum est iustum" ("It is truly meet and just"). The prayer continues with a reference to Christ's crucifixion and resurrection: "Fulfilling your will and gaining for you a holy people, he stretched out his hands as he endured his Passion, so as to break the bonds of death and manifest the resurrection." The initial does not illustrate this prayer literally, but rather offers an allegorical representation. *Ecclesia*, holding a chalice that echoes that held by the priest at the altar, represents the community of the faithful. In contrast, *Synagoga*, whose blindfold represented the failure of the Jews to acknowledge Christ as the Messiah, lances the apocalyptic lamb at the center, a symbolic reference to their supposed responsibility for the death of Christ on the Cross. The opening words of the prayer itself are doubled up within the first line of text that follows, with some of the letters painted in white within or between those written in gold. Following the Sanctus, the canon would have continued with the prayer of intercession, the "Te igitur." From the eighth century, artists had exploited the opportunity represented by the opening letter "Te" to depict the Crucifixion either as a historiated initial or, by the twelfth century, a full-page miniature. It is, however, unknown how the Noyon Missal treated this all-important portion of the prayer.

Jeffrey F. Hamburger

1 Scheibelreiter 2004; Hahn 2012, 31–38.
2 Zeileis 2009, 426–28, cat. no. 133.

cat. no. 48, f. 1r


Ñica pma aduen
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II
Boston College, McMullen Museum of Art

Manuscripts for Pleasure & Piety

The late Middle Ages witnessed an explosion in book production for non-monastic patrons, whether institutions or individuals, as well as a corresponding expansion of literacy in both Latin and the various vernaculars. Universities came to rival monasteries as centers of learning, and lay workshops began to overtake monastic centers of production. Over time, the anonymity that had prevailed in preceding centuries gave way to an increasing number of artisans whose names are recorded in colophons, signatures, inventories, and tax rolls. Although the most lavish books were still made on commission, others were produced for sale in ways that anticipate the advent of the printed book. While one cannot speak of true mass production, increasing specialization and collaboration enabled booksellers to meet the market with novel efficiency. Different groups of readers generated different types of books, each exhibiting its own relationship of making to meaning. The sheer variety of formats, materials, layouts, decoration, subject matter, and visual strategies exhibited by late medieval manuscripts testifies to the imagination and creativity of medieval scribes and illuminators as they adapted their centuries-old craft to the demands of diverse patrons, genres, and functions.

Medieval society had traditionally been divided into three groups: the *oratores* (those who prayed), the *bellatores* (those who fought), and the *laboratores* (those who worked). Always an idealization, this threefold categorization began to break down in the twelfth century as cities and towns across Europe, magnets for wealth and talent, increasingly sought to carve out exemptions from both ecclesiastical and aristocratic authority. It is within such urban contexts, where there was ample scope for craftsmen of various kinds to flourish, that most of the manuscripts in this section were made. Although hardly representative of the entire spectrum of medieval society, the manuscripts nonetheless offer a conspectus of the aspirations and ambitions, hopes and fears, skills and talents, not to mention the tastes, of diverse and often rival groups within a culture undergoing profound and continuous change.

Not all of these books, which date principally from the thirteenth through the early sixteenth century, would have belonged to members of the laity. All, however, come from contexts that would have had a significant impact on their various routines. Some they would have encountered only in church or in the hands of confessors. Others, however, belonged to their mothers, teachers, doctors, and lawyers. Some of the most beautiful and ornate they acquired for themselves, not simply for the purposes of piety, but also for edification and entertainment. Some were commissioned and collected as works of art, which is not to say that they did not also serve some practical purpose. A few of these books were custom-made for monarchs and princes, a larger number for aristocratic patrons. Others yet would have been acquired on the open market by well-to-do patricians and professionals whose ranks increasingly populated the urban centers where the majority of illuminated manuscripts were made.

Jeffrey F. Hamburger

cat. no. 61, f. 9r

1. Making & Meaning

Manuscripts, by definition, are handmade objects. In a day and age in which writing no longer means putting pen to paper (let alone quill to parchment), and the dematerialization of books and their content, in the form of texts and images, proceeds apace, the book as material object exerts a special fascination. From the manner of its binding to the details of layout and design, the materiality of the manuscript book literally constructs its meaning. Books do not simply transmit texts, they lend their messages shape and substance.

In illuminated manuscripts, that substance takes the form of an intricately crafted object, in virtually every instance the product of a collaboration between several craftsmen. Before the scribe could write a word, an animal had to be slaughtered and skinned, its skin soaked in lime to remove the hair (a smelly process), and its surface laboriously scraped and smoothed, first with a scraper, then with a pumice stone. Vellum (from the Latin *vellus*, or calf) refers to parchment made from a calf; parchment, however, could come from other animals, such as sheep or goats. The production of parchment was akin to that of leather. Whereas leather was limed (to remove the hair), then tanned (soaked in tannin) to make the skin both flexible and durable, parchment was stretched and scraped on a frame, a process that rendered the skin somewhat stiff and thereby appropriate for writing on both sides. Scribes distinguished between the hair side (with follicles) and the flesh side, which was smoother and often more uniform in appearance.

Prepared parchment would in turn have been cut into sheets (the number depending on the size of the animal and the size of the book), which in turn were folded in the form of bifolia (sheets consisting of two leaves) (cat. nos. 53–54). The size of medieval books is limited by the sizes of the animals from which the skins were taken; the largest books (such as cat. no. 49) rarely exceed more than about sixty centimeters in height. Bifolia, in turn, were nested inside one another so as to form gatherings, or quires. A gathering with an odd number of leaves (or folia) therefore invariably means that either one or more leaves have been excised or added (in the form of singletons, or single leaves). Although gatherings of ten to twelve leaves or even sixteen or more are known, by the High Middle Ages, gatherings of eight leaves (hence four bifolia) were most common. A well-made manuscript tends to have gatherings of uniform size. In the early Middle Ages especially, scribes sought to compose their gatherings such that hair sides would always face hair, and flesh, flesh, so as to lend each opening (the salient feature of the codex or bound book) a uniform appearance. In the case of very thin parchment, artists and scribes had to take into account the phenomenon of "show through," which could, however, also serve as an aid when it came to repeating motifs from one side of a page to another. Aesthetic criteria were considered even before a scribe or artist had made a single mark on the page.

Layout played a critical role in determining the way in which any given book addressed its reader. Wide margins were a sign of luxury or that space needed to be left for readers to add their comments in the form of marginal glosses. Interlinear space was also a consideration that affected legibility, especially if interlinear glosses, often of a lexical character, were anticipated (the origin of our expression "reading between the lines"). In the earlier Middle Ages, the ruling that governed the justification (written space) as well as the number of lines was carried out in hard point, sometimes barely visible. In later centuries plummet (lead) or ink was employed. Ruling was guided by small holes or pricks placed in the margins; the appearance of pricking often indicates that a manuscript has not been rebound, as every rebinding required that the edges of pages be trimmed. In addition to ensuring a uniform appearance, the ruling matrix could also provide a framework or scaffolding for the illuminator. Blank but ruled pages provide a clear indication of what would have confronted the scribe or illuminator (by the late Middle Ages, hardly ever the same person) as he (or sometimes she) set to work.

Medieval scribes had at their disposal a variety of scripts (cat. no. 55). A change in script therefore does not always mean a change in hand. Especially elaborate scripts (display scripts), sometimes based on epigraphic inscriptions, employed size and color to introduce texts of particular importance. Small guide letters left by the scribe directed the rubricator, who, however, sometimes made mistakes. Rubrics and initials in different sizes defined content, directed the reader, and established a variable visual hierarchy within the pages of a book. Although sometimes standardized, each of these elements could be varied, ensuring that no two copies of a single text were ever exactly alike. Decoration, therefore, was not simply an addition to the text, it formed a constituent part of its meaning.

Except in earlier medieval manuscripts, in which script and image can often hardly be distinguished, lending lettering an iconic presence, illuminators relied on scribes to carve out space from the text block into which they then inserted their illustrations (cat. no. 57). The process of illumination itself was often collaborative, with various tasks, from preliminary, often highly schematic, preparatory drawings (cat. no. 75) to gilding, to coloring, carried out in a series of passes through the entire book, in a manner not unlike that of a modern printer (cat. no. 43). Unfinished manuscripts give us a detailed glimpse into the process of manufacture. Specialized tasks, such as the repetitive decoration of margins, were often left to assistants. The modern obsession with attribution to a single artistic hand, therefore, often hardly begins to reflect the collaborative circumstances of production.

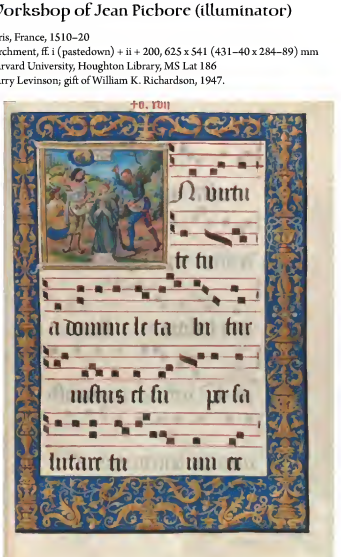
cat. no. 60, f. 11v

In this context, there was far less of a premium than there is today on artistic innovation and originality. Like scribes who patiently transcribed texts from authoritative exemplars, occasionally introducing variants, medieval illuminators often relied on models, which in some cases were gathered together in the form of model books (cat. no. 60). Models also circulated in the form of independent drawings (cat. no. 63). To the extent that illuminators explored new ideas, these often took the form of sketches on the blank pages (flyleaves) found at the beginnings and ends of bound books. Models assured a certain level of accuracy and were also a warrant for authority and authenticity, especially important considerations in the production of religious books. New texts, however, very often in various vernaculars, demanded original illustrations. Although illuminators often combined motifs appropriated from other contexts (and also other media), their work nonetheless provided scope for extraordinary creativity.

Jeffrey F. Hamburger

49. Gradual, Common of Saints
Workshop of Jean Pichore (illuminator)

Paris, France, 1510–20
Parchment, ff. i (pastedown) + ii + 200, 625 x 541 (431–40 x 284–89) mm
Harvard University, Houghton Library, MS Lat 186
Harry Levinson; gift of William K. Richardson, 1947.



f. 17r

Deluxe graduals were in notable demand during the final heyday of French manuscript production.[1] Dismemberment of many choir books, especially after the French Revolution,[2] heightens the significance of this gilt-edged exemplar of the Common of Saints. An original leather binding tooled with fleurs-de-lis and rosettes attests to extensive use of the volume on a lectern prior to the application of brass furnishings.[3]

Eight noted Masses for apostles, martyrs, confessors, and virgins represent the traditional concluding contents of a gradual, here illustrated by initials for the introits. Masses appended for the unidentified patron pay homage to St. Thomas the Apostle (Mass represented by cues), St. Joachim (canonized c. 1510 by Pope Julius II), and St. Anne. In the main sequence, St. Stephen is uniquely emphasized by depiction of his martyrdom (f. 17r).[4] The consistent aim at monumental effects is here exemplified by one of the two associates of the chief artist who has recently been identified as the Master of François I de Dinteville and assigned five of the ten introit initials.[5]

A stylistic rapport with works produced in the Parisian workshop of Jean Pichore (d. 1521) points to links with major commissions issued by Cardinal Georges d'Amboise, archbishop of Rouen and chancellor of Louis XII (d. 1510).[6] The access provided Pichore and his *confrères* to the cardinal's Italian manuscripts contributes to the effective design of the St. Stephen page. The Italianate surround, a striking exception to the illusionistic borders at all other illustrated openings, recalls the expertise of Pichore's Rouennais assistant, Jean Serpin. Of note among the gold motifs on royal blue ground in the lower margin is a crown atop a pedestal flanked by dolphins, conceivably an emblematic reference to ongoing hopes for a dauphin from 1495 to 1518.[7] Illustrations of the final two Masses added for the patron relate to queenly concerns regarding conception (Joachim and Anne) and the education of one's progeny (Education of the Virgin).[8]

Comprehensive study of sixty-four illustrations in three companion volumes of the gradual may cast light on its possible commission by or for a noblewoman.[9]

Lilian M. C. Randall

1 Assistance in the pursuit of relevant questions was kindly provided by Consuelo W. Dutschke, Robert Giel, Esther Griswold, Mary Haegert, Jeffrey F. Hamburger, Lynley Herbert, Kurt Heydeck, Theresa Z. Lupi, Steven Miller, Eef Overgaauw, Vincent J. Pollina, William P. Stoneman, Roger S. Wieck, and Lizz Wilkinson. Melodic plainchants in a gradual were traditionally intoned from the steps (*gradus*) to the altar or pulpit during the celebration of the Mass. See Apel 1972, 350; M. Brown, 1994, 62; Hughes 2004, 124–59.

2 For reference to relevant illuminated fragments linked with Anne de Bretagne, see Voelkle, Wieck, and Saffiotti 1992, 82 (see note 9 below for reference to Bernard Breslauer's father, Martin Breslauer); Sandra Hindman in Enluminures (Les) 1994, 70; Chotard 2007, 175, no. 97. See note 9 below; cf. Kren and Evans 2005; Wieck and Herman 2009.

3 Wieck 1983b, 38–39. The full description of cat. no. 49 by Laura Light on BeyondWords2016.org includes reference to the "Index misasarum de sanctis non habentibus proprium quorum non est facta mentio in sanctuario" (ff. 194r–200r): seventy saints listed, St. Lucy (December 13) to St. Nicholas (December 6).

4 Lupi 2011, 133, col. ill. For suffrage illustrations of the lapidation of St. Stephen in two books of hours with Italianate borders published in Paris by Jean Pichore and Remy de Laistre (April 5 and September 24, 1504), see Zöhl 2004, 165–68.

5 Wieck 1983b, 39, ill. (f. ci verso: presentation of book to a bishop); Wieck 1983a, 195–98, fig. 6 (f. ciii recto: papal procession); de Hamel 1986, 200, pl. 206 (f. ci verso). The Offering of Joachim in the Temple (f. clxxiv verso) is by the same hand; see note 8 below.

6 For Pichore, see Zöhl 2004, 14ff., 22, 184; Wieck 2004. Concerning Cardinal Georges d'Amboise, who purchased 138 Italian manuscripts in 1501 or 1502 from Frederick III, the last Aragonese king of Naples exiled in Tours, see Bottineau-Fuchs 2005; C. Brown 2010a, passim.

7 The dolphin as the heraldic insignia of Charles-Orland (1492–95), son of Anne de Bretagne and Charles VIII (d. 1498), is discussed in C. Brown 2011, 66–67. Prior to her death in 1514, Queen Anne de Bretagne gave birth to ten children, all of whom died early except two daughters: Claude (b. 1499) and Renée (b. 1510): see E. Brown 2010, 193. Queen Claude, wife of Francis I as of 1514, bore two daughters in 1515 and 1516 before giving birth on February 28, 1518 to a son and presumptive heir named after his father.

8 Concerning the image of Joshua and Anne (f. 174v), see L'Estrange 2010 for references to conception and childbearing in an Italian prayer book owned by Anne de Bretagne. If the central depiction of St. Anne enthroned between angel-musicians (f. 182r) commemorates Anne de Bretagne (d. January 9, 1514), this would establish a terminus post quem for the gradual represented by cat. no. 49; could the young girl seated on the ground at the left with an open gilt-edged book in her lap represent Anne de Bretagne's daughter Renée (b. 1510)? Cf. tentative identification of Renée in a dedication miniature depicting her sister Claude de France mourning the death of her mother (Paris, BnF, ms. fr. 2S158, f. 3v: Pierre Choque, *Commémoration de la mort de madame Anne...Royne de France*): C. Brown 2010b, 115–17. For commemorative inclinations of Queen Claude reflected in the primer she commissioned for Renée: see Wieck 2007a and Wieck 2010, 187–89; Wieck, Brown, and König 2012, 87, 114, 151–52. For Claude's inheritance of her mother's books and other relevant topics, see Wilson-Chevalier 2010, 141.

9 (1) Claremont, Scripps Coll., Perkins 4. Temporale (Maundy Thursday to vigil of Pentecost), ff. 151 (628 x 450 mm), nine introit initials (165 x 165 mm), donated 1942 (Dutschke and Rouse, 75, fig. 43). (2) Baltimore, Walters Art Mus., Ms. W.460. Temporale, Pentecost Sunday through the twenty-third Sunday after Pentecost, ff. 183 (670 x 485 mm), twenty-six introit initials (164 x 168–78 mm), purchased by Henry Walters from Leo S. Olschki, 1905–10? (L. M. C. Randall 1992, 479–82, figs. 356, 357, 395, pl. 22b). (3) Berlin, SBB, Ms. lat. 2°830. Sanctorale, ff. 243 (630 x 440 mm), twenty-nine introit initials (Brandis

and Becker 1998, col. ill., f. 99r). Gift of Verein der Freunde der Königlichen Bibliothek, 1916, through contributions amounting to 11,500 marks, major contributor was Martin Breslauer, antiquarian bookseller in Berlin as of 1898, from whom the manuscript may have been purchased. The three volumes retain their original bindings, matching the one on cat. no. 49, donated by William King Richardson in 1947. Ownership of all four volumes in Italy c. 1800 is attested by entries in ink by the same hand on front pastedowns, beginning "In Peso," followed by "R" with superscript "bi" in apparent references to the weight of each volume, next followed by reference to the number of miniatures termed "M[iniatu]re" (cf. reference to weight of silver gilt furnishings on back pastedown of Walters Art Mus., Ms. W.258, book of hours, Paris, c. 1480–90: L. M. C. Randall 1992, 338); subsequent ownership of cat. no. 49 in Italy confirmed by a penciled entry "Vignette" in large script on the back pastedown, referring to the ten historiated initials, nineteenth–twentieth century. The gradual is incomplete, lacking the first or perhaps the first two volumes of the temporale both of which may have been dismembered; the first volume perhaps contained heraldic evidence for ownership: Voelkle, Wieck, and Saffiotti 1992, 82. For attribution of the four volumes to Jean Pichore's workshop, see Zöhl 2004, 183–84. Stylistic connections with a remarkable ten-volume gradual containing twenty-four illustrations are discussed in Lupi 2011, 131–36.

50. Prayer roll
Monkey Master (illuminator)

South Holland, the Netherlands, c. 1485–90
Parchment, 1 membrane, 845 x 184–87 (c. 743–45 x 107–10 mm)
Harvard University, Houghton Library, MS Typ 286
Sold by L. C. Harper, 1962; bequest of Philip Hofer, 1984.

This is one of only three illuminated prayer rolls thus far known that can be localized to the northern Netherlands. Two of the three are in Dutch and are headed by depictions of devotional subjects.[1] This example is in Latin and is illuminated, but was not illustrated.

Previous accountings of the number of extant prayer rolls, which have put that number at sixteen and twenty-five examples, respectively, were made without knowledge of the three rolls from the northern Netherlands.[2] The number can be expanded still further, as Johan Oosterman has compiled a list of another seven examples written partially or fully in Dutch not including the three mentioned above and that were not included in previous lists.[3] Even in the incomplete nature of our knowledge, it is apparent that textual, decorative, illustrative, and even some functional variations exist between prayer rolls produced in different national traditions, and perhaps also within them.[4] For that reason the comments offered here treat primarily only the examples from the northern Netherlands.

The three extant Dutch examples differ in their contents as well as in their language and their schemes of decoration or illustration. One includes prayers addressed only to the Virgin Mary focused on her sorrows beneath the cross.[5] The Harvard roll and that now at Yale University both begin with versions of the prayer known as the "Verses of St. Gregory," but are respectively in Latin (Harvard) and Dutch (Yale), and contain different redactions of that prayer. Both are preceded by rubrics promising indulgences for those who recite these prayers, indicating that a primary purpose of these prayer rolls was to protect the souls of their owners in their afterlife. There are additional parallels in the contents of the rolls at Harvard and Yale, as well as other differences. Both include prayers to Mary, although different ones (one in the Harvard roll, three in that at Yale) and single prayers, again different, addressed to the supplicant's guardian angel. The Harvard roll also includes some prayers not found in that at Yale: one each on the name of Jesus and to Sts. Anne and Mary Magdalene.

Even from this small sample, it is apparent that these rolls were intended for the private devotional use of their owners. Owners could carry rolls easily on their persons, enabling them to offer diverse prayers addressed variously to Christ, Mary, a guardian angel or patron saints, when and wherever they found themselves while traveling, in an effort to insure their worldly well-being and their eternal salvation.

The pen-flourish decoration and the accompanying painted marginal illumination of the Harvard roll enable it to be dated c. 1485–90 and localized to South Holland. Both appear in a group of manuscripts attributed to the so-called Monkey Master, named after the inclusion of monkeys in

the margins of some manuscripts decorated in the same distinctive style as that found in the Harvard roll.[6] Two of the manuscripts in the group are dated 1484 and 1489, respectively, which provides a chronological touchstone for works in this style; they can be localized to South Holland on the basis of entries in the calendars of some manuscripts in the group (chiefly books of hours) and because of the presence of similar painted and pen-flourish decoration—especially that with bulbous, eggplant-like forms known as "aubergines"—in manuscripts localizable on various grounds to different locales in South Holland.[7]

The large painted initial that commences the Harvard roll and its accompanying lush painted border decoration are all in the distinctive, richly colored style of the Monkey Master. The figural depictions of a seated cowled dog (or fox?) at the upper right corner of the roll and of a richly painted peacock at the lower left corner of the marginal illumination have close counterparts in other manuscripts by the same painter, appearing, among others, in books of hours in The Hague dated 1484 and 1489 and in an unpublished book of hours in Weert.[8] Inasmuch as the known works illuminated by the Monkey Master consist primarily of books of hours, it is understandable why the patron of the Harvard roll would have commissioned him to decorate another instrument of private devotion, albeit one less extensive in its contents and made for carrying on his or her person.

James H. Marrow

1 The Hague, KB, Ms. 74 G 20, of c. 1480–1500, for which see W. Byvanck 1922, 74, no. 352, Rudy 2015b, 151–52, fig. 130, and cat. no. 79; and New Haven, Beinecke Library, MS 1187 (ex-London, Sotheby's, July 8, 2014, lot 48), datable, in my opinion, to the early sixteenth century, for which see http://www.sothebys.com/en/auctions/ecatalogue/2014/medieval-renaissance-manuscripts-l14240/lot.48.html.

2 For the count of sixteen see Stork 2004, 186 (expanded to nineteen examples, including the present manuscript, and another six known only from inventories in Stork 2010); for twenty-five see Drimmer 2014, 100n19.

3 Private communication. I am grateful to Professor Oosterman for his kindness in sharing the list of prayer rolls he has compiled with texts partially or fully in Dutch and for providing me with a draft transcription of the text of the roll now at Yale, all of which are parts of a publication he is preparing on this material.

4 For the best and most comprehensive treatments of prayer rolls, both with extensive bibliography of earlier studies, see Van der Velden 2006 and Drimmer 2014.

5 The Hague, KB, Ms. 74 G 20, for which see note 1 above. I thank Ed van der Vlist of the Koninklijke Bibliotheek for kindly providing me with a transcription of the text of this roll.

6 For the name, see Defoer, Korteweg, and Wüstefeld 1990, 265–66 and 277–78, cat. no. 95.

7 For "aubergine" penwork or painted decoration, see Korteweg 1987, and Korteweg 1992, 69–72, and cat. nos. 43 (hours dated 1484, The Hague, KB, Ms. 133 M 82), 44–45, 49, 50 (hours dated 1489, The Hague, KB, Ms. 74 G 30), and 51.

8 The seated cowled dog (or fox?) at the upper right margin of the Harvard roll has a close counterpart on f. 115r in an unpublished Dutch-language book of hours illuminated by the Monkey Master in Weert, Mus. Horne, ms. 17; the decoration of f. 80r in the same manuscript provides close analogies for the peacock at the lower left corner of the marginal decoration of the Harvard prayer roll and the pansy-like flowers that accompany it (pink petals above, and gray-blue ones below). For other versions of these marginal figures in manuscripts illuminated by the Monkey Master see the Dutch-language books of hours dated, respectively, 1484 and 1489 in The Hague, KB, Ms. 133 M 82, f. 17r, which has a peacock of the type mentioned above in the upper right margin and a dog with a cowl, this time depicted before a reading desk with an open book in the lower left margin, and The Hague, KB, Ms. 74 G 30, f. 19r (Korteweg 1992, 80, cat. no. 50, illustration at the lower right corner of the page).

51. New Testament (partially glossed)

The Netherlands or Germany, c. 1240–60
Parchment, iii (modern parchment) + 172 + ii (modern parchment), 500 x 180 (biblical text, 400–405 x 60–62; text and gloss, c. 447 x 123) mm
Harvard University, Houghton Library, MS Typ 37
Henry Huth, and then his son, Alfred Huth (sale, 1911, lot 7383); Leicester Harmsworth (sale, 1945, lot 2039) to William K. Richardson; presented by Richardson in 1946.

ff. 43v–44r

This may well be the most unusual manuscript in this exhibition. First, because it is exceptionally tall and narrow, and second, because of the hundreds of lines of tiny script copied in the margins (and between the lines).

It includes the complete New Testament from the Gospels through the Apocalypse.[1] The plan was for it also to include the Patristic and medieval commentaries on the Bible known as the *Glossa Ordinaria*.[2] The idea of including the complete text of the New Testament together with the complete text of the Ordinary Gloss was extremely ambitious. As a rule, glossed bibles included only a single book of the Bible, or at most a few related ones; sets of the Gloss for the entire Bible could include as many as twenty volumes. To compress this extensive text into one volume, the scribe copied the glosses in a very small but quite precise script (the shorter comments between the lines, and longer passages in the margin, as on ff. 43v–44r reproduced here), using as many as 160 lines per page. He numbered each marginal gloss, and placed the corresponding number above the appropriate passage in the biblical text.[3] This careful system of reference is perhaps unique; in most glossed bibles, text and commentaries are linked only by the position on the page (and sometimes with the repetition of the opening words). The project was more ambitious than practical, and it is incomplete. There are no formal glosses after the beginning of the Gospel of John (although there are a few later notes).[4]

The extremely tall, narrow format of this manuscript is unusual, but the goal of condensing the Gloss can also be seen in the two-volume bible from France, now Oxford, Bodleian Library, MS. Laud Lat. 9.[5] Our book was probably made in Germany, judging from style of script and details of spelling. It was copied on high quality parchment in a skilled script, but the style of the pen initials is not mainstream, and nothing is known about exactly where this project was undertaken or for whom.

Laura Light

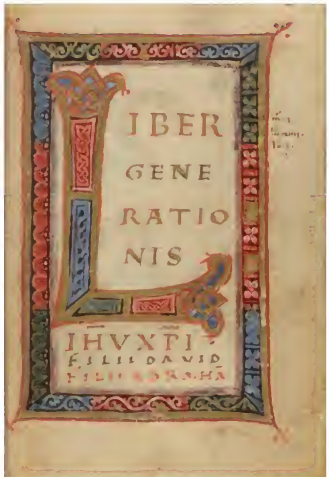
1 Copies of just the New Testament are surprisingly not common during the Middle Ages outside of Italy and Southern France; see Ruzzier 2008.
2 The text here appears to be the *Glossa Ordinaria* based on the study of select passages at the beginning of Matthew and Luke; further study would be necessary to see how closely the text as a whole corresponds to the Gloss. On the Gloss, see the overview in Smith 2009, citing earlier studies.
3 When there were multiple glosses on the same passage, they all share the same number, but an ingenious system of dots are used to signal the fact that there were multiple glosses.
4 Marginal glosses were added on ff. 4v–52v; from Matthew, which begins on f. 5r, through the opening of John, which begins on f. 52r; the interlinear glosses continue through f. 63r. There were no glosses added after f. 63v. On numerous occasions, the scribe ran out of room in the margins, and copied them in the same tiny script on extra sheets at the end of the volume.
5 Smith 2009, 135–36. A number of one-volume bibles copied c. 1200–30, were intended to include glosses, and some are extensively glossed, for example, Paris, B. Mazarine, Ms. 70, but they do not include, nor were they intended to include, the entire text of the *Glossa Ordinaria*; see Light 1994.

52. Four Gospels (Evangeliarium)

Northern (?) Italy, 1100–25
Parchment, ff. i (marbled paper) + iv (parchment) + 179 + iv (parchment) + i (marbled paper), 95 x 62 (69–71 x 39–43) mm
Harvard University, Houghton Library, MS Riant 20[1]
Paul Edouard Didier, comte de Riant; J. Randolph Coolidge and Archibald Cary Coolidge; given to Harvard, 1899.

This remarkable and unparalleled diminutive *Evangeliarium* contains the text of the Four Gospels, prefaced by Jerome's letter to Pope Damasus and a set of canon tables enclosed in simple rectangular frames outlined in red ink and filled with brushed gold, with simple dot and serpentine embellishments. Each Gospel is preceded by its preface (more or less complete) and begins with a framed full-page initial, clearly inspired by the typical "geometric style" featured in central Italian early Giant Bibles (and related manuscripts), with possible allusions to older Carolingian models (as suggested by the small gilded initials).

The codex's sheets are of very thin and well-prepared parchment structured into (quite uncommon) groupings of quinions, senions, and quaternions (11^1, $2–9^{10}$, $10–15^{12}$, $16–17^8$, with physical *caesurae* at the ends of Matthew and Mark, but not at the end of Luke). The quires are blind ruled with visible slash-type prickings and carefully written on twenty-five long lines in a minute, conservative Italian Carolingian minuscule, with frequent but rather common abbreviations. The Eusebian sections are inscribed in brown and red ink in the outer margins. The four painted frontispieces (ff. 12r, 62r, 92r, 143r) show seventeen to twenty-two line "hollow shaft" initials (*L*, *I*, *Q*, *I*, followed by small chrysographic majuscules), surrounded by full page borders (the first one being more elaborate than the following three); the bodies of the letters are bordered in gold and filled with rectangular fields colored in red, blue, and green, enhanced with interlaces, rosettes, and stylized leaves, with crown-like knots at the letters' extremities. The decorative repertory recalls an incipient "middle geometrical" style, with echoes of "early geometrical" devices (compartments with dotted interlaces), thus pointing to a date not earlier than the beginning of the twelfth century. Small gold (three- to one-line) and red (one-line) initials and red rubrics contribute to the tidy *mise en texte* of the Gospels.



f. 12r

The uniqueness of the Riant *Evangeliarium* and its unusually small size, as well as the absence of any trace of scholarly use suggest that it served as a private prayer book, but the question of its ownership (a high-ranking male or female ecclesiastic or a distinguished layperson?) remains open, as well as that of its precise place of origin.

Marilena Maniaci

1 De Germon and Polain 1896–99, 2.1: xlix, no. 20; Wyatt 1912; de Ricci 1935–40, 1:1002; Dutschke 1982, 7; Light 1988, 21–23, no. 5.

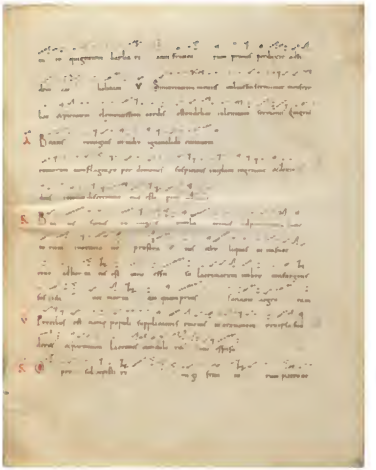
53-54. Notated liturgical office of St. Remigius

Reims (?), northern France, c. 900–50
Parchment, 2 bifolia, c. 180 x 150 (c. 130 x 100) mm each
Harvard University, Houghton Library, MSS Lat 360 (2) and Typ 704 (8)[1]
Gift of William Henry Bond, 1986, in honor of the 80th birthday of Arthur A. Houghton Jr. (MS Lat 360 [2]).
Sold by B. M. Rosenthal, 1964; bequest of Philip Hofer, 1984 (MS Typ 704 [8]).

These leaves form part of a libellus containing the text and music for the liturgical office of St. Remigius, bishop of Reims (d. 533).

These two nested bifolia, innermost in their quire, together with a single folio in the Schøyen Collection (London and Oslo, MS 096), which precedes these, comprise almost all the liturgical music required for a full office. The consecutive leaf of the Schøyen fragment might have included

music for vespers to conclude the liturgical day; and an outer bifolium would reveal whether this is a separate libellus of music, or part of a somewhat larger collection including a life of the saint.



cat. no. 53, f. 2r

The office here is monastic, perhaps from of the monastery of Saint-Rémi de Reims, founded by the saint and the place of his burial. The ordering of pieces is not duplicated exactly in any of the other surviving sources, all of which are later.

The musical notation (see cat. no. 53, f. 2r) is in non-diastematic messine neumes, used at Reims and elsewhere, without line, clef, or *custos* (a mark at the end of the line serving a cue for the music on the following staff). It is among the earliest witnesses of this style of notation. Noteworthy are the verses that accompany the antiphons, probably intended to precede the repetition of the antiphon after the psalm.

Remigius's baptism of Clovis, king of the Franks, is traditionally celebrated as the moment of the conversion of the Franks to Christianity. Founder of many dioceses, associate of St. Medardus, St. Clotilda, and St. Vedastus, Remigius was a powerful founder of the Frankish church, nearly as important as St. Martin and St. Denis.

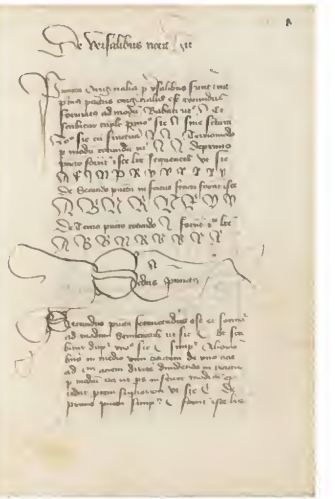
A life of Remigius by his ninth-century successor Hincmar (806–82), serves as the source of many of the texts here.[2] An earlier life, by ps.-Fortunatus also provides material.[3] Citations in the works of Godescalc d'Orbais (c. 808–c. 867), who had tangled with Hincmar over his doctrine of predestination, suggest that the office was in existence by his time. This source does not postdate the creation of the office by many years.

Thomas Forrest Kelly

1 Goudesenne 1997 and 2002, Hourlier 1951 and 1954.
2 *Bibliotheca hagiographica latina* 1898–1901, 1:7152.
3 Ibid., 1:7150 (seventh century).

55. Modus scribendi

Melk, Austria, c. 1460
Paper,[1] ff. 8, 220 x 140 (140 x 78) mm
Harvard University, Houghton Library, MS Typ 111
Listed as F. 44 in the Melk catalogue of 1483; Stanley Morison, c. 1940; gift of Philip Hofer in honor of James E. Walsh, 1983.



f. 8r

Medieval writing manuals and specimen or advertising sheets, which belong to a much broader genre of technical and craft manuals, survive in considerable numbers.[2] Their terminology is often fanciful and so must be taken with a grain of salt.[3] The brief manual on the art of writing from the library of the Benedictine monastery at Melk on the Danube combines various elements, of which the first consists of a set of instructions in Latin verse on how to write the letters of the alphabet (ff. 3r–6r).[4] There follow further instructions in (poor) Leonine hexameters (f. 6v) on how to write six forms of script (*notula*). These are given as *rotunda* (round), *fractura* (Fraktur or fractured, broken), *semifracta* (Semifraktur, defined as broken above, straight below), *simplex* (simple), *sepacta* (elsewhere called *littera conclavata*, compared in appearance to a fence), and *actua* (sharp, but defined in the text as narrow, in fact a cursive script derived from the writing of documents in which, as noted by the author, one letter begins where the previous letter terminated so that the nib never had to leave the surface of the page). The script, however, in which these definitions are written is uniform in appearance. Next (ff. 7r–7v) comes a section on ligatures, i.e., letters that are joined, an especially common feature of Gothic scripts, and small letters (minuscules). Two subsequent pages (ff. 8r–8v) treat the cutting of quills and versal or capital letters (majuscules) used to mark the beginning of a line that are a regular feature of medieval scripts. The term derives from *versus*, Latin for

line or verse, but more particularly the writing of psalters, in which every verse, whether run together or begun on a new line, usually begins with a larger letter to aid reading and comprehension. Next come some amusing notes on the vices or errors of scribes (f. 9r), a section not without irony, given that the scribe is rather sloppy and makes numerous mistakes of his own. Errors to be avoided include simple mistakes, the separation of syllables, uneven interlinear space, uneven writing that does not hold the line, uneven spacing of words, changes from one form of script to another, and letters that are uneven in size (all sins of which he is guilty). Toward the end of the booklet (f. 9v), the scribe reproduces the declaration with which Sigismund, the last of the Luxemburg dynasty who ruled as king of Bohemia, king of Hungary and, from 1433 to 1437, as Holy Roman emperor, opened his letters; the reference provides a terminus post quem for the manuscript. Another hand added the date 1440, plus a bad Latin joke that puns on the word *pedes* or foot (referring to the metrical feet of verse): "nullus scribebatur per pedes" ("No verse was ever written by feet"). The closing folios supply examples of abbreviations (f. 10r) and a series of examples (f. 10v). Despite its subject matter, it has to be said that the scribe of the *Modus scribendi* was no great master of his art; although decorated with the occasional scribal initial and cadel (flourish extending into the upper margin), his hand is rather sloppy.

Jeffrey F. Hamburger

1 Part of a watermark (bull's head) can be seen in the gutter on f. 8r, but not enough to permit identification.
2 Córdoba 2013.
3 Derolez 2003, 18–19. For a contrarian view, see Gasparri 1989.
4 Bischoff 1939, Morison 1940.

56. Illuminated initial from an antiphonal

Northern Italy (?), c. 1500 (?)
Parchment, 160 x 140 mm
Harvard University, Houghton Library, MS Typ 1009 (formerly 90M-16)
Loeser collection; Paul J. Sachs; gift to Fogg of Meta and Paul J. Sachs (1965.387); transferred, 1990.

This charming fragment once opened the hymn, "[C]hr[iste] redemptor omnium" for second vespers in a monastic antiphonal. All that is left of the incipit is the embellished letter *h*, followed by an unadorned *ri*. The writing on the verso "[Tu lume]n tu spen[dor patris] ("You, light and brightness of the Father") indicates the beginning of the second stanza.[1] The location of its finalized upper frame, however, was predetermined by the upper line of the four-line musical staff (the red color shows through the parchment). The wobbly lines in graphite have nothing to do with the original execution, but rather mark the intentions of someone to excise the indicated portions of the page.

In this instance, given the consistency of the medium, scribe and artist may well have been one. The initial *h* is of a piece with the text of the chant that follows, for which the ruling, in brown ink, remains clearly visible. The aesthetics of the ensuing drawing rest on the interplay of overlapping forms, the drawing of which depends on skillful sequencing of marks, and on forms responding playfully with one another. The drawing's cunning lies in how the artist engineers elements to accommodate the baroque forms of the letter and to extend out from and into the frame. The peacock, lower right, posed as if lured into the dense forest of décor by a cluster of berries, had to have been plotted and drawn before the finalized frame. At the ascender's terminal, in the giddy space above the initial's frame, a spotted dog gently tastes—and his lips already half-conceal—a single ornamental berry; to the left of the ascender, rising foliage culminates in a mammalian profile that also seems to sniff the ever-tempting fruits; and above the *h*'s shoulder, a fierce chimera faces off against a club-bearing rider, whose dog glances nervously back at his master. Although premeditated (otherwise the logic of overlap could not be so meticulously maintained), these details look spontaneous and improvised, like doodling.

Drawing is a highly mutable medium. Conjuring things out of the near-nothing of an uncolored line, shifting effortlessly between realism and abstraction, it turns the artist into an empathetic viewer of his own marks, which through him become everywhere invested with life. Although it is difficult to date the fragment, its spectacle of pure draftsmanship probably places it after 1500, once artists like Hieronymus Bosch in the Netherlands and Albrecht Dürer in Germany had expanded the possibilities of drawing as an autonomous medium. The parallel hatching behind all the figurative play also recalls engravings of that period. As to the relation of all this ornament to the chant, like the marginalia that Dürer sketched in his fabulous prayer book for Emperor Maximilian, the relation between word and image is most probably oblique: a free embellishment, like the musical ones the antiphonal also captures.

Joseph L. Koerner

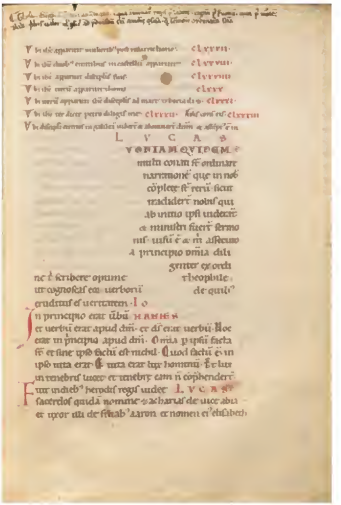
1 I am grateful to Jeffrey Hamburger for this information.

57. Gospel Harmony

Belgium (Meuse Valley) or Germany (?), 1175–1200
Parchment, ff. i + 87 + i, 285 x 190 (208 x 109–11) mm
Harvard University, Houghton Library, MS Richardson 25
Mary and Charles Lacaita; Sotheby's, London, July 20, 1936 , lot 9; Maggs, London; bought by William K. Richardson, 1936, his bequest, 1951.

The void on the recto illustrated here was reserved by the scribe for the large letter *Q* that was to have introduced the opening of the Gospel of Luke, which in the Latin Vulgate begins "Quoniam quidem multi conati sunt ordinare narrationem, quae in nobis completae sunt, rerum" ("Forasmuch as many have taken in hand to set forth in order a narration of the things that have been accomplished among us"). One has, however, only to scan down the page to see that the first four verses of Luke are followed by the first five verses of the Gospel of John, succeeded in turn by the verses that follow on from the preceding passage from Luke. Each section is introduced by the name of the relevant Evangelist written in capitals in minium, the ruddy orange ink from which the term "illumination" derives its name. The combination of kindred Gospel passages identifies the text as a Gospel Harmony (in some ways comparable in function to canon tables; see cat. nos. 23 and 26), in this case, an example that can be traced to the *Codex Fuldensis*, otherwise known as the *Codex Bonifatianus* (Fulda, LB, Codex Bonifatianus 1).[1] The Fulda codex, which was copied for Victor, bishop of Capua (d. 554), who provided it with a short prologue, is among the most important witnesses to the Vulgate text of the New Testament and later belonged to St. Boniface, who presented

it to the monastery of Fulda. In effect, the Harmony serves much the same purpose as the Eusebian canon tables (cf. cat. no. 26), references to which are integral to the work and which can be found in the margins of the manuscript. The other marginal annotations date to the fourteenth century.



f. 6r

In such a manuscript, one can properly speak of script as image and vice versa. Over half the page, reckoned in terms of height, was set aside for the monumental opening letter, which, had it been completed, would have dominated the page. Completely bisecting the text block, the negative space for the letter underscores the degree to which text and image were intertwined in earlier medieval manuscripts. Whether the letter was to have been painted in body color, perhaps even embellished with burnished gold, cannot be known. It is, however, more likely that, as was common in monastic manuscripts of the mid-twelfth century, it would have been completed using a variety of colored inks and pigments, either drawn or painted, a technique that would have further emphasized the integration of text and image, scribal and artistic practice. The scribe's preparatory ruling, which transects the page at regular intervals, guaranteeing the highly regular interlinear spacing, would, like graph paper, have provided the artist with a scaffolding on which to build the initial. Also visible is the pricking that guided the preparation of the ruling.

In contrast to the large letter, the smaller three-line initials introducing the subsequent sections sit entirely outside the text block, a technique whose origins lie in Late Antiquity, the period in which the uninterrupted flow of text without word spacing, a practice geared to recitation rather than silent reading, first began to admit forms of decoration designed to structure the text by appealing, not to the ear, but to the eye. The table of contents that prefaces the text points to the increasing emphasis on visual aids to study and comprehension. Each chapter division, identified by the Roman numerals to the right, begins in uniform fashion with the word "Ubi" ("Where"), pointing to the location in the combined Gospel account where a particular event in sacred history took place. Each capital letter *V* is filled with a carefully placed dot of minium. After the scribe had copied out the text, he or another scribe added all the elements in minium. The subsequent stage, the completion of the large letter, was never carried out.

Jeffrey F. Hamburger

1 Light 1988, 59–61, no. 22.

58. Gratian, Decretum

Northern France, c. 1200
Parchment, 1 leaf, 380 x 255 (318 x 216) mm
Harvard University, Houghton Library, MS Typ 704 (1)
C. G. Boerner, Leipzig, cat. 110 (November 28, 1912), lot 11; sold by B. M. Rosenthal, 1955; bequest of Philip Hofer, 1984.[1]

The sheet provides a good example of the detailed drawings that often underlay finished illuminations. Both the figure and the diagram were carefully defined, first in lead, then, to reinforce and fill in certain elements, with brown ink applied with a brush. Pricking holes indicate that a compass was used for the circles that constitute the diagram. The ruling, originally prepared for the text, provides a geometrical matrix for the drawing.

The towering image, which fills the entire sheet, lends anthropomorphic form to a diagram designed to define degrees of consanguinity beyond which members of the same family might be permitted to marry. The man with outstretched arms, to be identified with Christ on account

of his halo, holds the corners of his cloak in his outstretched hands. Although the diagram in front of him expands from the blank circle at the center, it seems to be suspended from the hem of his garment at the neck.

Referred to as "Trees of Consanguinity," the diagrams did not necessarily adopt arboreal imagery. They were usually paired with a second Tree of Affinity. Restrictions on marriage among members of an extended family, a common practice among the aristocracy in an age in which primogeniture governed inheritance of estates, were of great concern to the church, which from the ninth century onward increased the degrees of permissible consanguinity, defined in terms of common ancestry, from the four prohibited by Roman law to seven (anyone up to and including a sixth cousin). The Fourth Lateran Council reduced the number again to four.

Consanguinity diagrams took on many forms; the sheet presents an example of the format known according to the standard classification as "Type 7," which illustrated the *Decretum Gratiani*, compiled c. 1150 by Gratian, a canon lawyer from Bologna.[2] In principle, the fact that the sheet still displays seven degrees of consanguinity would indicate a date prior to 1215, as following the Fourth Lateran Council, the restrictions it literally embodies by displaying the diagram suspended in front of the body of the ultimate arbiter, Christ, were no longer valid. In practice, older models, based on the Decretals, continued to be copied and consulted right through the Middle Ages, even after Pope Gregory IX (c. 1145–1241) had the Dominican Raymund of Peñaforte (c. 1175–1275), prepare a new collection to replace previous compendia. Moreover, the style of the drawing, which remains highly classicizing in its use of troughs and loops to indicate the folds of the drapery, is consistent with a date c. 1200.

In particular, the diagram is linked to part 2, chapter (*causa*) 35, question 5 of Gratian's work, which reads: "quomodo gradus consanguinitatis conputandi sunt" ("In what way are the degrees of consanguinity to be calculated?"). A series of circles, inscribed with a compass, fan out from the blank one at the center, sometimes labeled "ego" for one's self. That immediately above is labeled "pater mater" (father, mother); below can be seen circles labeled "frater" (brother) and "soror" (sister). Subsequent generations move away from the center along the descending diagonals, so that, for example, grandsons and granddaughters appear still one row lower and one further out from the central axis.

Jeffrey F. Hamburger

1 Kidd 2016c.
2 Schadt 1982.

59. Vite de santi
Matteo Felice (illuminator)

Naples, Italy, c. 1470–80
Parchment, ff. ii + 200 + i, 350 x 235 (225 x 138) mm
Harvard University, Houghton Library, MS Typ 142
John Broadley (sale, London, 1832, lot 519); Thomas Phillipps (MS 8525); bequest of Philip Hofer, 1984.

The manuscript's current designation, *Lives of Saints*, stems simply from the descriptive title added in the eighteenth or nineteenth century. Added within the space reserved for a large frontispiece on the opening folio, it is framed by the white-vine borders, each of which contains a medallion at the center. Those in the inner and upper borders display the IHS and XPS monograms respectively against a red ground, that in the outer margin is red, but otherwise unfinished, and that in the lower margin, blank, most likely in anticipation of a coat of arms.

f. 94r (detail)

The work in fact is the second volume of what must originally have been (or was intended to have been) a four-volume collection of saints' lives in Italian arranged in alphabetical sequence, beginning with Eutherius (a seventh-century bishop of the former archdiocese of Embrun in southern France) and ending with Juliana of Nicomedia (thought to have been born in Cumae in Campania). Rather than employing the widely disseminated *Vite dei Santi Padri* of Domenico Cavalca (c. 1270–1343), which played an important role in establishing the Italian vernacular as a literary language, the manuscript offers independent translations of Latin lives, in some cases drawing on precedents from the fourteenth century.[1] Each of the lives, which are written in a humanistic script and which vary in length from a third of a page to several folios, is introduced by a small square miniature depicting the saint's martyrdom juxtaposed with a Roman capital introducing the accompanying life. Saints singled out for longer lives include Francis and John the Baptist. Given the similarity of subject matter and their sheer number (181), it is impressive to what degree the artist avoided repetition, in part through the introduction of different landscape settings.

Previously attributed to the Neapolitan painter and illuminator Cola Rapicano, active during the second half of the fifteenth century, the manuscript's illumination can be more convincingly associated with the prolific Matteo Felice, who is documented in Naples between 1467 and 1493.[2] An incunable in the Houghton Library, printed in 1487 (cat. no. 243) includes woodcuts and illuminations painted by an artist from the same circle. The manuscript's chief interest, however, lies in its abundance of miniatures only partly finished, which reveal the various stages of execution. Unfinished manuscripts are not uncommon in fifteenth-century Italian illumination, indicating that then as now, patrons sometimes ran out of money or artists were no longer available.[3] In the first step, the artist filled the space reserved by the scribe with a drawing. The drawings are schematic, but nonetheless full of lively incident. That reproduced here (f. 94r) depicts the martyrdom of St. Felicitas and her seven sons. Although according to her legend, each of her sons was martyred in a different way, in the unfinished miniature, all of them either await or have already been beheaded as their mother is martyred to the right. The executioner raises his arm to lift his sword, but the sword has either been omitted or was never added. Typical of much illumination of the period is the abundance of small, delicately drawn figures with eyes, nose and pursed lips indicated in brown ink by short comma-like strokes of the pen. Next, in preparation for gilding, a ground of gesso (plaster, chalk, and glue), colored a brownish red by the admixture of clay to identify the areas to be gilded and to enrich the tonality of the overlying gold, was laid down in those areas (frames and halos) to receive gold leaf and to raise them for burnishing.

The gilding itself represented a subsequent step. Only then were colors applied. The unfinished miniatures, however, make clear that this too was a multistage process involving multiple passes with relatively thin bodycolor pigments which permit one to see much of the underlying drawing. First certain areas were blocked out; details and highlights were added later. In numerous instances, parts of the drawing were deliberately left unpainted. The same stages inform the painting of the initials, many of which overlap the miniatures.

Jeffrey F. Hamburger

1 Delcorno 2009, 490, attributes the manuscript to Cola Rapicano, whose characteristic style, however, does not match that in the manuscript.
2 As suggested by Francesca Manzari. See Toscano 2004a.
3 Alexander 1994, 209–12.

ff. 5v–6r

60. Hugh of Fouilloy, De bestiis et aliis rebus, seu Columba deaurata

Northern France, c. 1230–50
Parchment, ff. ii + 14 (images) + 73 (text) + ii, 160 x 110–115 (110 x 80) mm
Harvard University, Houghton Library, MS Typ 101
Johannes Spergaz, fifteenth century; William Cheslyn, eighteenth century; John Fossum, eighteenth or nineteenth century; sold by H. P. Kraus, 1946; gift of Philip Hofer in honor of Roger S. Wieck, 1983.

Medieval model books are exceptionally rare. Despite their purpose, which was to transmit designs and to enable reproduction of images from one copy to another, they were by their nature destined to be damaged and discarded. Robert W. Scheller's catalogue of model books includes no more than thirty-four examples from the medieval West, of which only seven date to before 1200.[1] Another seven, of which the example at Harvard is one, date to the thirteenth century. The remainder all come from the later Middle Ages.

The Harvard model book, *On Animals and Other Things; or, the Gilded Dove*, which was illuminated in Paris c. 1240, is unusual in several respects.[2] Unlike almost all earlier collections of its kind, which tended to gather motifs from diverse contexts, often in no apparent order, cat. no. 60 provides models for one particular work, a bestiary of which the most substantial section (ff. 15r–60v) stems from the hugely popular Aviary or moralized book of birds by the French Augustinian prior, Hugh of Fouilloy (Hugo de Folieto).[3] Born around the year 1100 and last mentioned in 1172, Hugh most likely wrote his "bestseller," of which close to one hundred manuscripts survive (sixty-four of them illustrated or with spaces for illustrations) at Saint-Nicholas-de-Regny, a priory of the Augustinian house of Saint-Laurent-au-Bois where he served as prior. Hugh's Aviary takes as its point of departure an extended comparison of the dove and the hawk, which stand respectively for the clergy and the military (reflecting the categorization of high medieval society into three orders, the *oratores* [those who pray], the *bellatores* [those who fight] and—omitted from his allegory—the *laboratores* [those who labor, i.e., the peasantry]). In the manuscript at Harvard, his Aviary is combined with a short supplement on the colors of the turtledove ("De diversis coloribus ac naturis columbarum," ff. 60v–62v) and a version of the *Dicta Chrysostomi* or sayings of Chrysostomos (ff. 62v–87v), another widely circulated bestiary of which nine illustrated copies survive.[4] Only two other manuscripts, one in London (BL, Sloane MS. 278), the other in St. Petersburg (RNB, Ms. Lat.Qv.III.1), the latter a virtual twin of the manuscript at Harvard, although not a model book, combine the Aviary with the *Dicta*.[5]

The model book is also unique in that, unlike any other extant example, it supplies models not only for the illustrations, but also for the accompanying text. Text and image occupy two different sections of the book and almost certainly were not intended to form a whole from the start. Not only is the parchment in each part of different quality, the spaces provided for the images in the text section are also too small to accommodate the images gathered in the section devoted to the illustrations. Nevertheless, the two halves complement each other in so far as any scribe transcribing the work would have had to leave spaces—not only squares and rectangles, but also circles and ovals—for the pictures. For this challenging task, the text section provided a handy guide. The two parts also point to a particular feature of the process by which such illuminated manuscripts were produced. By dividing text from image, the two parts would have permitted scribe and illuminator to go about their tasks separately. This aid to serial production of multiple copies would have been especially important in the case of a work as widely disseminated as Hugh's treatise, which appears to have been used above all for the teaching of novices.

A third feature that distinguishes the Harvard model book is the extent of the pouncing that marks its miniatures. Pouncing (a term derived from the French word "ponce," a fine powder) is a two-stage technique whereby the outlines of images were pricked with a fine point so as to allow the transfer of the design to an underlying intermediary sheet.[6] Once a fine carbon powder had been pressed through the perforations on this second sheet onto the piece of parchment to be painted, the image had effectively been reproduced, if only in outline. The technique goes some way

to explaining the importance of clear contours and outlines in medieval painting, whose signative character tends to lend all elements the clarity of hieroglyphs. Close examination of the images in the manuscript reveal the telltale signs of pouncing in forty-two of the sixty-seven miniatures, which lends some folios the appearance of a sheet of perforated postage stamps.[7] Many of the pounced images display not only the pouncing to which they were subjected, but also the pinpricks from the images on the other side of the folio. At a certain point, the overlapping sets of holes would have rendered the model book unusable, at least for the transfer of images in this manner. Similar, if not such extensive, evidence of pouncing holes marks the Aberdeen Bestiary (Aberdeen, U. Library, MS 24), an English manuscript dated c. 1200 which includes Hugh's Aviary.[8] Further traces of use, such as pen trials and drawings on the flyleaves, including one of a beaver gnawing on a branch, indicate that the model book also served as a kind of scrapbook, a repository for additional visual information.

Each image in the first section is clearly identified by a caption in red, which would also have enabled any copyist to match the image more easily with its accompanying section of text. On ff. 5v–6r, the first of the four birds depicted is the kite (*milvus*), in Hugh's full opus discussed in chapter 45. Of this bird Hugh notes, "The kite feeds on corpses, because hedonists delight in the desires of the flesh."[9] Observations such as this underscore the extent to which the bestiary was not a work of natural history, but rather a treatise designed to edify as it entertained. The second bird, immediately below, is the swallow (*hirundinis*), discussed in chapter 46. Hugh offers several interpretations of this bird, stating "just as biblical authority attests, in the swallow is understood sometimes the pride of reason, sometimes the sorrow of the oppressed heart….If you are familiar with the cry of the swallow, unless I am mistaken, it symbolizes the lament of the penitent heart."[10] At the top of the opposite page appears the stork (*ciconia*). Hugh claims the clattering of their beaks is to be interpreted as representing those "who give utterance to their wicked deeds with wailing and gnashing of teeth."[11] The fourth and final scene filling the opening differs from the others in including a hint of narrative. The miniature offers a condensed version of a celebrated story about Benedict of Nursia, the founder of Western monasticism, as recounted by Gregory the Great in his *Dialogues*.[12] The Devil appears to Benedict in the guise of a blackbird (curiously painted white in the miniature, an indication of the degree to which truth to appearances was hardly the purpose of such pictures). Benedict drives off the bird with his hand, but there then appears before him a vision of a beautiful temptress. To avoid seduction, Benedict strips himself naked and throws himself into nettle bushes, "exchanging," in Gregory's words, "pain for pleasure." Hugh concludes: "whatever people wish to cast out the sensual pleasure of the blackbird must be turned to the improvement of discipline by the example of the blessed Benedict, and thus through bodily pain draw out the distraction of the mind."[13] Hugh's appeal to his monastic readers could not be clearer.

Jeffrey F. Hamburger

1 Scheller 1995.
2 Branner 1977, 59–60, 207–8.
3 W. Clark 1992, 56–58, 275–76.
4 Scheller 1995, 188–93.
5 W. Clark 1989. For the manuscript in St. Petersburg, see Mokretsova and Romanova 1984, cat. no. 10.
6 Miner 1967.
7 W. Clark 1992, 106. Scheller 1995, 189, gives a different number.
8 W. Clark 1992, 267–69.
9 Ibid., 207.
10 Ibid., 209.
11 Ibid., 213.
12 Gregory, *Dialogues*, bk. 2, ch. 2 ("On the Life and Miracles of St. Benedict").
13 W. Clark 1992, 217.

61. Figures et fleures peintes
Master of Charles de France (illuminator)

Bourges (?), France, early 1480s
Parchment, ff. iv (2 paper, 2 parchment) + 24 + ii (paper), 172 x 80 mm
Harvard University, Houghton Library, MS Typ 220
Sold by L'Art Ancien, 1931; deposited by Philip Hofer, 1967, his bequest, 1984.

f. 11r

This tiny treasure contains twenty-three figures, all dressed in finely detailed but fantastic costumes, and the same number of carefully rendered flowers. There is no text. As such it would appear to be a model book, but its style has until now confounded the few scholars who have tried to date and localize it.

When Philip Hofer bought the book in 1931, he wondered if it were "North East French? Late 15th or Early 16th c[entury]."[1] On the book's front flyleaf he wrote, "(Early 16th c?) Int[ernationa]l Style / Could be most anywhere East of the Rhine." Later, for the 1955 Harvard exhibition, he settled on "N.E. France(?), ca. 1500" but noted that "the style and coloring make the costume drawings difficult to locate," adding that the naturalistic flowers suggest a later date of c. 1530.[2] The manuscript's reproduction was tucked in the back of the catalogue (on plate 76), among eighteenth- and nineteenth-century material, so, over time, it was apparently overlooked by medievalists who consulted that book. John Plummer, who did see the manuscript in the early 1980s, thought that the pictures were painted in the nineteenth century (although copying or based on medieval prototypes).[3]

The style of the costumed figures points to the Master of Charles de France.[4] He is named after a (mostly unfinished) book of hours owned by Charles, duc de Berry, younger brother of King Louis XI.[5] Its most elaborate and justly famous composition of a double-page Annunciation is on an excised bifolio today at the Cloisters in New York.[6] A follower of Jean Fouquet, the artist was active in Poitiers, Rouen, and Bourges from around

1455 to 1485. In the Houghton model book, the relatively short figures with their largish heads, the softly stippled paint, and the subtle palette can be related to these same characteristics seen in the angels descending from heaven in the Cloisters Annunciation. The fantastic costumes—peaked turbans, dagged sleeves, colorful appliqués, and open hoods—are typical of those he created for such manuscripts as the *Romuléon* of 1461 for the same Charles de France[7] and the *Roman de Merlin* in the early 1480s for Jean-Louis de Savoie.[8] To cite one example, in the miniature of the Birth and Baptism of Merlin in the *Roman de Merlin* (f. 7r), the man in red to the far right, standing with his back to the viewer, is a version of the young man seen from the back on f. 13r of the Houghton manuscript. Both are dressed in a pleated gown with a high waist and long open sleeves; inner sleeves are puffy at the biceps but tight at the elbow. Both of the men's hair is neck-length with a marked crease at the bottom of the skull; both wear flat, squashed turbans. The woman depicted on f. 11r is one of the few examples in the book of a dress actually worn at the time: it dates the manuscript to the early 1480s.[9]

f. 11v

The detailed flowers in this manuscript relate to an interest in botanical illustration that was percolating in northern France in the second half of the fifteenth and early sixteenth centuries. Pharmaceutical herbals were illustrated with detailed images of plants with characteristic flowers, buds, leaves, stalks, and roots (f. 11v). Once created, these valuable encyclopedias were then often copied. We can cite the example of the *Livre des simples médecines* illuminated around 1450–55 for Charles III d'Anjou,Countof Maine, by the eponymous Master of the *Livre des simples* of Charles du Maine.[10] Versions of this manuscript appear in a copy of the late 1470s started by the Master of the Geneva Boccaccio but largely finished by the young Robinet Testard for a member of the Anjou family;[11] in another copy made in the 1480s;[12] and, finally, in a copy entirely by Testard for Charles d'Angoulême and his wife, Louise de Savoie between 1487 and 1496.[13] This last copy was itself copied in the early sixteenth century.[14] The Master of Charles de France, working for aristocratic patrons in northwestern France at this time, no doubt had direct exposure to this phenomenon.[15] Furthermore, his keen interest in plants and flowers is evident at the very start of his career; in the margins of a book of hours that he painted in the late 1450s, numerous fruit and flowers are depicted with, as François Avril observed, the care of a botanist.[16] In the Houghton model book he perhaps wanted, at the end of his career, to collect together examples of plants—and elaborate costumes—to pass along to a shop assistant.[17]

Roger S. Wieck

1 Hofer bought the book from L'Art Ancien, Zürich, for around $600; the text is quoted from the file card he made for the manuscript.
2 Bond and Hofer 1955, 31, no. 109, pl. 76.
3 Because of Plummer's opinion, Wieck 1983b did not include the manuscript in the exhibition or catalogue.
4 Avril and Reynaud 1993, 158–59; Hourihane 2012, 2:26–27.
5 Paris, B. Mazarine, Ms. 473; http://www.calames.abes.fr/pub/#details?id=MAZA11226.
6 New York, Met, The Cloisters Collection, 58.71a, b; http://www.metmuseum.org/toah/works-of-art/58.71a,b.
7 Cologny, Fond. Martin Bodmer, Cod. Bodmer 143; http://www.e-codices.unifr.ch/en/list/one/fmb/cb-0143.
8 Paris, BnF, ms. fr. 91; Avril and Reynaud 1993, 163, no. 83, illus.; the codex in on the BnF's *Mandragore* site.
9 Van Buren and Wieck 2011, pl. 63 (F.141) and pl. 65 (F.145).
10 St. Petersburg, RNB, Ms. Fr.F.v.VI.2; Gautier and Avril 2009, 315–16, no. 32, illus.
11 Modena, Bibl. Est. Univ., ms. Est. 28 (α M. 5.9); Milano et al. 2008.
12 Paris, BnF, ms. fr. 1307; the codex in on the BnF's *Mandragore* site.
13 St. Petersburg, RNB, Ms. Fr.F.v.VI.1; López Piñero et al. 2001.
14 Paris, BnF, ms. fr. 12322; Malandin, Avril, and Lieutaghi 1986.
15 For a summary of this floral phenomenon, see Avril 1986a.
16 Paris, BnF, ms. nouv. acq. lat. 3191; Avril and Reynaud 1993, 158–59, no. 80, illus.
17 Jean Bourdichon and his student the Master of Claude de France were both influenced by this French botanical craze; see cat. no. 113.

62. Knight holding a banner and lady holding two leaves, cuttings

Cologne (?), Germany, c. 1330–40
Parchment, 135 x 60 mm (knight), 128 x 47 mm (lady)
Harvard Art Museums/Fogg Museum, 1954.127.A, B, gift of Meta and Paul J. Sachs

THE TWO DRAWINGS, IN PEN, INK, BRUSH, AND TEMPERA, were part of a figure alphabet, as suggested by other fragments from the same series of letters.[1] A portion of an architectural drawing of a Gothic pinnacle with crockets on the verso of the knight, possibly a design for tracery, confirms that it was once part of a model book.[2] Medieval drawings are exceedingly rare[3] and those which survive, mainly from the late Middle Ages, usually come from the end leaves of manuscripts or model books,[4] used to record figures and patterns by artists and workshops often working in different techniques, as in this case.

Both figures, drawn in monochrome, with draperies shaded with brush strokes of diluted ink and small dots that lend the folds a soft texture, lean on the vertical shaft of the letter, painted in bright red; the excised initials now resemble the letter *I*, but they are probably fragments of other upright letters, such as *D*, *K*, or *P*. The leaves held by the lady are touched up with a liquid ocher wash.[5]

Three other cuttings from this set are known, two representing maidens (Washington, DC, NGA, 1971.19.1 and 1971.19.2),[6] one standing and one seated with a dog (and both showing architectural designs on the reverse), and a letter *A* (Oxford, Ashmolean Mus., WA.1863.1),[7] composed of a girl holding a floral wreath and a young man extending his arms toward her. In all three style and technique are the same as in the Harvard letters; however, while the two National Gallery fragments display the same vertical shafts painted in orange-red, this feature is barely visible behind the young man in the Oxford cutting, which also shows a portion of a further letter on the right.

The artist's place of origin has variously been identified as Bohemia,[8] France,[9] in particular the northeast,[10] and Germany,[11] specifically the Lower Rhine (Cologne).[12] This last suggestion would explain the elegant combination of French influence and Central European features, such as the oak leaves held by the maiden and the rounded faces, with short stubby noses, and rapidly sketched witty expressions, which are very distant from the elongated proportions of contemporary French art. The figures can be dated to the 1330s, as suggested by the fashion, which makes them among the first examples of the rediscovery of the figure initial in Gothic illumination, when this type of letter spread in manuscripts and documents produced throughout Europe.[13]

Francesca Manzari

1 Jenni 1976, 1:70–72; Cadei 1991, 376.
2 Scheller's repertory of model books, however, does not mention this particular figure alphabet (Scheller 1995).
3 Degenhart 1950; Manzari 1995.
4 Alexander 1992b.
5 The two Harvard drawings, once in the Rodrigues collection in Paris, together with two now in Washington, were sold in Amsterdam in the early twentieth century: Eugène Rodrigues sale (Muller & Cie. 1921, no. 231, pl. 78); sold by J. W. Steinmeyer (Lucerne) to Meta and Paul J. Sachs (acc. no. 413.1935); gift to Fogg Art Museum.
6 These were sold by Steinmeyer to Ludwig Rosenthal, Bern and Montreal; Lewis V. Randall (Montreal); Robert Light; NGA purchase in 1971: Oberhuber 1974, 33, no. 1.
7 Bequeathed by Francis Douce in 1834 (stamped Douce: L.688), and transferred from the Bodleian Library in 1863: Parker 1938, 167, no. 370.
8 Cauman 1938, 4–10. Cauman dates them to 1380 and assigns them to Bohemia, while contesting an earlier attribution to the Upper Rhine.
9 Parker 1938, 167; Zajic and Roland 2005, 402; Zajic and Roland 2011, 211; Zajic and Roland 2013, 396.
10 Parker cites Eric Millar, who rejected an initial suggestion of English origin, indicating northeastern France, Flanders, or Cologne: Parker 1938, 167.
11 Mongan and Sachs cite Max Friedländer, saying he too suggested Cologne: Mongan and Sachs 1940, 1: no. 366, 138; 3: figs. 184–85; Mongan 1965, no. 1.
12 Oberhuber suggested Cologne, c. 1325: Oberhuber 1974, 33–34, no. 1; Whiteley suggests the Franco-Rhenish area, citing Pacht's opinion as in favor of eastern Germany: 2000, 26.
13 After being rarely used in the thirteenth century: Cadei 1991, 375; Manzari, forthcoming. For their use in charters: Zajic and Roland 2011; Zajic and Roland 2013.

63. Heads of the archangel Gabriel and the Virgin Annunciate, cuttings

Prague, Bohemia, c. 1415–20
Parchment, 51 x 36 mm (each)
Harvard Art Museums/Fogg Museum, 1947.79–80, Alpheus Hyatt Purchasing Fund

Painted in demi-grisaille, the bust-length images of the archangel Gabriel and the Virgin Mary were originally thought to be of French or Flemish origin.[1] They belong, however, to a group of works from Prague for which they supply an important stylistic link.[2] Together with a model book with fifty-six silverpoint drawings in a miniature format, a series of thirteen paintings depicting the apostles, and a portrait of the emperor Sigismund (d. 1437),[3] they provide a picture of the working practices of an atelier that was already active during the period of Wenceslas IV (d. 1419) and that remained in Prague both during and after the Hussite Wars (c. 1419–34).

Representing the "Beautiful Style" from about 1400, the oldest work from the group is the model book,[4] in which Gabriel and Mary already appear. The two pairs of drawings are nearly identical; both are painted in gradations of the same color. In the present drawings, however, the contours are clearer and the proportions somewhat extended. In these respects, they resemble the drawings in the *Biblia pauperum* from Metten (Bavaria), dated 1414–15.[5] In cat. no. 63, Gabriel is no longer engaged in a silent act of adoration; his lips open as if to speak his salutation. In addition to the more slender proportions, the angel's animation links him to the figure of St. Peter in the cycle of apostles,[6] whose head type (like most of those in the series) can also be found in the Vienna model book. Known as the Capuchin cycle after the church in which it was last exhibited in Prague, the undated cycle is considered a late example of the "Beautiful Style." In light, however, of the emperor's portrait, which stems from the same circle and which may be dated to 1436, the creation of the apostle cycle more recently has been shifted to after the Hussite Wars.[7] Nothing about the iconography speaks against an origin in the 1430s.[8] The tiny images of cat. no. 63 do not exhibit the same hardening of form found in the Capuchin cycle, which in turn does not achieve the exceptionally sensual surfaces of the imperial portrait. On these grounds, it seems reasonable to date the pair of images to c. 1415–20, after the model book in Vienna, but before both the Capuchin cycle and the portrait of Sigismund. Jiří Fajt's suggestion that Wenzel Cuncz was the artist of the imperial portrait is tantalizing, but cannot be proved.[9] Wenzel was the son of Conrad Cuncz, who in 1405 was designated the "king's painter" in the painters' guild of Prague. From 1436 Wenzel's atelier was located near the Bethlehem chapel; his brother Procop led their father's workshop until 1455. All the works in the group could be products of a single family of painters.

Maria Theisen

1 Mongan 1949, 4.
2 Stejskal 1953; Studničková 1998, 120–23.
3 Vienna, KHM, 2630.
4 Vienna, KHM, KK 5003/5004; Suckale and Fajt in Boehm and Fajt 2005, 274–76, cat. no. 117, fig. 117; Theisen and König 2012.
5 Munich, BSB, Clm 8201; Suckale 2012, esp. 24–128.
6 Prague, KNM, 2086–2099.
7 Suckale and Fajt in Boehm and Fajt 2005, 310–12, cat. no. 147, fig. 147.
8 Although it does not stem from the same hand, the panel of the Last Judgment in the collection of the museum of Würzburg Cathedral (BOW 122) dated 1434/5, cites the same types found in the model book. Hörsch, in Boehm and Fajt 2005, 316–17, cat. no. 151, fig. 151.
9 Fajt, in Fajt, Hörsch, and Langer 2006, 609–10.

64–65. Valerius Maximus, Faits et dits mémorables

Bruges (?), southern Low Countries, c. 1475–76
Paper, f°, ff. 2, 385 x 280 mm[1]
Harvard University, Houghton Library, Typ Inc 9461.5
C. Czeczkowicka; Mario Uzielli; Heinrich Eisemann; bequest of Philip Hofer, 1984.
Paper, f°, ff. 250, 385 x 280 mm[2]
Harvard University, Houghton Library WKR 10.2.2
Jesuits, Louvain; A. W. M. Mensing (Sotheby's, London, December 15, 1936, lot 585); bequest of William K. Richardson, 1951.

These two examples reveal how high-quality printed texts were often finished manually. All the paragraph markers (pilcrows), underlining, and page headers in red and blue ink were added by hand, as were the painted borders, initials, and illustrations. This incunable was printed by the anonymous "Printer of Flavius Josephus."[3] He was responsible for five editions that are undated and unlocalized. The stylistic characteristics of the handmade additions suggest that this edition originated in the southern Low Countries, possibly Bruges, c. 1475–76.[4]

The *Facta et dicta memorabilia* (*Memorable Doings and Sayings*), a moralizing work in nine books by the first-century author, Gaius Valerius Maximus, was a medieval bestseller.[5] Hundreds of copies of the Latin version are known, and the work was also often translated. Simon de Hesdin (d. 1383) initiated a French version dedicated to the French king Charles V (d. 1380), which was completed in 1400–01 by Nicolas de Gonesse, who worked for Jean, duc de Berry.[6] The present incunable is the *editio princeps* of this French translation.

cat. no. 64, f. 2r

cat. no. 65, f. 316r

Cat. no. 65 is a second volume (covering books 6–9), the matching first volume of which is now in the Museum Plantin-Moretus in Antwerp.[7] The illustration and decoration of both parts can be attributed to Philippe de Mazerolles (also known as the Master of the Harley Froissart), an illuminator who led a productive workshop in Bruges in the 1460s and 1470s (he died in 1479).[8]

Cat. no. 64 consists of two leaves from the two volumes of another set, the beginnings of books 3 (Story of Marcus Aemilius Lepidus) and 6 (Story of Lucretia). Several of the other illustrated leaves are now scattered over New York, Cleveland, and an unknown location.[9] The miniatures have been attributed to the Master of the Cambrai *Vita Christi*, an illuminator influenced by the Master of the Ghent Gradual, who might be situated in Ghent or Tournai.[10] The remarkably refined penwork decoration is also found in two manuscript volumes of Enguerrand de Monstrelet's *Chronique* written in the same period.[11]

The two printed pages displayed here were identical in appearance prior to the addition of illumination, in the case of the one (cat. no. 64, f. 2r), with the miniature in watercolor and the large initial beneath it in fleuronnée, in the case of the other (cat. no. 65, f. 316r), with both the miniature and initials in opaque pigments. So different are the two pages in their finished states that at first sight they may not be recognizable as the same printed book, or as printed at all.

Hanno Wijsman

1 ISTC iv00044000, ME1 02013699, Whitesell S1-3947B and fig. 19.
2 ISTC iv00044000, ME1 00201607, Walsh 3947A.
3 Van Thienen and Goldfinch 1999, no. 2124; Hellinga and Hellinga 1966, 1:30–31; 2:454–55, pls. 49–50.
4 *Cinquième Centenaire* 1973, 182–94; *Cinq années d'acquisitions* 1979, 334–37; Lenger 1985; Brinkmann 1997, 91–102.
5 Schullian 1981.
6 Bossuat, Pichard, and Raynaud de Lage 1992, 1066–67, 1393.
7 Antwerp, Mus. Plantin-Moretus, O.B.6.9. Both volumes still have their identical fifteenth-century bindings.
8 Hans-Collas and Schandel 2009, 174–76; Kren and McKendrick 2003, 261–62.
9 New York, PML 75768 (book 4); Cleveland, Mus. of Art, 1952.274.1–2 (books 8 and 9); formerly at Montreal, Lewis Randall Collection (book 5).
10 Gil 1997, 17–20; G. Clark 2000, 49–52 and figs. 227–32.
11 Ghent, UB, Hs. 78 and Brussels, BRB, ms. II 2566. See: Wijsman 2011, 205, no. 19, 208–9, where these volumes are dated on the basis of watermark analysis to c. 1465–80.

66. Laurent de Premierfait, trans., De la ruine des nobles hommes et femmes[1]
Colard Mansion (printer)

Bruges, Flanders, 1476
Paper, f°, ff. 292, 367 x 263 mm[2]
Museum of Fine Arts, Boston, 32.458, Maria Antoinette Evans Fund
Schomberg-Henry Kerr, Marquess of Lothian; January 27–28, 1932, Marquess of Lothian sale, American Art Association, New York, lot 46, to MFA.

Giovanni Boccaccio's *De casibus virorum et feminarum illustrium*, written c. 1355–60 and revised in 1373, recounts the rise and fall of figures from the Bible, legend, and history. Boccaccio presents biographies of illustrious personages whom Fortune, the fickle goddess of chance, once favored as instructive exempla of virtue to follow and vice to eschew. Divided into nine books, the tales begin with Adam and Eve and conclude with the capture in 1356 of John II, the Good, king of France, by the English at Poitiers. The pivotal tale of the debate between Fortune and Poverty encapsulates the main moral message of *The Fall of Illustrious Men and Women*.[3]

Boccaccio's text was popular from its first appearance;[4] in its vernacular translations, particularly in French, this was one of the most frequently copied manuscripts of the fifteenth century and for two centuries subsequent, a popular printed book.[5] Laurent de Premierfait translated it twice. His first literal prose translation was completed in 1400 and a second amplified redaction in 1409. This latter version survives in more than seventy manuscripts, made primarily for the francophone aristocrats in Burgundy and England.[6] The Boston incunable uses the earlier translation. It was the first book printed in Bruges, the first book printed in French outside France, the first dated book printed by Colard Mansion, and the first dated, printed book illustrated with engravings. Ten copies of this edition survive in four states (known as A, B, C, and D) that vary according to the space left for illustration above the opening text of each book.[7] The Boston Boccaccio is exceptional; it is the sole surviving copy of the third state, C, having nine hand-colored engravings pasted in the spaces reserved to illustrate each book except the sixth[8] and a prefatory illustration.[9]

f. 78r

A transitional object within the history of book production, *De la ruine des nobles hommes et femmes* emulates the design, illustration, and decoration of secular illuminated manuscripts fashionable among aristocratic book collectors in the Burgundian Netherlands.[10] This codex is a large folio, with text in two columns and presentation illustrations at the beginning of each book. This incunable features an illuminated border on the right margin of the presentation illustration and a decorated and gilded four-line initial letter on the first folio. Hand finishing includes red ruling, rubrics, pen-flourished large initials at the beginning of each book in red, blue, and dark brown ink, as well as red and blue flourishes added to articulate the divisions of the printed text.[11] Also conventional for such incunables is the *lettre bâtarde* typeface that imitates Flemish scribal hands.[12] During the shift from pen to press, the same scribes, designers, binders, illuminators, and rubricators collaborated in making manuscripts and incunables.[13]

The engravings are the most intriguing element of the Boston Boccaccio both for technological innovation in combining intaglio printed illus-

tration with relief printed text and for the puzzle of identifying the artist or artists.[14] Traditionally attributed to an anonymous Flemish engraver, the Master of the Boccaccio Illustrations, the artist has long been connected to illuminators.[15] Scholars have noted the resemblance to works by the Master of the Dresden Prayer Book,[16] the Master of the Getty Froissart,[17] the Master of the White Inscriptions,[18] and an illuminator in the Circle of the Master of Anthony of Burgundy.[19] The Ghent Gradual Master has also been associated with the pastel palette of the hand-colored engravings.[20] Evidence that the artists who worked on the printed book were part of the circle of Flemish illuminators working in Bruges is also apparent in the border on the first folio: the delicate violets, small strawberries, blue acanthus vine, and pale green leaves in that border are so close to those in Mansion's *Ovide moralisé* printed in 1484, now in Paris, as to suggest that the printer hired the same illuminator to paint the borders in both books.[21]

Not only is the style of the illustrations and the border related to illuminated manuscripts, but so is the cycle of subjects chosen for illustration.[22] Most of the illuminated Boccaccio manuscripts with a series of nine or more illustrations include an illumination of Fortune and Poverty.[23] However, the engraving here (f. 78r) is rare in depicting all three key dramatic moments in the fable: the debate between the two personifications, their combat, and Fortune's binding Misfortune in penalty for losing the fight. Although no particular manuscript has been identified as the model for the Boston Boccaccio and the identity of the engraver remains elusive, such a luxuriously embellished printed book was made for the wealthy audience that bought deluxe vernacular manuscripts made in Flanders.

Phyllis Anina Moriarty

1 Confusing this copyist with that of a manuscript of a later version, GW 4432 persists in listing Pierre Faivre instead of Laurent de Premierfait as the translator of this incunable.

2 ISTC ib00711000, MEI 02013807.

3 Poverty's defeat of Fortune illustrates Boccaccio's pronouncement "Do not blame the stars, when the fallen bring about their own misfortune." P. Thompson 1994, 2. The story illustrated here was told to Boccaccio by his Neapolitan professor of astrology, Andalò del Negro. A debate ensues between the two personifications over Fortune's dominion in human affairs. Proud of having voluntarily relinquished all attachments to worldly goods, Poverty answers Fortune's imperious insults by challenging her authority in a physical combat. The penalty imposed by her defeat requires Fortune to bind Misfortune thus limiting her power to bestow bad luck arbitrarily. See P. Thompson 1994, 30–32. The essence of medieval *de casibus* tragedy is the downfall of an illustrious person from the pinnacles of power, wealth, and fame to the depths of infamy, poverty, ignominy, and death. Budra 1988, 305 and P. Thompson 1994, 28.

4 Boccaccio believed that this was the work on which his glory would rest. Michel 1925, 21 and P. Thompson 1986, 97.

5 See P. Thompson 1994, 471–75 for a list of more than forty versions in several translations that were printed between 1474 and 1645.

6 Bozzolo 1973 lists the illuminated manuscripts of this text. Branca 1999, vol. 3 lists manuscripts and some illustrated incunables including the 1476 Mansion.

7 See Dane 2009 for a full discussion of the variations in the various states of Mansion's 1476 Boccaccio as the type was reset to accommodate larger illustrations for all books except the sixth. It has long been assumed that the book was originally printed with space reserved for illuminated miniatures with more space added later to accommodate larger images like the engravings pasted in the Boston book. The engravings in the Boston incunable were not part of the printer's original design and even may have been commissioned by someone else and used later by Mansion.

8 It is uncertain why no extant copy has an illustration for book 6. The first chapter of the sixth book recounts a conversation between Boccaccio and Fortune. That subject is often illuminated in manuscripts of the *De casibus* and illustrates book 6 in the suite of woodcut illustrations made for the French translation of the text printed in Paris by Jean du Pré in 1488. That suite of woodcuts is presumably modeled on the engravings for Mansion's printed edition because of their close similarity in subject and composition. This suggests the possibility that the missing illustration for the Mansion would be the same subject. However, the engraving of the Death of Caius Marius Arpinates that illustrates book 7 in the Boston book is problematic as it illustrates a tale told in book 6. Therefore, the subject of the missing engraving might be an illustration for book 7.

9 Only two copies besides the one in Boston are illustrated with more than a few engravings, the copy in Amiens, Bibliothèque municipale and the former Schäfer copy now in Sir Paul Getty's collection at Wormsley Park, England. These are illustrated copies of state D and have eight engravings pasted in. The copy in San Marino, at the Huntington Library, has miniatures in place of engravings and the copies in the National Library, Edinburgh and the John Carter Brown Library in Providence have large blank spaces reserved for illustration. See Dane 2009.

10 Illustrated manuscripts of secular vernacular texts, 1467–1500 are analyzed by Kren and McKendrick 2003, 59–78.

11 All folios are ruled in the Boston Boccaccio except 3–7, 91, 92. The text is printed on those unruled folios, which indicates that the ruling was done after the printing.

12 William Blades had noted that Mansion's typeface resembled the scribal hand of a manuscript made in Bruges for Edward IV of England, London, BL, Royal MS. 14 E.II. See Saenger 1975, 414.

13 Trained in many aspects of manuscript production, Colard Mansion continued to work as a scribe for at least one fully illuminated manuscript even after his printing press was well established. In 1480, Philippe de Hornes commissioned him to transcribe a manuscript of a French translation of Valerius Maximus, *Facta et dicta memorabilia*. The contract specified that the manuscript be "bound in two volumes, well-written, embellished with nine miniatures, and with arms and should be handsomely ornamented in blue and gold." Wijsman 2010, 381.

14 Kren and McKendrick 2003, 272–73 summarizes the various hypotheses as to why the book came to have engraved illustrations in the first place.

15 The style and content of the engravings connect them to Bruges and to contemporary panel painters like Hugo van der Goes and Dirc Bouts. The architecture in the prints was identified as resembling medieval Bruges by Lehrs 1908–34, 4:166. See Rossiter 1951 and Boon 1958 for a review of the early scholarship on whether Colard Mansion himself was the engraver, whether the engraver, or engravers, were connected to the Master of the Hausbuch who was thought to be the artist of the drawing in Vienna of Boccaccio Writing the History of Adam and Eve (Albertina, 1926.905), or whether there was a relationship between the Master of the Boccaccio Illustrations and the Master of Mary of Burgundy or Simon Marmion. See P. Thompson 1986, 102–22 and Brinkmann 1997 for a summary of the scholarship on these questions.

16 Anzelewsky 1959, 123–24.

17 The presentation engraving has been attributed to the Master of the White Inscriptions, Brinkmann 1997, 1:114–15 and to the Master of the Getty Froissart, Kren and McKendrick 2003, 174n18.

18 Brinkmann also attributes the Humiliation of the Emperor Valerian (book 8) to the Master or of the White Inscriptions. Brinkmann 1997, 1:114–15.

19 An illuminator in the Circle of the Master of Anthony of Burgundy has been suggested as the artist of Marcus Manlius Capitolinus Thrown into the Tiber (book 4) and the Death of Brunehilde (book 9). Kren and McKendrick 2003, 273.

20 Note emailed from Gregory Clark to David Becker dated 2006 in the files for 32.458 in the Department of Prints and Drawings in the Museum of Fine Arts, Boston. The Ghent Gradual Master painted the illustrations in an incunable of a French translation of Valerius Maximus's *Facta et dicta*. G. Clark 2000, 47–52 passim, col. pl. 24, and figs. 219–32.

21 Paris, BnF, RES G-YC-1002. See http://gallicalabs.bnf.fr/ark:/12148/bpt6k852395 for an illustration of the border in Mansion's 1484 Ovid where the border is done by hand and the printed woodcut illustrations are hand-colored.

22 See P. Thompson 1994, 436–59 and 476–81 for lists of the subjects illustrated in illuminated manuscripts and illuminated incunables of Boccaccio's *De casibus virorum illustrium* with an intended program of at least nine illustrations.

23 Forty-one of fifty-nine illuminated manuscripts and incunables of the *De casibus* with a program of at least nine illustrations include an illumination of Fortune and Poverty at the opening of book 3. The majority of these illuminations were in French translations. P. Thompson 1994, 480–81. Only two illuminated manuscripts and one illuminated incunable depict these three episodes in the tale, New York, PML, MS G.35, f. 79v; Paris, BnF, ms. fr. 127, f. 71r; and Vienna, ÖNB, Ink. S.C.3, f. 70r. None of these is a specific model for the engraving in the Boston incunable. P. Thompson 1994, 447, 450, and 459.

67. Jacobus de Theramo, Consolatio Peccatorum seu Processus Belial

Swabia, Germany, c. 1470
Paper, ff. i + 106, 298 x 208 (206–8 x 140) mm
Boston Public Library, MS f Med. 122 (formerly Ms. 1544)
Bought from W. H. Schab, 1952.

ff. 34v–35r

In a manner consistent with the dense illustration throughout the manuscript, two rectangular images, sixty in all, face one another across the opening, each one prefacing a separate chapter of the text, a popular fifteenth-century German translation of *The Consolation of Sinners; or, the Trial of Belial* originally composed in Latin by the Italian jurist, Jacobus de Theramo (1350/1–1417), later bishop of Monopoli (Apulia), Taranto, Florence, and Spoleto.[1] Known under various titles in Latin (which, however, were never illustrated), but in German simply as *Der Belial*, the name of the demon who represents Satan at a legal proceeding brought against Christ, the work enjoyed enormous popularity.[2] In addition to two independent translations into German, one of which (that in the manuscript in Boston) proved far more popular than the other, there are translations into French, Spanish, Polish, Danish, and Dutch, many of which also were printed.[3]

The text applies the language and structure of a proceeding in canon law to the history of salvation. Satan accuses Christ, who has descended to Hell to liberate Adam and the patriarchs, of trespassing and theft (of souls). Belial serves as Satan's representative, whereas Moses represents Christ before the judge, Solomon, who stands in for the final judge and arbiter, God. The proceedings mimic those of an actual trial in great detail. Witnesses (Octavian and Jeremiah for the prosecution, Aristotle and Isaiah for the defense) are called; in contrast to traditional German legal practice, which relied on oral testimony, but in keeping with Roman canon law, the submission of documents, beginning with the *oblatio libelli* (the formal presentation of charges) plays a major role. Once Solomon pronounces his verdict (in favor of Christ), Belial appeals on behalf of Satan, arguing that the judge cannot be impartial, given that, through the Davidic line of descent, he is related to the defendant. Joseph, the son of Abraham, serves as the new judge, but the new trial, played out in an allegory of the Four Daughters of God (Mercy, Peace, Justice, and Truth; cf. cat. nos. 162–63), comes to the same verdict. The liberation of souls from Hell represents the execution of the judgment.

On the left, God appears, as in a Last Judgment, seated on one rainbow and with a second as his footstool, pronouncing the verdict (f. 34v). The perfunctory rubric identifies the scene as "Gottes urtail etc." ("God's judgment"); in effect, the images take the place of explanatory captions. Satan does not simply bow before God, he falls, as if recapitulating the Fall of the Rebel Angels, a parallel reinforced by the presence of an angel with outspread wings behind him. A second demon sits to the right. In the background appears a third rainbow, a reference to covenant between God and Noah (Gn 9:16: "Whenever the rainbow appears in the clouds, I will see it and remember the everlasting covenant between God and all living creatures of every kind on the earth"). The rubric for the facing scene (f. 35r) simply states "Gott der vatter spricht" ("God the Father speaks"). The text provides God's words: "In a time to my liking I heard your plea and on the day of judgment I assisted you and gave you to my people" (a reference to the Crucifixion at which according to the satisfaction theory of atonement, Christ's sacrifice provided restitution for the cumulative sins of mankind, thereby enabling its redemption). Moses, identifiable on account of his honorific horns, and with Belial behind him, presents Solomon with a bound codex, its binding closed by straps. The book is the Bible, whose prophecies speak of Christ's place in divine plan of salvation.

Jeffrey F. Hamburger

1 Mastroberti, Vinci, and Pepe 2012. All the illustrations are by a single hand. For full descriptions, see Ott 1983a, 38–41, cat. no. 13.0.6 and Ott 1983b, 368–82. A watermark (f. 60r: Balance) is close to Piccard no. 116797, Augsburg, 1469, although Ott 1983a attributes the miniatures to the region of Lake Constance.

2 Harvard University owns another mid-fifteenth-century manuscript of the German translation, prepared for illustrations that were never added (Houghton Library, MS Ger 47.1); see Oppitz 1999, 193n35.

3 Ott 1983a and 1983b.

68. Vita sancti Augustini

Speyer (?), Middle Rhine, Germany, c. 1470–85
Paper, ff. 44, 285 x 200 (197 x 127) mm
Boston Public Library, MS f Med. 77 (formerly Ms. 1483)
Bought from A. Rosenthal, 1939.

St. Augustine of Hippo (354–430) was among the most influential of all church fathers in the medieval West; his *Confessions* can be considered the first, albeit exemplary, autobiography. It is fascinating, therefore, to find that the Middle Ages thought it necessary to complete Augustine's own account of his life with numerous others. Many of these works sought to fill in the gaps in what was known of the saint, none more assiduously than the paper manuscript in Boston, whose 124 tinted drawings illustrating as many chapters make it by far the most extensively illustrated *Life of Augustine* to have survived, even without including the drawings that would have accompanied the lost sections (chapters 1–4,

22–25, and 77), with which the total number of images would have been increased to an astonishing 132.[1] The only other manuscript with a comparable number of scenes is the closely related, if far more polished, *Historia Augustini* (Berlin, SMPK-KK, Cod. 78 A 19a), a southern German manuscript illuminated c. 1430–40 with thirty-four illustrated folios, most with multiple scenes.[2]

ff. 24v–25r

Like many illustrated manuscripts on paper, the *Life* makes up in quantity what it might be considered to lack in quality. The illustrations, which are all as wide as the justification (i.e., 127 mm) were drawn at great speed using a relatively limited number of conventions and simple blocks of unmodulated color (primarily black, red, blue, yellow, and ocher). In effect, the results are quite similar to the colored woodcut illustrations that proliferated in Germany a generation after Gutenberg's invention of movable type and about the same time the manuscript was produced. The date and place of production can be pinned down with a fair degree of certainty by means of the watermarks, three different forms of the ubiquitous "bull's head," two of which point to the city of Speyer.[3]

What the images lack in characterization, they compensate for in incident. The opening here illustrates chapters 59–62 (ff. 24v–25r). The chapters, in fact, are little more than captions; the manuscript borders on being a picture book, not unlike a comic. By the late Middle Ages, Augustine had been transformed into a model of affective piety.[4] Drawing on the ps.-Augustinian *Planctus beatae Mariae* (also attributed to Bernard of Clairvaux, but in fact taken from the *De laudibus sanctae Dei genitrix by* Oglerius Locediensis [1136–1214]), a dialogue between the saint and the Virgin, the illustration to chapter 59 portrays him meditating in the desert, like one of the Desert Fathers, on the bitterness and ignominy of the Passion.[5] Christ appears to him as the Man of Sorrows, blood pouring from his wounds. The next image (chapter 60) shows him reflecting in silence on the Arma Christi, the instruments of the Passion. On the facing page, Augustine embraces the foot of the Cross (chapter 61), collapsing the historical event with his own devotional present in a manner that provided a model for the late-medieval reader. The fourth image (chapter 62) shows Augustine engaged in the activity for which he is better known, as learned scholar and author. Beneath and behind his chair a game of cat and mouse plays out. The relatively artless style of the illustrations might suggest a popular audience, but the fact that the captions are in Latin indicates that the manuscript, like many others on paper, was made for a monastic or clerical audience. By 1591, the book belonged to a community of Augustinian Hermits.[6]

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1 Courcelle and Courcelle-Ladmirant 1964.
2 Wescher 1931, 200–203 attributes the work to Franconia, c. 1430–1440, followed by Courcelle and Courcelle 1969, 27–64, who argue unconvincingly for Nuremberg. Konrad 1997, 265, more plausibly suggests Constance c. 1430.
3 By using the online Piccard watermark collection of the Hauptstaatsarchiv Suttgart (http://www.piccard-online.de/). The bull's head watermark on f. 8r corresponds to no. 75345 (Speyer, 1471); that on f. 42r to no. 74842 (Speyer, 1482). A third bull's head watermark (e.g., f. 49r) remains unidentified.
4 Cooper 2007, 201, with reference to the manuscript in Boston.
5 Barré 1952.
6 Folio 54v: "Hic liber pertinet fratribus Eremitarum s. Augustini. 1581." As noted by Courcelle and Courcelle-Ladmirant 1964, 12n2, an additional, partially illegible inscription ("Fuit...cui nomen est Johannes sancti Autemarri") possibly refers to Saint-Omer, suggesting that by this date, the manuscript might have found its way to Flanders.

69. Marian devotions (derived from Speculum humanae salvationis)

Augsburg, Germany, c. 1485
Parchment, 1 leaf, 180 x 110 mm
Harvard University, Houghton Library, MS Typ 270
Sold by Heinrich Eisemann, 1948; bequest of Philip Hofer, 1984.

The recto illustrated below presents a simple, yet effective image of Mary mourning over the dead Christ (Pietà). The drawing employs a freehand technique consisting of an initial sketch in brown, perhaps using a quill, heightened with black strokes applied with a brush. Whereas the artist uses the brown ink to block out forms and lay down simple parallel hatching to create contrasts of light and shade (for example, in the folds of Mary's cloak or in the interior of the empty tomb behind her), he uses black to reinforce critical outlines. The short jagged strokes employed to build up the figures at the center contrast dramatically with the freer calligraphy of the trees that frame the scene, whose foliage is formed by lines laid down over some of the tinted washes used to clarify constituent parts of the composition. Overall, the artist's technique is economical, but effective: in a manner reminiscent of, and perhaps intended to compete with, woodcut illustrations, it allows for a combination of speed of production and devotional impact.

The drawing introduces sixteen lines of rhyming couplets in German.[1] Thirteen additional couplets follow on the verso. After opening with an appeal to the Virgin (couplets 1–2) on account of the seventh of her Seven Sorrows, these plaintive verses, which recall the well-established tradition of the *Planctus Mariae*, or the mourning of Mary at Golgatha, continue by defining the consummation of that sorrow as having taken place at the foot of the Cross (couplet 3).[2] Given their allegiance to the tradition of

Planctus poetry, these verses could constitute a freestanding poem. The invocation of the seventh of Mary's Sorrows, however, suggests that the verses formed part of a larger set, perhaps in tandem with the Seven Joys.[3] Indeed, other drawings from the same book, all of which survive as single leaves, illustrate the Fifth Sorrow (Christ before Pilate), the Sixth Sorrow (Crucifixion), the Preface to the Joys of the Virgin (Virgin appearing to a Dying Priest), and the First Joy (Annunciation).[4]

Devotions of this type can be traced back to monastic texts of the twelfth century, but the poem of which the fragment preserves about one third derives from the most successful typological text of the later Middle Ages, the *Speculum humanae salvationis* (*Mirror of Man's Salvation*).[5] The *Speculum* concludes with three parallel sets of septenaries (chapters 44–46) devoted to the seven stations of the Passion, the Seven Sorrows of the Virgin, and her Seven Joys. The poem, however, does not draw on any of the German vernacular translations of the Latin *Speculum*. All the extant leaves constituted consecutive leaves in the original manuscript. Assuming that the sequence of texts and images was limited to the Sorrows and Joys of the Virgin, there would have been a total of fifteen illustrations, or, had there been a prefatory image for the Sorrows matching that for the Joys, as in the *Speculum humanae salvationis*, where the series is ushered in by an image of a Dominican pierced by a sword of sorrow, perhaps sixteen in toto. The small size of cat. no. 69 points in the direction of a prayer book containing what are known as *Tagzeitengebete* (prayers for the liturgical hours), dedicated to the Sorrows and Joys of the Virgin Mary. Several such sets, which number among the earliest illustrated printed prayer books, directly or indirectly took the final chapters of the *Speculum humanae salvationis* as a model.

The dialect of German in which the poem is written points to somewhere along the boundary between Mittelbairisch (i.e., central Bavaria) and Alemannisch (Swabia and the Upper Rhine). The evidence of artistic style is more decisive. In their assured economy of means combining abbreviated marks with neatly applied tinted washes—the drawings fit comfortably with what is known of the strong tradition of graphic illustration in a wide variety of books produced in Augsburg in the second half of the fifteenth century.[6] The style that cat. no. 69 represents was less the creation of an individual artist than it was a common, if varied, mode of mass production developed in part in response to the challenge of incunables and other books illustrated with woodcuts.

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1 For a fuller analysis of the poem and its sources, see Hamburger 2010e.
2 Satzinger and Ziegeler 1993.
3 For devotions to the Seven Sorrows and Seven Joys of the Virgin, see Schneider 1973; Hilg 1981, 426–31; and Schuler 1992.
4 Fifth Sorrow (formerly Laurence Witton, cat. 12, 1980, no. 56); Sixth Sorrow and Preface to the Joys of the Virgin (Washington, DC, NGA, 2004.115.1–2 [TMS 129921]; First Joy (Jörn Günther, cat. 5, 1997, no. 26).
5 For the state of the question, with additional bibliography, see Palmer 2009b.
6 Lehmann-Haupt 1929, König 1996, Ott 1997, and Rückert 2009.

70. Prayer book

Nuremberg, Germany, 1445
Paper, ff. 131, 160 x 112 (125 x 82) mm
Isabella Stewart Gardner Museum, 2.a.1.1
Purchased by Isabella Stewart Gardner from Charles Eliot Norton in 1899.

f. 12bis

This small prayer book is characteristic of how manuscripts were used in reformed female monastic communities of the late Middle Ages. An ownership inscription on the front flyleaf reveals that it comes from the Dominican convent of St. Catherine's in Nuremberg.[1] The note is in the recognizable hand of Kunigund Niklasin, the librarian of the community, who on the same page also added a table of contents and, on the following page, the shelfmark *L xlv*. With the help of this shelfmark, the manuscript can be identified in the convent's library catalogue, which was compiled by the same Kunigund Niklasin between 1455 and 1457

and is preserved in the city library of Nuremberg. Assembled in the wake of the reform of the order, the catalogue was necessary in order to make the library's more than 700 volumes accessible. Approximately half of the library's books survive, constituting the largest collection of German-language manuscripts of the Middle Ages that can still be reconstructed.[2] Niklasin's catalogue entry for this prayer book describes its content precisely: "Item a little book, containing beautiful prayers for the feasts of Our Lord, of Our Dear Lady, of the saints and other matters."[3]

This homogeneous cycle of prayers has not been transmitted in any other manuscript of the Middle Ages. In the prologue (f. 1r), which is dated 1445, the author is identified as a Carthusian, without, however, revealing his name. The hand in which the entire text is written cannot be identified with any of the otherwise well-documented hands that wrote for and in the Dominican convent in Nuremberg. It is possible that the codex came to the convent as a gift from the Carthusians, who cultivated contact with the Dominican nuns. It also remains unclear how or when the limp parchment binding with a leather spine was added. In this context, however, the manuscript's decoration with images is striking: the sole illustrations take the form of a double-sided woodcut with a Crucifixion on one side, the Pietà on the other (f. 12bis). Its inclusion conforms to the nuns' practice; the manuscripts that they wrote contain several hundred woodcuts that have either been glued or bound into the books.[4] Additional copies of the two woodcuts in the prayer book in Boston were found on a wooden panel with woodcuts pasted onto it from the same monastery.[5] In this manuscript, however, the print is not glued, but rather bound in, after the first gathering. The relationship of the image to the text is somewhat odd: the print is attached to a prayer for Epiphany, rather than to one of the thematically related prayers on the Passion of Christ.

Peter Schmidt

1 De Ricci 1935–40, 1:930 misread the town's name as Nijmegen (the Netherlands).
2 Willing 2012, 1:12.
3 Translated after the edition by Ruf 1961, 624.
4 P. Schmidt 2003.
5 Today in the Germanisches Nationalmuseum in Nuremberg. The watermark reveals that the woodcut is some years younger than the manuscript (c. 1452–56). P. Schmidt 2003, 68–83; P. Schmidt 2005, 168; Field 2009, 208–11.

71. Liturgical psalter with calendar

The Netherlands, c. 1500
Parchment, ff. 220, 243 x 172 mm
Harvard University, Houghton Library, MS Typ 197[1]
Countess Maria de Plettenberg-Mietingen (?); duc d'Arenberg (MS 21); Germain Seligman; bought by Philip Hofer, 1950 and deposited, 1967.

This delicately decorated volume contains two miniatures, copied from prints, that do not sit organically within the whole. The first represents Anna Selbdritt, that is, St. Anne with her daughter Mary and grandson Jesus (f. 7v), and the other represents Christ as Man of Sorrows (f. 140r). Both have been copied from engravings by Israhel van Meckenem (d. 1503), a printer with an extensive output who worked along the Middle Rhine.[2] He was one of the first artists to assertively brand and distribute his products, which landed in books and collections all over Northern Europe. Some of them made their way to a Birgittine convent in the Netherlands, where nuns probably used the prints as templates for painted miniatures and then added them to this manuscript. One usually thinks of hand-painted miniatures preceding prints in time, but in this case the prints formed the models on which these paintings were based, demonstrating that the move from manual to mechanical reproduction was not unidirectional. The materials are reversed here as well: the nuns copied paper prints onto parchment.

f. 7v

A late medieval order founded by Bridget of Sweden (1303–73), the Birgittines grew very popular in the Netherlands, with seven houses all dedicated to Mary.[3] Several Birgittine convents experimented with early printing, either making and hand-coloring broadsides,[4] pasting prints into manuscripts,[5] or printing woodblocks directly onto otherwise handwritten books.[6] The present manuscript demonstrates yet another way that Birgittines used and manipulated prints: by copying them by hand and then enhancing the resulting designs with paint.[7] It is difficult to say why the nuns copied this particular print, but in all likelihood they did not produce these subjects expressly for this book, which is a liturgical psalter, for St. Anne has nothing to do with the text she faces. Their choice here may have simply been opportunistic: it was the model they had at hand.

By omitting Israhel van Meckenem's framing, the painter has made space for swirling botanical disks in bold colors that are in keeping with a manuscript, rather than a printed, aesthetic. By reframing the image in this way, the illuminator has created a more intimate relationship between the figures and the viewer. The miniaturist has also simplified the engraver's drapery folds and covered the stuffs and surfaces with pattern. The nuns could simply have colored the print and put it in, but they wanted something handmade and on rich materials (parchment) but with the kind of sophisticated figural representation offered by a skilled professional artist (van Meckenem). The print-to-parchment transition offered them all of this.

Kathryn M. Rudy

1 Rudy 2015b, 103–4; Taner 2013.
2 See British Museum, Dept. of Prints and Drawings, 1873,0809.640. Engraving printed on paper, 21.1 x 14.5 cm; made c. 1465–1500. Lehrs 1908–34, 9:213.221.11.
3 They are: Mariënwater in Rosmalen, Mariënwijngaard in Utrecht, Marienkamp in Kampen, Mariënburg in Soest, Mariënsterre in Gouda, Mariëntroon in Dendermonde, and Mariënboom in Kleef. All started as double convents, but most of the men moved out, leaving them as female convents. For the

convents and their books, see: Olsen 1990 and Olsen 1992–95. Although several Birgittine convents made manuscripts, Mariënwater is the most famous, and cataloguers have therefore oversubscribed attributions to this house. Consequently, many Netherlandish Birgittine manuscripts have been erroneously ascribed to this convent, including the present psalter, which lacks the "river" penwork that is the hallmark of Mariënwater manuscripts.

4 Weekes 2009.

5 For Birgittines pasting prints into a manuscript for taking virtual pilgrimages, see Rudy 2011, 175–92, 399–410. Other early recipients of Israhel van Meckenem's prints painted them and glued them into books. See, for example, Matthews 1986. Nuns and female religious eagerly took up the new technology of printing. See the prayer book from St. Catherine's convent in Nuremberg (cat. no. 70 in this volume), and Weekes 2004.

6 Rudy 2015a.

7 For analogous examples, see Marrow 1978.

72. Breviary

Germany, 1474–77
Parchment, ff. 378, 110 x 83 (73–74 x 54–55) mm
Harvard University, Houghton Library, MS Lat 129
Purchased in Paris 1858 by W. F. Olis; Samuel Eliot, grandfather of donor; gift of Samuel Eliot Morison, 1926.

f. 193v

Inserted into this small, squat, but very thick breviary are three drawings on paper, two of which serve as pastedowns in the binding front and rear, the third of which is pasted onto the verso of the otherwise blank page (f. 193v) that divides the temporale (movable feasts) and the sanctorale (fixed feasts of saints).[1] All three can be attributed to the Benedictine monk who gives his name as Johannes in an inscription (f. 193v: "Ich Johannes pater alme, leuamen lapso porige [*sic*] et [disto?] cum omne corrige") and is shown kneeling in prayer before the oversized figure of his patron saint, John the Evangelist. The saint himself holds his attribute, the poisoned chalice, in his left hand and blesses it with his right. A knife and a pouch hang from his belt. The drawing at the front, glued to the battered, broken binding, portrays Christ as *Salvator mundi* (Savior of the World) standing in front of a blue cloth of honor suspended from a curtain rail and holding the orb of the earth in his left hand and blessing it with his right. The drawing originally served to cover the beech board of the binding. Whether the monk Johannes appeared at the Savior's feet, as he does again in the rear pastedown, praying to the Virgin Mary, who stands in front of a red cloth of honor, can no longer be determined. The binding, whose thickness no doubt contributed to its breaking, lays bare its internal structure: the gatherings sewn onto three double cords and the head- and tail-bands wound with red, white, and green thread. The better preserved rear cover cloaks the beveled board with brown leather that has been blind tooled with ruled lines and simple diamond stamps. Brass bosses at the center and the corners, unusual on a book this tiny, originally served to protect the binding from abrasion.

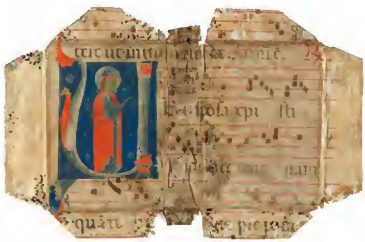
John the Evangelist and the Virgin Mary were often joined with Christ in images of the Deïsis ("intermission"). In those images, however, the two saints kneel to either side of the enthroned Christ. In the trio of drawings, John, the preeminent male virgin, joins Christ and Mary as the focus of the monk's devotions. The colophon (f. 376r), provides the date 1474, but not the name of the scribe, who may well have been the monk Johannes himself. An added prayer (f. 377v) with the date 1477 provides a terminus ante quem.

Jeffrey F. Hamburger

1 Light 1995, 170–74.

73. Antiphonal, leaf

Bologna (?), Italy, c. 1250–75
Parchment, 229 x 356 mm
Boston Public Library, MS pb Med. 204
Acquired by BPL in 1958.



This fragment, though from a very different place and time, has much in common with the Gottschalk Antiphonal leaves (cat. no. 43): it comes from an antiphonal, preserves the liturgy for the Common of Virgins, is illustrated with a generic virgin saint, and, like the Gottschalk Antiphonal and thousands of other medieval manuscripts, was recycled in the early modern era for use as binding scrap.

There, however, the similarities end. This antiphonal was written in Italy, likely Bologna, in the third quarter of the thirteenth century using square notation on a four-line staff, much more similar to today's musical notation than the unheightened neumatic notation used centuries before. With its pale color palette contrasting with the deep blue background speckled with white geometric shapes, this miniature is stylistically similar to the Bolognese initials in cat. no. 147.

While this manuscript would have remained legible and useful throughout the Middle Ages, it was dismembered for use as a wrap-around book cover in the eighteenth century. The tabs around the edges would have been folded over the boards to be affixed to the interior. The leaf was strategically trimmed so that the miniature would have completely filled and decorated the back cover. The title of the bound book can still be read on what was the spine: Index Libro[rum] Prohib[itorum], the *Index of Prohibited Books*. The *Index* was a list of heretical, anti-clerical, or otherwise inappropriate books banned by the Catholic Church. The first such list was published during the papacy of Paul IV in 1559, and the final (twentieth) edition was published in 1948. The Catholic Church officially abolished the *Index* in 1966. The dimensions of book covered by this fragment (160 x 120 mm, approx. 40 mm thick, or around 250 leaves) suggest it was used to cover the edition of 1704, 1716, or 1734.

Lisa Fagin Davis

74. Missal ("Beauvais Missal")

Beauvais, France, c. 1285
Parchment, 6 leaves, c. 290 x 200 (c. 200 x 135) mm (each)
Sold Sotheby's, London, May 4, 1926, lot 161 to William Randolph Hearst; sold in October 1943 to Philip Duschnes, who cut up the manuscript; Boston Public Library, MSS pb Med. 110.1 and 110.2 (formerly Ms. 1538): purchased from Duschnes in 1950; Harvard University, Houghton Library, MS Typ 956: gift of William Bentinck-Smith, 1965; Wellesley College, Margaret Clapp Library, Special Collections, MS 33: acquired by Wellesley College after 1965.

Wellesley College, MS 33, f. 2r

The Beauvais Missal is among the best-known victims of twentieth-century "biblioclasm," the intentional dismemberment of a manuscript in the name of profit. Early twentieth-century book dealers determined that they would make more money selling 250 leaves to 250 buyers than one codex to one buyer. As a result, exquisite manuscripts such as the Beauvais Missal were destroyed with impunity and today are scattered across the globe. Recent developments in digital imaging and metadata structure have made it possible to digitally reconstruct manuscripts such as the Beauvais Missal, enabling the recovery of lost masterworks.

Most known leaves of the Missal have at least two or three initials in gold and colors with elaborate spiky extensions into the margins. A 1926 description of the manuscript records that there were originally four historiated initials, three of which survive.[1] Alison Stones has affiliated the style of the illumination with a group of manuscripts produced in the time of Cardinal Jean Cholet (d. 1293), canon of Beauvais.[2] The manuscript, however, was made for the personal use of a different canon named Robert de Hangest. Hangest bequeathed the manuscript to Beauvais Cathedral in 1356, a fact known only because of a donation inscription on a lost leaf, transcribed in the 1926 Sotheby's auction catalogue: "Dominus Robertus de hangestis quondam canonicus Belvaccii legavit Istam terciam partem missalis Ecclesie Belvaccii pro obitu suo in eadem perpetue singulis annis faciendo tercia die Novembris" ("Dom. Robert de Hangest, late canon of Beauvais, bequeathed this third volume of a Missal to the church of Beauvais, so that his death might be commemorated there forever each year on 3 November").[3] The known leaves are all from a single volume, recording liturgy for feasts commemorated between the week after Easter and the end of November. It is not known what became of the other volumes of the set.

The manuscript is recorded in the Beauvais Cathedral library as late as the seventeenth century. It is unclear when the library was dispersed, but, like many early French libraries, the collection was probably broken up soon after the French Revolution. The manuscript passed through several generations of French families before making its way to Sotheby's in 1926.[4] Peter Kidd has recently discovered that the manuscript was purchased from Sotheby's by none other than American industrialist William Randolph Hearst, who sold it through an agent to New York dealer Philip Duschnes in October 1942.[5] Duschnes cut it up and began selling leaves less than a month later. He passed the remnants on to Cleveland biblioclast Otto F. Ege, who distributed leaves by sale and gift until his death in 1951. His wife Louise continued this scattering of leaves, using Beauvais Missal leaves as no. 15 in the "Fifty Original Leaves of Medieval Manuscripts" portfolio. Forty such portfolios were assembled, but many leaves of the manuscript can be identified outside of portfolio collections.[6] As of June 2016, 101 leaves were known in twenty-four states and six countries.[7]

The Boston area boasts six leaves of the Missal. Houghton MS Typ 956, f. 1 is one of only two known calendar leaves, preserving the liturgical calendar for August and September. Boston Public Library's MS pf Med. 110.1 and Wellesley's MS 33, f. 1 come from the temporale section of the manuscript, preserving liturgy for the second Sunday after Easter and Pentecost Sunday. BPL MS pf Med. 110.2 preserves liturgy for saints commemorated in August and September (the Decollation of St. John the Baptist [August 29], St. Sabina [August 29], Sts. Felix and Audactus [August 30], St. Priscus [September 1]). Wellesley MS 33, f. 2 comes from the Common of Martyrs, and Houghton Library, MS Typ 956, f. 2 from the Common of One Virgin. The incipient digital reconstruction of the manuscript will reunite these leaves with their formerly-consecutive sisters, allowing scholars and students to study the decoration and contents of this important and beautiful manuscript.

Lisa Fagin Davis

1 Sotheby's, London, May 4, 1926, lot 161. Two historiated initials are found on a canon leaf belonging to the Cleveland Museum of Art (1982.141) and the other is at the Allen Memorial Art Museum at Oberlin College (1993.16).

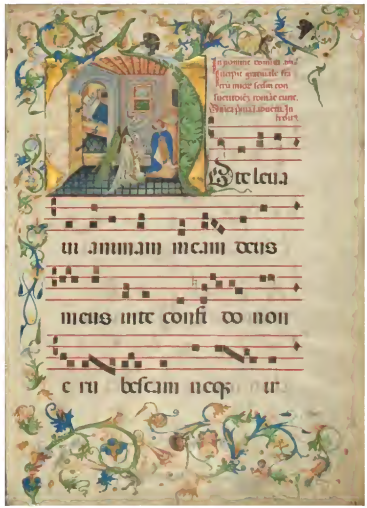
2 Stones 2001, 244.

3 De Hamel 2010, 76.
4 For details, see Kidd 2014.
5 Ibid.
6 Shailor 2009 and Gwara 2013, 69–70, 72, and 78.
7 For a complete list, see L. Davis 2015 and L. Davis (online).

75. Leaves from an antiphonal and a gradual

Vienna, Austria, c. 1458–65
Parchment, 5 leaves
Boston Public Library, MSS f Med. 205: 560 x 380–83 (362 x 283) mm; 206: 548 x 383 (365 x 275) mm; 207: 550 x 358 (362 x 280) mm
Harvard University, Houghton Library, MSS Typ 704.1 (12): 545 x 390 (362 x 280) mm; (13): 558 x 388 (362 x 277) mm
St. Theobald ob der Laimgrube, Vienna?; John Henry Ball bequeathed in 1938 to John Brayfield Ball; bought by John Ball's executor, Sydney Edward Lucas in 1940; sold at Christie's, London, May 16, 1961, lots 134, 136, 137, 140, 142; of these, lots 134, 136, 140, and 142 bought by Maggs and offered in their *Addenda to Catalogue 876: Austria and the Hapsburgs* (London 1961), nos. 1–4, of which 1–3 were bought by BPL, and 4 was acquired by L'Art Ancien, Zurich, from whom it was bought by Philip Hofer in 1963, and bequeathed to Harvard in 1984 (MS Typ 704.1 [13]); the remaining leaf, lot 137, was bought at Christie's by Edwards, and was Philip C. Duschnes, *Catalogue 151* (New York [1961]), no. 15, bought by Hofer in 1961 and bequeathed to Harvard in 1984 (MS Typ 704.1 [12]).[1]

The set of nine surviving single sheets to which the five divided between the Boston Public Library and the Houghton Library belong provides important witness to painting in mid-fifteenth-century Vienna. They also testify to the systematic dispersal of illuminated leaves from medieval liturgical books, especially following the state-sanctioned secularizations of the late eighteenth and early nineteenth centuries. Of this particular group, six from the Ball collection were sold in 1961; of these, three (one, an allegorical unicorn hunt for the first Sunday in Advent, from an antiphonal, the other two, the Resurrection for Easter Sunday, and the Annunciation to the Shepherds for the first Mass at Christmas, from a gradual) entered the collection of the Boston Public Library. Another pair (with initials depicting the Nativity for High Mass at Christmas and the Annunciation to the Virgin for the first Sunday in Advent), both from a gradual, were acquired at separate dates, then later given by Philip Hofer, to the Houghton Library. A sixth, of the Man of Sorrows with a kneeling donor, which illustrates the "Asperges" (the blessing with holy water) from a gradual, is housed at the Nationalmuseum in Stockholm (Cod. B.1838).[2] Having passed through a book dealer in Hamburg, a sev-enth leaf found its way into a private collection in Germany. Two further leaves, the first depicting the stigmatization of St. Francis, the second, the Dormition of the Virgin for the "Gaudeamus" at the Assumption, are known only from photographs.[3]



Houghton Library, MS Typ 704.1 (12)r

Despite working with a subset of the extant evidence, Gerhard Schmidt was the first to recognize that although the leaves' decoration and grandiose dimensions mark them as being closely related, their content dictates that they must have come from at least three different manuscripts, the winter and summer parts of a gradual, as well as an antiphonal.[4] Given the variations in the leaves' decoration, especially the border ornament, their overall dimensions (deceptive due to trimming) as well as variations in the rastrum of staves, additional manuscripts (perhaps the paired graduals and antiphonals required for performance by both sides of the choir) might still be identified. The rubric on one of the leaves at Harvard (MS Typ 704.1 [12]), reading "Incipit graduale fratrum minorum secundum consuetudinem romane curie," indicates that the gradual was made for a Franciscan house, possibly that in Vienna. Given that the first Observant Franciscan house in Vienna, St. Theobald ob der Laimgrube, was founded in 1451 by Emperor Friedrich III at the initiative of the preacher Johannes Capistrano (1386–1456), a date that accords perfectly with the style of their illumination, it may well be that the leaves come from liturgical books made for this very foundation.[5] The leaves were written by two scribes, one of whom employs a rounded Gothic script that is unusual north of the Alps at this date, and illuminated by three artists.[6] Such extensive collaboration, especially on so ambitious a set of liturgical books, was hardly unusual. The illuminators draw on an eclectic set of models drawn from Bohemian and especially Viennese painting of the first half of the fifteenth century. One hand (responsible for MS Typ 704.1 [13] as well as BPL MSS f Med. 205–6) employs conventions rooted in both illumination and panel painting. For example, in the Nativity, the emphasis on the devotion of the kneeling Madonna is a motif inherited from Bohemian art (where it also occurs in representations of the Death of the Virgin), but also found in Viennese panel painting.[7] In the Annunciation to the

Shepherds (in which the illuminator forgot to fill in the sliver of gilding at the left of the letter, BPL MS f Med. 206), the imitation three-dimensional frame is of a type found already in fourteenth-century Bohemian manuscripts. The same artist, however, experiments, most notably in the leaf for Pentecost (private collection), with complicated representations of architecture reminiscent of the work of the illuminator Martinus Opifex, active in Regensburg and Vienna in the 1440s.[8] The Nativity at Harvard (MS Typ 704.1 [12]) is cruder in execution than the other leaves; its border decoration is also distinctive. Whereas the leaves for Christmas (MS Typ 704.1 [13]) and Easter (MS f Med. 207) employ spacious, evenly paced scrolling acanthus in soft pastel hues, that for the Annunciation of the Virgin (MS Typ 704.1 [12]) fills the margins with a thicket of entangled leaves and blossoms that, like the acanthus in the minims of the initial itself, is considerably more plastic in character.

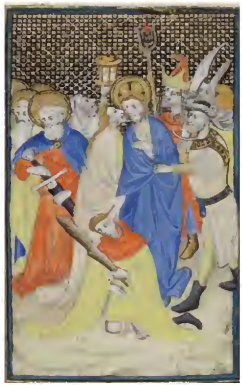
BPL, MS f Med. 205r (detail)

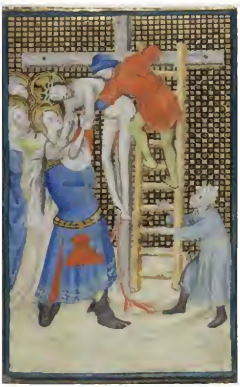
BPL, MS f Med. 206r (detail)

Different in turn is the illumination of the leaf for the opening of Advent, which opens with a striking and unconventional image of the unicorn hunt (cf. cat. no. 162) in a *hortus conclusus* or enclosed garden. Schmidt suggested that the distinctive character of the initial stemmed in part from models in monumental painting.[9] While this may hold true for the composition, the execution itself is more finicky than that found in the other leaves. The painting acquires a brittle, linear, decorative quality, especially apparent in the decoration in gold of the trumpeting angel's cloak or the tapestry of flowers in the garden. As Schmidt further observed, this manner of painting is less retrospective than that found on the other leaves; it bears comparison with the works of the follower(s) of the so-called Albrechtsminiator that he dubbed the "Master of the Klosterneuburg Missals."[10] The same brittle delicacy carries over to the attenuated acanthus in the margins, where prophets (Jeremiah and Balaam in the upper margin, Zacheus, Isaiah, the royal David, Micheas, and Malachai in the lower margin), hold scrolls that elaborate on the meaning of the allegory. There one finds a variety of motifs all pointing typologically to the virgin birth: the burning bush at the top, then, moving around the garden clockwise, the closed gate (Ez 44:1: *porta clausa*), Gideon's fleece (Idc 6:36–40: *vellus Gedeonis*), the golden urn (Heb 9:4: *urna aurea*), the sealed well (Ct 4:2: *fons signatus*), and the rod of Aaron (Ex 7:12: *virga Aaron*). Many of these symbols are invoked by Paul in his discussion of the Holy of Holies in the Jewish Temple (Heb 9:4: "Having a golden censer, and the ark of the testament covered about on every part with gold, in which was a golden pot that had manna, and the rod of Aaron, that had blossomed, and the tables of the testament." The center is occupied by the hunt of the unicorn.[11] According to legend, only a virgin could entrap the mythical beast. The unicorn thus was interpreted as a symbol of the Incarnation of Christ. In choosing this Marian theme to illustrate Advent, the initial, like the angel, heralds the coming of Christmas in keeping with the words of the accompanying chant, "Aspiciens a longe" ("I look from afar: and lo, I see the power of God coming").

Jeffrey F. Hamburger

1 Peter Kidd kindly provided the provenance information.
2 For the leaf in Stockholm, see Nordenfalk 1979, 114–15, cat. no. 31.
3 Kindly brought to my attention by François Avril. The Stigmatization was included in Maggs 1988, no. 15, where its dimensions are given as 545 x 365 mm. The Assumption, which has the same dimensions, is no. 14. The current location of both leaves remains unknown.
4 G. Schmidt 2005, kindly brought to our attention by Karl-Georg Pfändtner.
5 *500 Jahre* 1950; Hundsbichler 1982.
6 Schmidt identifies only two artists, as he did not know MS Typ 704.1 (12), which is by neither of the illuminators he analyzes with such precision.
7 As remarked by G. Schmidt 2005, 454.
8 G. Schmidt 2005. For Martinus Opifex, see most recently Suckale-Redlefsen and Suckale 2007.
9 G. Schmidt 2005, 453.
10 Ibid., 463. For further discussion, see Haidinger 1980.
11 Einhorn 1998.





76. Leaves from a book of hours
Attrib. to atelier of Jacquemart de Hesdin (illuminator)

Paris, France, c. 1400
Parchment, 4 leaves, 102 x 58 mm (each)
Museum of Fine Arts, Boston, 43.212–15, Helen and Alice Colburn Fund
E. M. Ranshaw; sold, Sotheby's, London, February 9, 1943, lot 106, to Raphael Rosenberg; sold to Rosenberg and Stiebel, New York; 1943, sold to MFA.

These leaves are four from a group of twelve sold from the collection of Miss E. M. Ranshaw in 1943. Excised from the Hours of the Virgin and the Cross, the Annunciation to the Shepherds, Betrayal, Deposition, and Entombment were probably part of a single luxury manuscript written in two columns in French and Latin. All but one of the miniatures are pasted down. The Deposition has been pulled from its backing to reveal portions of a short, and as yet unidentified, French text that may be a variation on a common Latin prayer from the Hours of the Cross whose incipit is given as its rubric.[1]

The miniatures are close in style to those attributed to the atelier of Jacquemart de Hesdin and especially close to the ps.-Jacquemart, a collaborator of Jacquemart active from the late 1380s to 1411.[2] The faces in the Passion images in particular have the characteristically long noses and heavy, almost swollen, eyes common to this artist, and employ vibrant colors, especially the violet, yellow, and acid green.

Peter Kidd's publication of a fifth illumination showing the Nativity, which now is in the collection of the Los Angeles County Museum of Art (MS 47.19.1), showed its back, which contains an unidentified prayer in French verse.[3] He speculates that the original manuscript's closest analogies are with books of hours written in two columns for Jean, duc de Berry and his circle in the early fifteenth century. This is an attractive hypothesis, since Jacquemart and his close collaborators worked for that group.

Anne D. Hedeman

1 I would like to thank Peter Kidd for helping with the partial transcription (italicized text is rubric):
[top line not visible] / g[ ]lamour. [*Orison?*] / *Domine ih[es]u [Christ]e fili dei vivi.* /
O filz de dieu le vi[f?] / amoureux ih[es]ucris. / [ ]
eschoir tourmens [et] / [?]em]ens et criz.&c
The prayer might relate to Latin prayers with a French rubric, *oroisons de la Passion Nostre Seigneur Jhesu Crist*, that König suggests appear rarely, in two books belonging to Jean, duc de Berry (Paris, BnF, ms. lat. 18014, ff. 63v–66r and Paris, BnF, ms. nouv. acq. lat. 3093, ff. 155r–61r. See König 1992, 193, cited in a *Gallica* entry, http://gallica.bnf.fr/ark:/12148/btv1b84496839.

2 On Jacquemart and ps.-Jacquemart, see Meiss 1967, 1:135–93, 267–85, 321–23, 331–37, 342–34; Taburet-Delahaye 2004, cat. nos. 21, 41–45, 170, and 189; Avril, Reynaud, and Cordellier 2011, 157–59; Schilling 1944; and Swarzenski 1944.

3 Kidd 2015a. He transcribes the French prayer as follows: "Qui le filz dieu porterent. / Le tres doulz fruit de vie. Et les doulces mamelles / Que le sauveur du mo[n]de. Alaitta par amour. Ou / toute grace habonde. Am[en]. Pater n[oste]r. *ut s[upra]*. / Ave maria."

77. Montage of cuttings from a missal of Clement VII
Jacopo del Giallo (illuminator)

Rome, Italy, c. 1530–34
Parchment, f. 1, overall montage 310 x 245 mm; central miniature 190 x 130 mm
Harvard University, Houghton Library, MS Typ 734

Pope Clement VII (r. 1523–34); before 1802, Luigi Celotti, Christie's, London, May 26, 1825, lot 75; John Rushout, his sale, May 21, 1928, lot 5; Quaritch, 1948 cat., no. 11; W. R. Jeudwine, London; bequest of Philip Hofer, 1984.

This framed montage of miniatures from a missal of Pope Clement VII was lot 75 in the famous 1825 sale of "Illumined Miniature Paintings" cut from service books stolen from the Sistine Chapel during the French occupation of Rome in 1798 (see cat. nos. 78 and 221).[1] The landmark auction at Christie's in London was the first ever exclusive sale of illuminated miniatures and initials, and the catalyst for the collecting of "cuttings" from manuscripts in nineteenth-century England.[2] The consignor Abbé Luigi Celotti (1759–1843), a Venetian priest-turned-art dealer, has been branded a mercenary vandal.[3] It has, however, recently been shown that his deplorable actions were motivated by a precocious scholarly interest in the art of illumination, which he advocated as on a par with drawing and monumental painting.[4] Between 1802 and 1806, Celotti transformed the miniatures and borders of lavish liturgical manuscripts used to celebrate Mass in the Sistine Chapel during the papacies of Innocent VIII (r. 1484–92) to Innocent XI (r. 1676–89), into Renaissance and Baroque cabinet paintings comprised of sophisticated pictorial montages mounted in period frames.[5] Celotti's collection was exhibited in a chronological display on the history of Italian illumination to the public in Venice and Milan from 1806 and 1810, respectively, making it the earliest recorded gallery of its kind.[6] Forced by penury to sell his beloved collection, Celotti unsuccessfully offered it in 1812 to Milan's Brera Academy of Fine Arts to keep it from dispersal and on Italian soil. Still in financial difficulty in 1819, he reluctantly secured a license to export his pioneering but underappreciated cabinet of miniatures.

The montage's glorious central miniature of the Last Judgment beneath the Latin inscription meaning "Come, ye blessed of my Father" and "Depart from me, ye cursed, into everlasting fire" (Mt 25:34, 41) was the frontispiece of a missal for the Sunday before Advent belonging to Clement VII recorded as A.I.10 in inventories of the sacristy of the Sistine Chapel.[7] The border with four scenes of Adam and Eve from Genesis, the Medici pope's name, arms supported by Prudence and Fortitude, and "Candor Illaesus" personal device,[8] probably come from another book of Clement VII. However, Celotti's juxtaposition cleverly paralleled the original sinners and the damned during the Second Coming of Christ. Sold as the work of a young Giulio Clovio with Raphaelesque angels, it has been most convincingly attributed to the Florentine artist Jacopo del Giallo (d. 1543) based on stylistic similarities with signed or documented miniatures executed in Rome and Venice in the 1530s–40s.[9] He modeled his Last Judgment on the famous fresco of the same subject painted in 1499 by Fra' Bartolommeo in the cemetery of the Ospedale di S. Maria Nuova in the artist and pope's native Florence.[10] This fresco influenced Michelangelo's painting of the same subject for the altar wall of the Sistine Chapel. Perhaps the writer Pietro Aretino (1492–1556), a mutual friend of the Buonarotti and del Giallo, who tried to influence the iconography of Michelangelo's masterpiece, advised him to study the masterful miniature in Clement VII's missal.[11]

Anne-Marie Eze

1 For detailed discussions and illustrated reconstruction of the 1825 sale, see Eze 2010, 139–292, and De Laurentiis and Talamo 2010, 345–80.
2 Munby 1972, 65–67 and Hindman et al. 2001, 52–59.
3 Munby 1972, 65; Wieck 2006, 501n10; Hindman et al. 2001, 93–95.
4 Eze 2010, 310–19.
5 The montage does not retain its original gilded Celotti frame. It was apparently reframed after the Northwick sale at Sotheby's, London, May 21, 1928, lot 5, in the catalogue of which it was described as merely "on a sunk mount." Surviving examples of Celotti frames are London, Ford Collection, RF12 and RF13; London, V&A, E.4577-1910 and E.4578-1910; New York, PLM, MS M.1134; and Zagreb, Hrvatski Restauratorski Zavod, Giulio Clovio (attributed to), *The Last Judgment*. Hindman et al. 2001, 57, fig. 23. De Laurentiis and Talamo 2010, 364, 372–74. The framed montage in Zagreb was hitherto unpublished in scholarly literature on the Celotti sale since it is not identifiable in the Christie's auction catalogues, and was most likely sold through a private transaction. It is particularly interesting since it encloses a miniature of the Last Judgment by Giulio Clovio, which is described in an inscription on the frame as "said to have been presented to Clement VII upon his accession to the Papal throne in 1523." The illumination is related in composition to Clovio's miniature of the same subject in the famous Towneley Lectionary (New York, NYPL, MssCol 2557, f. 23v), but potentially predates by a quarter of a century or more. Eze 2016, 145–47, pl. 12.
6 For a history of the reception of illumination in France, England, and Italy, see Braesel 2009.
7 Levi D'Ancona 1962a, 6–14, pl. 7. Much of Levi D'Ancona's bewilderment of the inconsistencies between the border and the miniature stem from her mistaking the montage for an integral leaf. It is described in three inventories of the Sistine sacristy compiled in 1547, 1714, and 1728: Rome, Archivio di Stato, Camerale I, vol. 1557, fasc. B, f. 18r, 6: "Un Messal che serve ala sedia del Papa, de tutte le Messe dela Capella diviso in doi volume l'uno e l'altro, coperto de velluto cremesino; de Clem. VII, con due cocchi, è due fibie d'argento indorato per uno." In the eighteenth century these volumes were inventoried as A.I.9 & A.I.10. Rome, Archivio di Stato, Camerale I, vol. 1560, fasc. 24, ff. 265r–302r and Camerale I, vol. 1560, fasc. 25, ff. 157r–79r: "A.I.10. Messa della Festivita di tutti li Santi con le seguenti. Della Domenica prima dell'Avvento." The inventories are transcribed in Talamo 1998, 213–22 and De Laurentiis and Talamo 2010, 315–28.
8 Perry 1977.
9 Levi D'Ancona 1962a, 6–14, pl. 7. For a recent summary of his attributed works, see Marcon 2004c. Szépe (2013, 30–31) has demonstrated that the artist died in 1543, a decade earlier than previously thought.
10 Levi D'Ancona 1962a, 8.
11 Aretino 1976, 110–11.

78. Canon Missae
Master of the Missal of Cardinal Bernardino de Carvajal (illuminator)

Rome, Italy, 1523–27
Parchment, ff. 3, 435 x 315 (380 x 265) mm
Isabella Stewart Gardner Museum, U19w30
Purchased by Isabella Stewart Gardner from Charles Eliot Norton in May or June 1904.

f. 1r

This missal belonged to Pope Clement VII (r. 1523–34) and is one of three Renaissance service books used to celebrate Mass in the Sistine Chapel now in the Boston area (see cat. nos. 77 and 221).[1] The liturgical manuscripts were probably removed from the Vatican in 1798 during the tumultuous French occupation of Rome, which saw confiscations and looting of papal treasures. Before the arrival of Napoleon's troops, the Sistine Chapel's sacristy housed around 150 lavishly illuminated manuscripts which had been used exclusively by popes, cardinals, and other high-ranking prelates. In 1798, forty of these volumes were sent for safe-keeping to Spain, where they remain.[2] Others were mutilated for their illuminations by the Venetian art dealer Abbé Luigi Celotti (1759–1843), who sold the cuttings as cabinet paintings in a landmark sale at Christie's in London in 1825 (see cat. no. 77).[3] The present manuscript's path from Rome to Boston is unclear, but material evidence in the book points to an eventful journey. Its text, written in a round liturgical Gothic script, is incomplete and has been scraped and re-written in parts.[4] The book was rebound in London in the nineteenth century by Roger de Coverly (1831–1914),[5] who also laminated its five parchment leaves—originally written on their rectos only—by pasting them on thick cardstock and gluing them verso-to-verso.[6]

The manuscript contains, among other texts, the canon of the Mass, the fundamental, fixed portion of the rite during which the Host is consecrated. Words of consecration are inscribed in blue capitals on painted scrolls, and there are rubrics for ceremonial directions and crosses to indicate where the celebrant should make the sign of the cross. According to descriptions of the manuscript in three inventories of the sacristy of the Sistine Chapel dated 1547, 1714, and 1728, its original binding was of "red Turkish leather, with another over-cover of white floral Damask, with a red leather pouch, with the Arms of the de' Medici," and by the eighteenth century its sacristy pressmark was A.III.14, and it contained "fifteen leaves, the first and the seventh illuminated."[7] Therefore, two-thirds of the book is now missing, including two full-page miniatures, of which the first most likely was the Crucifixion facing the canon page. The eighteenth-century inventories described the missal's contents as a "Canon, or Preparation for celebrating Mass," so the missing leaves probably contained the extensive private prayers said by the celebrant while vesting and before going to the altar. Ordinarily, these were kept in a separate volume, since the prayers were recited in the sacristy, not at the altar (see cat. no. 221). It was, however, probably bound with Clement VII's canon of the Mass after both manuscripts became obsolete.

The decoration of the Gardner missal is attributed to the Master of the Missal of Cardinal Bernardino de Carvajal,[8] a follower and collaborator of the illuminator Matteo da Milano (documented 1502–c.1525), who enjoyed the patronage of the Curia from the second decade of the 1500s.[9] The anonymous artist skillfully imitated the Lombard master's distinctive style that merged contemporary Flemish and Italian motifs. In the Gardner manuscript the fusion is evident in the initials decorated with both trompe l'œil flora and fauna, and classicizing cameos and gems, casting shadows on shell gold grounds, and the *grotteschi* entwined with the Medici papal arms and Clement VII's falcon-and-diamond ring and "Candor Illaesus" devices in the border of the first page.[10] The book dates to the early years of Clement VII's papacy, between his election on November 18, 1523 and May 6, 1527, because in the initial *T* of the Medici pope celebrating Mass (f. 1r), he is depicted clean shaven as in his portrait by Sebastiano del Piombo of 1526.[11] During the sack of Rome in 1527, while imprisoned in Castel Sant'Angelo from May to December of that year, Clement grew a beard and wore it long thereafter, as can be seen in the drawing *Clement VII Meeting Charles V in Bologna*, also by Del Piombo, dated to the 1530s.[12] An important historical detail recorded in the Gardner missal's historiated initial is the view of the interior of the Sistine Chapel which includes a rare, colored depiction of a portion of Perugino's *Assumption of the Virgin with Pope Pope Sixtus IV*, the original altar-wall fresco which was destroyed to make way for Michelangelo's *Last Judgment*.[13]

Anne-Marie Eze

1 Eze 2012, 84–87.
2 De Laurentiis and Talamo 2010, 23–28.
3 Ibid., 345–80. For the lesser known 1826 Christie's sale, see Eze 2010a, 284–92 and Eze 2016, 137.
4 The manuscript contains the prayers for the *Te igitur*, commemoration for the living, first intercession, *Hanc igitur*, pre-consecration epiclesis, consecration of the bread, consecration of the wine, anamnesis, *Supra quae*, post-consecration epiclesis, commemoration for the dead, second intercession, *Per quem*, doxology with elevation, embolism, *Fiat commixtio*, *Agnus dei* with prayers for the preparation for communion, communion, and the ablutions. The final prayer is incomplete and the dismissal is missing.
5 I. Gardner 1922, 17, 59. He sewed the leaves "scrap book" style with card stock spacers and white linen hinges. For De Coverley, see Marks 2015.
6 Blank versos are suggested by the continuity of the text despite the leaves being pasted verso-to-verso, and original pagination in red Roman numerals. The fifth page is backed with cardstock and paper. I am grateful to Nancy Southworth for her analysis of the lamination.
7 Rome, Archivio di Stato, Camerale I, vol. 1557, fasc. B, f. 63v [dated 1547]: "[Nel Armario secondo] Un Messale grande scritto à mano, in carta pecora, miniato coperto di corame rosso Turchescho, con un'altra sopra coperta di Damasco bianco a fiorini, con la sua saccoccia di corame rosso, con l'Arme de' Medici." Rome, Archivio di Stato, Camerale I, vol. 1560, fasc. 24, ff. 265–302 [dated 1714] and Camerale I, vol. 1560, fasc. 25, ff. 157–79 [dated 1728]:

"Armario 3° nella 2ª stanza sotto la lettera A. Libri Papali antichi, che non servono più. A.III.14. Canone, ò Preparazione per celebrare la Messa di Clemente 7° contiene 15 carte la prima, e la 7ª miniata coperta di corame rosso, et Arme del med.mo Pontefice." Talamo 1998, 216, 219 and De Laurentiis and Talamo 2010, 320 and 324.

8 Eze 2012, 84–87. His eponymous manuscript is a missal for the Mass of the Epiphany of Cardinal Bernardino de Carvajal of 1520–21, in Sotheby's, London, December 11, 1984, lot 44, De Laurentiis and Talamo 2010, 219–20, figs. 26a–b and cat. no. 221 in the present book.

9 Lollini 2004d, 742–46.

10 For Clement VII's *imprese*, see Perry 1977.

11 Naples, Museo e Gallerie Nazionali di Capodimonte. Strinati and Lindemann 2008, cat. no. 47, 210–11. Eze 2012, 86.

12 Strinati and Lindemann 2008, cat. no. 103, 328–29. Eze 2012, 86.

13 Eze 2012, 86.

79. "Et factum est," cutting from bible

Spain, c. 1225–50
Parchment, 73 x 45 mm
Brandeis University, Robert D. Farber University Archives & Special Collections, Manus. 31
Gift of Eugene Garbáty, 1962.

This diminutive cutting has a remarkable provenance that exemplifies some of the ways in which manuscripts can travel around the world and change ownership: in the past 130 years it has been stolen from Seville Cathedral, sold in Paris, auctioned in Berlin, whisked away from Nazi Germany to New York, auctioned in London, and returned to the USA. Other cuttings from the same bible have traveled different routes and ended up in Amiens,[1] Angers,[2] London,[3] Paris,[4] and Philadelphia.[5]

The parent manuscript has the colophon of its scribe, Pedro de Pamplona; some scholars attribute the illumination to Navarre (within which region of northeast Spain Pamplona lies), others to Toledo (in central Spain).[6] There is an oft-repeated tradition that the bible was bequeathed to Seville Cathedral, where its mutilated remains are preserved to this day,[7] by King Sancho IV (d. 1295), having previously been owned by his father, Alfonso X (d. 1284), and grandfather, Ferdinand III (d. 1252). This initial and many others were cut from the bible in 1884 due to the neglect or complicity of its custodians, and sold in Paris.[8] It is next recorded in the collection of the Berlin art collector Adolf von Beckerath (1834–1915), and was auctioned after his death.[9] Eugene L. Garbáty (1880–1966), also of Berlin, probably bought it at the auction, and certainly owned it by 1939, when he fled from Nazi persecution to New York.[10] He loaned it to an exhibition in Boston in 1940,[11] and to another in Hartford, Connecticut, in 1948.[12] Downsizing his home and selling much of his large art collection, Garbáty auctioned the cutting in London in 1956.[13] But he apparently regretted the sale, because he had re-acquired it by 1962, when he donated it to Brandeis.

The initial doubtless comes from the book of Joshua, which begins with the text on this cutting "Et factum est…". The two scenes represent passages from the beginning of the book: "It came to pass after the death of Moses...that the Lord spoke to Josue.… And Josue commanded the princes of the people."

Peter Kidd

1 Mus. de Picardie, MP 3057.240.36.1–13; see Mariéthoz 1999 and 2013.

2 Bm, Rés. Ms. 2370.

3 Formerly Maggs [2014], Christie's, London, November 27, 2012, lot 1, and Sotheby's, London, July 6, 2000, lot 14 (*Western Manuscripts and Miniatures*).

4 École Beaux-Arts, PC 26993-1.

5 FLP, Lewis E M 43:2a–c; rectos and versos digitized on the Free Library website.

6 Recent studies, citing older bibliography, include Mariéthoz 2013, García Martínez and Rodríguez Díaz 2000, Urbina García 1999, Mariéthoz 1999, and Domínguez Rodríguez 1996.

7 Bibl. Capitular y Colombina, MSS. 56-5-1 and 56-5-1 bis.

8 For a recent account of the whole affair, see Guillén 2006, 499–537. Cambridge, Houghton Library, MS Typ 95 consists of seven leaves cut from another Seville Cathedral manuscript; see Kidd 2010.

9 Lepke, Berlin, November 20–21, 1916, lot 12, Tafel 10.

10 On Garbáty and his art collection see Reed 2014.

11 *Arts of the Middle Ages* 1940, no. 40.

12 Seaver 1948, no. 178.

13 Sotheby's, London, April 23, 1956, lot 34 (*Catalogue of Western and Oriental Miniatures and Manuscripts*).

80. Knight slaying a lion before a city gate with spectators (cutting)
The Spanish Forger (illuminator)

Paris (?), France, early twentieth century
Parchment, 237 x 231 mm
Harvard University, Houghton Library, MS Typ 947
Purchased in New York c. 1960 by James R. Tanis; his gift, 1961.

The Spanish Forger was one of the most skillful and prolific forgers of all time.[1] He has been known as the Spanish Forger since about 1930, when Belle da Costa Greene, then director of the Morgan Library, christened him. She did so after exposing a Betrothal of St. Ursula attributed to Maestro Jorge Inglès, who was active in Spain about 1450. There is no evidence, however, that the Forger was Spanish; rather, he was probably active in Paris early in the last century, as most of his works were acquired there.[2] Moreover, nineteenth-century Parisian books on medieval art and life were his primary compositional, thematic, and even stylistic sources.[3] If he was trained as a chromolithographer, and he had the requisite skills, he may have begun his new "career" around 1900, when photographic reproductions replaced chromolithography. Part of the forger's appeal and collectability may be that he did not simply copy genuine works but developed a highly personal, easily recognizable, and charming style of his own.

The cutting exhibits the hallmarks of that style: romantic courtly scenes, ladies' sweet facial expressions and décolletage, swirling water, tapestry-like trees, and fairytale castles.[4] To abet the deception, he used old choir book leaves. The antiphons on the verso, however, are from texts that were never illustrated.[5] He scraped away the recto text to avoid the telltale clue that he painted over it. Here the unlikely placement of the miniature with respect to the verso also gives him away, as genuine miniatures would not have taken up the bottom margin. The forger often made variations on the same theme, and a similar knight protecting his lady from a ferocious lion is in the Henri Maire collection in Arbois, France.[6]

Hilton Kramer, in his review of the Morgan's groundbreaking Spanish Forger exhibition (1978), both praised and envied the forger. "What greater tribute could a forger ask for?," he wrote, "First to be accepted as authentic, and then to be studied and honored even when unmasked! Many a genuine artist has received a lot less from posterity."[7]

William M. Voelkle

1 In Voelkle 1978, the catalogue for the Morgan Library's Spanish Forger exhibition, forty-two panel paintings (including triptychs), six manuscripts, and one hundred single leaves and cuttings were recorded. Now there are 109 panels, eleven manuscripts, and 267 leaves and cuttings.

2 The panels and miniatures must date after 1814, when the green pigment, copper arsenite or Paris green, was made commercially available, but since there are no recorded provenances before about 1900, they were probably made after that date. For recent findings on the forger see Voelkle 2007 and D'Elia 2011.

3 The most frequently used were five volumes by Paul Lacroix: *Les arts au moyen âge et à l'époque de la renaissance*, Paris, 1869; *Moeurs, usages et costumes au moyen et à l'époque de la renaissance*, Paris, 1871; *Vie militaire et religieuse au moyen âge et à l'époque de la renaissance*, Paris, 1877; *Sciences et lettres au moyen âge et à l'époque de la renaissance*, Paris, 1877; *Louis XII et Anne de Bretagne*, Paris, 1882. These volumes, except for the last, appeared in numerous editions between 1869 and 1882, and thus forgeries based on them were made after their respective dates of publication.

4 The Houghton miniature was not included in the 1978 catalogue, but now is number L106 in the ongoing catalogue raisonné maintained at the Morgan Library & Museum. The miniature was published by Wieck 1981 (cited as MS Typ 405). A brief description appeared earlier in *Houghton Library Report* 1962, 2.

5 The forger apparently used an unillustrated fourteenth-century Italian antiphonal for many of his single leaves, for which see Voelkle 1978, 75. Here the liturgical texts are obviously not related to the secular subject of the miniature. The antiphons are: *In veritate tua, exaudi me in tua justitia* (from Ps 142.1); *Illumina domine vultum tuum super…; Domine audivi auditum tuum…*.

6 Reproduced in Voelkle 1978, fig. 216. Although some elements in the Houghton miniature recall Lancelot's liberation of Guinevere from the tower where King Baudemagus's wicked son held her captive, it seems unlikely that the miniature was intended to illustrate the event. According to the story Lancelot had to cross a raging river (in the background) and overcome a youth with two ferocious lions guarding the tower from which Guinevere and others witnessed his ordeal.

7 Kramer 1978.

81. Memoriae (suffrages from a book of hours)

Paris, France, c. 1450 and c. 1500 and London, England, 1846–64
Parchment, ff. 46, 113 x 75 (58 x 36) mm
Isabella Stewart Gardner Museum, 6.T.6
John Boykett Jarman, sold at Sotheby's, London, 1864, his sale, lot 12; Isabella Stewart Gardner, purchased from J. Pearson & Co. on December 22, 1902.

This manuscript is a hitherto unknown volume from the collection of illuminated codices formed in England by John Boykett Jarman. Having been badly damaged in a flood at the collector's home in 1846, Jarman's medieval and Renaissance books were restored by Caleb William Wing (1801–75), a renowned facsimile copyist of manuscripts.[1] Over a century after the collection's dispersal by auction at Sotheby's in 1864, Janet Backhouse partially reconstructed it and revealed that Wing not only skillfully retouched damaged images, but also added new miniatures and decorative borders barely distinguishable from originals.[2] The Gardner manuscript is identifiable with lot 12 in the Sotheby's catalogue,[3] and its dark blue velvet covers, gilded silver ornamental clasps, and deeply gauffered gilt edges are characteristic of Jarman bindings.[4] Described in the sale as a richly illustrated, sixteenth-century French work of hagiography, the manuscript is actually a fragment from a book of hours comprising the intercessory prayers addressed to multiple saints, known as suffrages.

Though impossible to identify the use of its parent manuscript from this section alone, the predominance of commemorated saints associated with Paris—Denis, Louis, Mathurin, Giles, Geneviève, and Avia—suggests production in the French city.

ff. 18v–19r

The Gardner suffrages presents a number of textual, aesthetic, and codicological conundrums, which point to it being restored by Wing in the nineteenth century. It contains an unusually large number of petitioned saints (thirty-seven), who do not appear in the standard hierarchical order.[5] The manuscript's *lettre bâtarde* script lacks homogeneity and there are even variations of handwriting within single pages, such as on f. 18v shown here.[6] It is profusely decorated with miniatures of each saint either standing with attributes or in narrative scenes enclosed in full borders, which are Parisian in style though apparently executed in two campaigns in the mid-1400s and around 1500. The earlier illuminations are characterized by arch-topped frames, foliate borders, and miniatures by three different hands influenced by the late style of the Bedford Master (active c. 1405–35/40), whose workshop dominated Parisian book production until the middle of the fifteenth century.[7] The later miniatures are distinguished by large figures enclosed in oversized frames that extend beyond the justification of the text (ff. 2r, 4r, 9v, 24v, 26r, 27v), or a full-page format within Renaissance-style architectural frames painted on leaves which are coarser and darker than those in the rest of the book (ff. 22, 23, 29).[8] Furthermore, ff. 31r, 32v, 38r, 39r, 40r, and 41v are hybrids, comprising miniatures dating to around c. 1500 enclosed in borders from c. 1450.

The manuscript is significant for the history of the Anglo-American reception of Jean Bourdichon (1457–1521). It was purchased in 1902 by Isabella Stewart Gardner as a deluxe prayer book illuminated by the court painter for Anne of Brittany (1477–1516), consort to two kings of France.[9] The book's seller based his claim for its royal pedigree on the presence of three images of a female donor in French Renaissance dress, including one depicted with a man whom he identified as Anne's first husband, Charles VIII (ff. 19r illustrated above, 22r, and 25v).[10] All three women are dressed in outfits recalling garments worn by the queen in portraits painted in manuscripts by Bourdichon and his contemporaries, which were reproduced in scholarly and popular publications during the nineteenth century due to Anne's immense popularity at the time.[11] For example, the kneeling woman on f. 19r, dressed in a golden gown with a square-necked bodice, chain-belt, wide sleeves with fur-lined cuffs, and a hooded headdress, resembles the most famous portrait of Anne praying painted by Bourdichon in the celebrated *Grandes Heures de Anne de Bretagne*, c. 1503–08 (Paris, BnF, ms. lat. 9474, f. 3r).[12] Ironically, Gardner already owned a prayer book illuminated by Bourdichon but without knowing it, since his artistic persona had been recently rediscovered and his œuvre was still ill-defined during her lifetime (see cat. no. 112).[13]

Anne-Marie Eze

1 I am grateful to Scot McKendrick, Peter Kidd, Mara Hofmann, Laurent Ungeheuer, François Avril, and Roger Wieck for discussing this manuscript with me. Hindman et al. 2001, 125–26.

2 Backhouse 1968a and 1968b.

3 Sotheby, Wilkinson & Hodge, London, June 13, 1864, 5.

4 Compare to the binding of London, BL, Add. MS. 25709. Backhouse 1968a, 84 and pl. 30.

5 Wieck 1997, 109.

6 Compare for example, the rotund and broad script on f. 32v with the prickly, compact hand written with a finer pen on facing page f. 33r, or similarly on facing pages ff. 40v–41r. Different styles of handwriting appear within the single pages such as ff. 17r and 19v.

7 Avril and Reynaud 1993, 23–24 and following for the workshop's influence and followers. Hand A: St. Catherine of Alexandria (f. 33r), St. Margaret (f. 34v), St. Geneviève (f. 35v), and St. Barbara (f. 36v); Hand B: Trinity (f. 1r), St. John the Baptist (f. 3r), St. Stephen (f. 6r), and St. Denis (f. 8r); Hand C: Martyrdom of St. Blaise (f. 11v), St. Blaise in a church (f. 12v), St. Nicholas of Bari and the three children (f. 13r), Temptation of St. Anthony Abbot (f. 14r), St. Anthony Abbot flogged by devils (f. 15r), and St. Anne teaching the Virgin to read (f. 30v).

8 The irregularity of the parchment is somewhat disguised by the aforementioned deep gauffering on the manuscript's fore edge.

9 I. Gardner 1922, 9–13. Gardner enclosed in the suffrages a piece of paper on which she had copied a quote from the *Histoire de Bretagne* by Bernard d'Argentré (1519–90), responsible for the legend of Anne as the little orphan girl struggling bravely against the king of France to maintain the freedom of her duchy, which became a constant fixture in later biographies of Anne and histories of Brittany. See Le Fur 2007, 122–23. I thank Diane Booton and Kevin Keane for identifying the quotation's source.

10 ISGM, Archives. Book Catalogue handwritten by Gardner (undated), enclosure with transcription of 1902 communication from John Pearson & Co.

11 For her iconic status in popular culture, see Chotard 2007.

12 Avril and Reynaud 1993, no. 164, though f. 3r not illustrated. The woman depicted on f. 22r wears a distinctive black headdress with hood and a short veil to the front recalling that worn by Anne in a portrait by Bourdichon in her copy of the Épîtres des poètes royaux, c. 1510 (St. Petersburg, RNB, Ms. Fr.F.v.XIV.8, f. 1v). See Avril and Reynaud 1993, no. 168. The outfit of the woman on f. 25v closely resemble the presumed portrait of Anne de Bretagne in a fragment from a book of hours, c, 1492–95, painted in Lyon by an anonymous artist (Paris, BnF, ms. lat. 1190). See Avril and Reynaud 1993, no. 206. These cited manuscripts were first published in 1868 and 1888.

13 Herman 2014, 7–24. The book of hours at the museum was first recognized as a work of Bourdichon by Plummer 1982, 83, no. 107.

82. Gospel lectionary

Northern Greece (?), 1000–50
Parchment, ff. 183, 245 x 190 (190 x 140) mm
Harvard University, Houghton Library, MS Gr 25[1]
Gift of Mr. and Mrs. Ward M. Canaday, 1955.

f. 179v

This lectionary is a typical example of a genuine Byzantine manuscript, which was "enhanced" with forged miniatures about 1930 in the Greek workshop of the notorious forger Demetrios Pelekasis. The forgers used published books to find their models, and they deceived more than a few dealers and collectors. Forged miniatures were often placed in an available blank space, not in a traditionally or textually appropriate location. Parts of texts were sometimes erased to create a blank space for forged miniatures.

Cat. no. 82 is a rather ordinary lectionary written by an anonymous scribe, who undoubtedly was a professional calligrapher and who employed the formal writing style "Perlschrift," widely used in the eleventh century. Lectionaries, together with the Four Gospels, were the most copied manuscripts in Byzantium. They contained Gospel lections to be read during church services throughout the calendar year.

The original decoration of this manuscript consists of narrow headbands ornamented with rinceau or interlace. The headbands and elongated initials were probably executed by the scribe himself, with pale brown or magenta ink and with transparent yellow wash for accentuation. The forgers enhanced most of the headbands and initials with liquid gold.

On f. 179v the miniature of the Deesis (Christ Enthroned flanked by the Virgin and St. John the Baptist) shows all hallmarks of a forgery: it was painted on an available vacant space at the end of readings for various occasions and at the beginning of the Morning Resurrection readings; it occupies a part of the lower margin; and it has no relation to the text. Moreover, Gary Vikan identified the model for this miniature—a seventeenth-century Russian icon reproduced in an exhibition catalogue published in 1906.[2] Especially revealing are the prostrated figures of two sixteenth-century Russian saints, the so-called Holy Fools for Christ, who were not known in Byzantium: the Blessed Maxim of Moscow (left; usually shown wearing only a loincloth) and the Blessed Basil of Moscow (right; traditionally pictured without a loincloth, which the forgers added).

Nadezhda Kavrus-Hoffmann

1 Bond and Faye 1962, 234; Berkowitz 1968, 27, cat. no. 44; Kavrus-Hoffmann 2010, esp. 242–47.

2 Vikan 1978–79, esp. 67 and figs. 31–32. The exhibition catalogue used by the forgers was Muñoz 1906. See also B. Pentcheva, "Byzantine Lectionary, Harvard College Library, Gr 25," unpublished notes in the Houghton Library file for MS Gr 25. Pentcheva identified models for most of MS Gr 25's forged miniatures.

cat. no. 66, f. 78r

Boccace commence ici son

non mis seulement arres

Deus in gradibus eius cognoscetur

Tre sono li gradi de la sapientia per li qual gradi se ascende a cognoscere idio. In el primo grado sono li incipienti. In el secundo li proficienti. In el terço li perfecti. In el primo grado la sapientia ne amaistra bene et licitamente usare el mon

2. Holy Writ

Christianity is a religion of the book, and that book is the Bible, a collection of canonical writings (scriptures) believed to embody divine truth. By definition, however, the Bible is a book of books or a *bibliotheca* (hence its name, stemming from the Latinized Greek word for library). Believed to have been dictated by God, bibles (as opposed to the Bible) were written by fallible men. Translations and commentaries sought to make the Bible's content accessible, even while preserving its mysteries. Scripture simply means writings, and in medieval Christianity, no writings possessed greater importance than the Bible, even if, in fact, the Bible as a whole (presented in giant volumes known as *pandects*) remained quite rare. The Bible, however, was the book of books in another, exclusive sense, one that required the particular attention of scribes and artists. The manuscripts adopt a variety of strategies to invest products of human manufacture, which are liable to error, with authority and the aura of eternity. The story of the Septuagint, the third-century BCE translation of Hebrew scriptures into Greek, is only the most famous of such stories; according to legend all seventy (or seventy-two) scholars set to the task produced exactly the same translation. There were also more material means of asserting authenticity. Especially in the earlier Middle Ages, monastic craftsmen adorned bibles inside and out (in the form of bindings composed of ivory, gold, and gemstones), to achieve palpable effects of power and presence in a paradoxical combination of material splendor and divine radiance.

Medieval bibles come in many shapes and sizes, geared to different functions. A large bible of French origin, in four folio volumes (cat. no. 83)—three of which (Pentateuch, the historical books, and the prophets) accommodate Jewish scripture in the form of the Old Testament, the fourth, the New Testament (consisting of the Gospels, Epistles, Acts, and the Book of Revelation)—was intended for reading in the refectory. Also French are the still larger fragments of another thirteenth-century bible (cat. no. 84) that opens Genesis with a towering *I* initial filled with medallions or compartments representing the Hexameron (six days of creation). Comparable to a stained-glass lancet window in a Gothic cathedral, such initials constitute a hallmark feature of high medieval bible illustration; the earliest example dates to the later eleventh century. As if to manifest the variety of God's creation, the borders are filled with vivacious, amusing marginalia that juxtapose the high seriousness of sacred history with the "comedy" (in the Christian sense) of everyday existence.

In sharp contrast to these large volumes, which doubled as prestige objects intended for display, the small, so-called pocket bibles produced in vast numbers beginning in the late twelfth century to serve the students at the University of Paris were designed for portability. Employing a new version of the Latin Vulgate Bible text—one that, moreover, was also newly organized—such bibles, in addition to being portable, in theory permitted students, for whom commentary on the Bible (or, no less, commentary on standard commentaries, such as that by Peter Lombard) formed the staple of their education, to, as it were, stay on the same page. In practice, complicated practices of copying, governed by the pecia (or piece-work) system (see cat. no. 172) guaranteed a lack of uniformity. The extraordinarily thin parchment of these tiny bibles and their no less tiny handwriting made it possible to squeeze the contents of a pandect into a small and handy package. It comes as no surprise that eyeglasses first came into use during the same period.

Textbooks have it that the Bible was first translated into the vernacular by Luther. Nothing could be farther from the truth. Partial vernacular translations go back at least to the ninth century. To translate the whole of scripture, however, was a delicate matter. The Bible was the key to knowledge, and that key belonged to the clergy that was literate in Latin. With the Fourth Lateran Council (1215), which emphasized the need to better educate an increasingly literate laity, vernacular bible paraphrases acquired great popularity. The *Bible historiale* (cat. no. 87), Guyart des Moulins's late thirteenth-century French translation of Petrus Comestor's late twelfth-century compendium of sacred history, the *Historia scholastica*, represents one of the most influential books of the later Middle Ages. In contrast to Latin bibles, in which illustration was almost always restricted to the beginnings of larger sections corresponding to divisions of sacred history (e.g., *ante legem*, before the law; *post legem*, after the law; *sub gratiae*, under grace), vernacular bibles gave vent to the desire for a more fulsome, continuous account of the history of salvation in pictorial form. In some cases, text gave way entirely to images in the form of bible picture books. It is too easy to say that such manuscripts exemplify the canonical dictum, associated with Pope Gregory, that pictures were the Bible of the illiterate. Even with captions, a picture book is predicated on an intimate knowledge of scripture.

Jeffrey F. Hamburger

cat. no. 89, f. 1r

83. Bible

Paris, France, c. 1235
Parchment, 4 vols., 440 x 317 (320 x 207) mm
Boston Public Library, MS pf Med. 104 (formerly Ms. 1532)
Bought by BPL in 1946 from Quaritch.

f. 293r

This is a giant-sized miniature bible. One of the great inventions of the thirteenth century was the pocket-sized Latin bible, created for private ownership. Before that time, entire bibles, if they were made at all, were monumental sets in several huge volumes used for public reading in monasteries and great churches. In the late twelfth century in Paris especially, scribes were experimenting with creating compact manuscripts of the entire Scriptures reduced in scale into single comprehensive volumes. Commercial workshops were soon making and illuminating relatively inexpensive small copies in extraordinary numbers for use by itinerant Dominican and Franciscan friars, students in the universities, and parish priests. Most were initially intended for individual customers and many manuscript bibles clearly remained in private hands for centuries. One of these workshops in Paris, known as the "du Prat" atelier (named after this bible itself), was operational between the mid-1220s and about 1255. Its known productions include miniature bibles now in the municipal library of Provins and at the abbey of Sankt Paul im Lavanttal in Austria, both of which are smaller than 152 x 108 mm and yet are perfectly illustrated. The artists achieved this reduction of scale by techniques of simplification: brightly colored and heavily outlined drapery hardly corresponding to the contours of the bodies beneath, and large heads with noses and strands of hair skilfully indicated by a few deft strokes, all against burnished gold grounds. The subjects of the biblical initials are recognizable even on a microscopic scale, and such manuscripts are tiny jewels.

This bible in the Boston Public Library is the unexpected stretch limo of the workshop. It is nearly a foot and a half tall, as big as many of the great pandects of the ninth century. It uses all the techniques of those newly fashionable miniature bibles but magnified again to a luxury format. It is as if some wealthy patron had walked into the workshop in Paris to request a bible on the scale of its Romanesque predecessors. In a nod to the old tradition, the text was copied without the recent alphabetical Interpretation of Hebrew Names, which accompanies most thirteenth-century bibles, but the page layout and illumination are those which had been developed for manuscripts a third of this size. It was made to be a spectacular show piece, but the simplified formulas ideal for tiny historiated initials in miniature books look ungainly when enlarged to such extremes, as in the initial for Proverbs (f. 293r), which shows a seated instructor using a switch to castigate his pupil, a reference to Proverbs 1:4: "To give subtilty to little ones, to the young man knowledge and understanding."

The manuscript was either still in private hands in the early sixteenth century or was otherwise back on the market. The opening pages of the then two volumes were further ornamented with strangely hybrid illuminated architectural borders dangling the arms of Cardinal Antoine Duprat (1463–1535), lawyer, chancellor of France and the distinctly unconscientious archbishop of Sens 1525–35. Duprat himself had been married, becoming a priest only after his wife's early death in 1507. He was appointed cardinal in 1527. Duprat was not a notable book collector, although there is a fourteenth-century Gratian in the Royal Library in Copenhagen with his arms similarly added (Ms. GKS 193 2°). It is interesting that he still saw value in a 250-year-old manuscript when fine editions of the Vulgate were already in print. Clearly its grandeur and perhaps its antiquity gave it status in the atmosphere of the Reformation, which its owner vigorously opposed.

Cardinal Duprat's manuscript bible subsequently passed through a succession of aristocratic libraries, including the semi-royal Château d'Anet, dispersed in 1724, and the collection of the royal librarian in Madrid.[1] Originally in two volumes, the bible was divided further into four in the eighteenth century. It was sold in England in 1824, eventually reaching the vast manuscript hoard of Sir Thomas Phillipps (1792–1872). It was seen in the custody of Phillipps's heirs in 1920 by Alfred Chester Beatty (1875–1968), American mining engineer, who was persuaded to pay £2000 for it, probably the relatively highest point of its commercial value. Compare the £1500 paid on the same day by Chester Beatty for the ninth-century Saint-Amand Gospels with full-page miniatures (now New York, PLM, MS M.862). In the Chester Beatty sale of 1932, twelve years later the bible sold for only £600 to Bernard Quaritch, who re-offered it in vain at £900 for many years until its eventual acquisition by Boston in 1946.

Christopher de Hamel

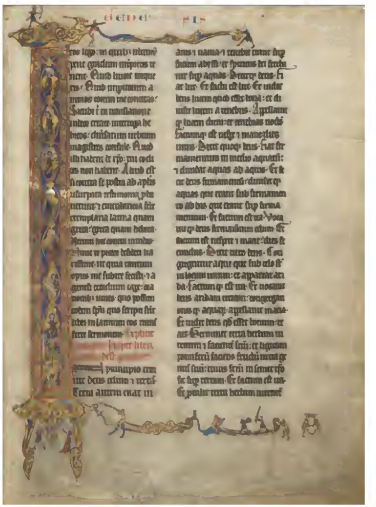
1 Both of these discoveries are by Peter Kidd.

84. Bible

Lille (?), northern France, 1260s–c. 1270
Parchment, 2 bifolia and 2 single leaves, 487 x 344 (340 x 230 mm)
Harvard University, Houghton Library, MS Typ 119
Count Grigorii Stroganov; sold by E. Rosenthal in 1943; bequest of Philip Hofer, 1984.

Thirteenth-century Paris mass-produced small study bibles for personal use, but large multi-volume bibles continued to be popular in monasteries, especially in northern France. These leaves come from the dismembered first volume of a four-volume set.[1] Six other leaves from this volume (which included the books of Genesis through Ruth) can be identified.[2] The intact second and third volumes now in Brussels contain Kings through Prophets, and thirty-five leaves of the fourth volume in the Getty Museum cover Maccabees and the New Testa-

ment.[3] As with most multi-volume bibles from this region and period, the psalter was deliberately omitted, as it was used separately.[4]



f. 5r

In the Hofer/Brussels bible, pen filigree initials mark chapters, large foliate initials introduce prologues, and seventy-one of seventy-four historiated initials marking biblical books survive. The manuscript is one of many from the Arras region dating to the 1260s–70s in similar styles with elongated figures and tapering faces.[5] Delicately rendered drapery folds and facial features are done in a mannered version of the French court style.

Genesis begins with a creation narrative in seven almond-shaped segments, with the creation of Eve in the sixth and God in Majesty resting in the seventh (f. 5r). Immediately below, the Crucifixion with Mary and John is set off under an architectural gable. Its presence affirms the promised redemption of creation in Christian history. The initial is bordered by a dense vine-filled frame and is enriched by numerous whimsical secular figures in the top and bottom margins, as is typical of north French manuscripts of the era from the Arras/Cambrai region. Apes, often personifying sin after the fall, mimic the human activities: an archer shoots an ape who is in turn attacking a dragon; a laywoman dances to a fiddle tune while apes play trumpet and harp; laymen battle with sword and buckler and piggyback apes spar at boxing. The Hofer/Brussels bible was owned by Cistercian nuns at the abbey of Notre Dame du Bon Repos at Marquette near Lille, which is located in the diocese of Tournai and county of Flanders.[6] The lively marginal figures reflect, and appealed to, the nuns' secular noble origins as well as their piety.

Judith Oliver

1 The Hofer leaves include portions of St. Jerome's Prologue to the Old Testament, his Prologue to Genesis, parts of Genesis and Deuteronomy, and the Prologue to Joshua. Bond and Hofer 1955, 14, no. 26, and pl. 15; Bond and Faye 1962, 260; Light 1988, 16–17, no. 3; Garvey 1988, 14–15, no. 7.

2 They are in Los Angeles, Washington, DC, Philadelphia, and European private collections. Two major prologue initials for Genesis and the initial for Exodus remain missing. Stones 2013–14, 2.2:62–73, fig. 118. Leviticus: Moses sacrificing a ram at an altar (Kraus 1962, no. 7, pls. x–xi; now Getty Mus., Ms. Ludwig I 10 [83.MA.59]); Numbers: Moses counting the children of Israel with God emerging from clouds above (NGA, 1946.21.6, formerly Rosenwald Leaf B-13,517; Vikan 1975, no. 37, 134–39 [at 134 and 138]); Deuteronomy: Moses and Aaron place tablets in the Ark (London, private collection; formerly Hindman 1995, no. 11); Joshua: Joshua before the Lord (NGA, 1946.21.7, formerly Rosenwald Bifolium B-13,516; Vikan 1975, no. 37); Judges: God speaks to Judah, who is shown as a mailed knight with a shield bearing a double-headed eagle (Philadelphia Museum of Art, MS. 46.65.1); Ruth: Elimelech as a pilgrim/Naomi and their two sons journey to Moab (formerly Erwin Rosenthal, Lugano, Switzerland [Von Euw and Plotzek 1979, 99]; formerly Jörn Günther 1994, cat. no. 50, 247–50 [at 249]; now in a private collection in London).

3 Brussels, BRB, ms. II 2523 (two volumes), and Los Angeles, Getty Mus., Ms. Ludwig I 9 (83.MA.58). The affiliation of these volumes with one another was contested in earlier scholarship. Beer 1972 misassigns Ms. Ludwig I 9 to another folio bible (this one in three volumes) also made for Marquette by a Lille atelier (Los Angeles, Getty Mus., Ms. Ludwig I 8 [83.MA.57]) and localizes ms. II 2523 to Tournai. W. Clark 1975, 36n18 identifies ms. II 2523 and Ms. Ludwig I 9 as parts of one bible; but she and Branner 1971a, 221, 224–25n15) reject their connection to the *membra disiecta* of the first volume (including the Hofer leaves). Von Euw and Plotzek 1979, 93–103 first argued for their all belonging to one bible set. See now Stones 2013–14, 2.2:62–73.

4 One example of such an institutional monastic psalter in the exhibition at the Houghton Library is the nearly contemporary Saint-Riquier psalter, cat. no. 46, from a north French Benedictine house.

5 The same atelier produced two multi-volume antiphonals now reduced to scattered leaves and cuttings. Collegeville, HMML, Bean Ms. 3; Los Angeles, Getty Mus., Mss. 44/Ludwig VI 5 (83.MH.88) et al. Teviotdale 2000, 237.

6 Bondeelle-Souchier 1994, 297–98.

85. Bible

Northern France, c. 1240–75
Parchment, ff. iii (paper) + i (parchment) + 471 + iii (paper), 173 x 124 (118–20 x 85–87) mm
Museum of Fine Arts, Boston, 22.375, Frank S. Adams Fund
French dealer's note dated 1744; parchment flyleaf, f. i, Matthias Bruen of New York; lent by his daughter, Frances D. Bruen in 1895; purchased from her son, Charles C. Perkins, March 2, 1922.

The thirteenth century saw the creation of bibles for individuals: students and professors, Franciscan and Dominican friars and other religious, and even for laypeople at the very upper levels of society. For the first time in the Middle Ages, most bibles included the complete text in a single volume. Their size varied, but many, like the bible shown here, were very small indeed. Many hundreds of these "pocket" bibles are still extant.[1] Bibles copied in this new format appear first in Paris, certainly by 1234 (the earliest dated copy), made possible by the invention of extremely thin parchment. The format was a success, especially, although certainly not exclusively, among the itinerant Franciscans and the Dominicans, and examples were copied in England, Italy, and Spain soon after.[2]

Centralized commercial production in thirteenth-century Paris also resulted in numerous bibles that include the same text (the text modern scholars call the Paris Bible).[3] Cat. no. 85 (shown here open to the Book of Wisdom, f. 221v) shares several features of the Paris Bible: the new order of the biblical books, new chapters, and the Interpretation of Hebrew Names.[4] These are the features of the Paris Bible commonly found in

bibles copied across Europe. This, however, is not, however, a Paris Bible (it includes only one of the new prologues characteristic of this recension, and its text also differs).[5]

f. 221v

Many, possibly most, small thirteenth-century bibles are not extensively illuminated.[6] This manuscript, however, was an expensive production, and includes historiated initials before each book, as well as decorative initials before each of the prologues. The initials were painted by at least three different artists, using a distinctively broad palette that includes many more colors than the red and blue predominate in Paris at this time; three of the initials have amusing details placed outside the initials.[7] The question of whether this manuscript was illuminated in Paris is still open.[8] However, the evidence of its text, and these details of the style of the illumination, suggest it was likely copied elsewhere in northern France.

Laura Light

1 Ruzzier 2013, 105, compiled a database of 1,800 thirteenth-century small format bibles.

2 Dole, Bm, ms. 15, Light 2012, 382–83; general discussions of pocket bibles, Ruzzier 2013; Mariello 2004; de Hamel 2001, 114–39; and Light 1987.

3 On the Paris Bible, see Light 2011 and 2012, 383–91 (with references to earlier studies); a convenient list of the Paris order of the books and prologues, Ker 1969, 96–98. The authorship of the glossary of Hebrew Names (Stegmüller 7709) is discussed in Murano 2010.

4 The order in this bible follows the Paris Bible with the exception that 3 Ezra is omitted (it was added at the end), and the Letter to the Laodiceans was added.

5 Six of the prologues accompanying the Paris Bible did not circulate in manuscripts of the Bible without the Gloss before the Paris Bible (Light 2012, 385; Lobrichon 2004, 20–21). This bible includes only the prologue to Ecclesiastes, "Memini me" (Stegmüller 462). The prologues to Amos, "Hic Amos" (Stegmüller 513), Maccabees, "Cum sim" and "Memini me" (Stegmüller 547 and 553), Matthew, "Matheus cum primo" (Stegmüller 589), and to the Apocalypse, "Omnes" (Stegmüller 839) are lacking, and a number of prologues not found in the Paris Bible are included here. An examination of selected passages show the textual readings characteristic of the Paris Bible are also lacking (Quentin 1922, 385–88, and studies listed in note 3 above).

6 The question of the percentage of illuminated bibles among the surviving corpus of manuscripts would be an interesting one to study. The many illuminated examples studied by art historians, including Robert Branner, in his influential study of thirteenth-century illumination in Paris (Branner 1977), can lead one to forget the many bibles that are not illuminated at all.

7 The palette includes shades of bright blue, dusky pink, dark green lavender, orange, and ocher. The Genesis initial includes two birds (owls?), and two lions at the bottom of the initial; the initial to Ruth shows Naomi holding a baby in her arms and holding hands with a young child, who is depicted alongside the initial; and the initial to Judges includes a dog and lion-bird hybrid alongside the initial at the bottom. Parisian ateliers often added birds, or small scenes such as hounds and hares along the extensions of the initials. These details are different in their placement on the page, and inventive subject matter.

8 There are certainly similarities to the illumination of Paris workshops from the same period; cf. the rinceaux initials and even the facial features in the work of the Bari atelier (for example, Branner 1977, fig. 287). Vatican City, BAV, ms. Reg. lat. 3, which Branner considered the work of the Mathurin atelier (although it seems atypical) has lions that are similar to those in the Genesis initial here (Branner 1977, fig. 163).

86. Bible

France, c. 1260
Parchment, ff. iii + 451 + i, 318 x 230 (215 x 155) mm
Boston Public Library, MS f Med. 1 (formerly G. 401.11)
Used from the sixteenth century for birth notes by one Durant family, living near Montargis (see inscriptions on final folio); Nicolas Chevalier, his arms on former binding; William Morris, his sale (London 1898, no. 169) to Pickering; acquired by Sydney Cockerell for BPL in December 1900.[1]

f. 4v

The absence of the new mid-thirteenth-century Parisian bible prologues together with the presence of canon tables suggest that this bible holds an early place in bible production in the south of France in the second half of the thirteenth century and that it was cop-

ied from a much earlier model. The illustrations are sparse: the portrait of St. Jerome in the opening preface, the Genesis initial, and four other historiated initials, one for each of the Four Evangelists with their symbols. The rest of the biblical books and the prefaces are marked by elaborate pen-flourished initials with party bars in red and blue and flourishing in red and mauve. The use of mauve is a distinctive feature of southern French pen-flourishing from the second half of the thirteenth century but the motifs on the bar borders and the infill are quite northern in character. The flourishing in the versal initials is southern, characterized by trails with right-angle bends ending in tight curlicues.

The format of the Genesis initial is unusual (f. 4v), not stretching upward to form a tall initial *I* (as seen in cat. no. 84) but clustered in two parts, four medallions in the left column with two more at the top and Christ in Majesty with an abbot and two monks robed in white, kneeling before him at the bottom. The interlinked roundels are reminiscent of the Genesis page in Paris, Bibliothèque nationale de France, ms. lat. 20, probably from Narbonne,[2] while the figure style and the border motifs anticipate the sinuous features and curling borders with grinning heads (accompanying the initial for Mark) that characterize the illustration in the books written toward the end of the century by Amigotus, particularly the Breviary of Agen (London, BL, Add. Ms. 42132)[3] and the Stuttgart Bible (Württ. LB, Cod. fol. 8).[4]

Alison Stones

1 De Ricci 1935–40, 1:917; Haraszti 1928, 57; Stoneman 2007, 354–55.
2 Stones 2013–14, 2:2:94–104.
3 Avril 1997–98; Stones 2008; Stones 2013–14, 2.1:220–24, cat. no. VII-30.
4 Avril 1997–98; Stones 2013–14, 2:2:94–104; Haruna-Czaplicki and Cabau, forthcoming.

87. Guyart des Moulins, Bible historiale
Livre du Sacre de Charles V Master and Coronation of Charles VI Master (illuminators), Raoulet d'Orléans (scribe)

Paris, France, 1373
Parchment, vol. 1: ff. 293, 300 x 210 (209–11 x 137–40) mm; vol. 2: ff. 274 (ff. 1 and 8 are seventeenth-century replacements), 300 x 210 (208–12 x 135–13) mm
Harvard University, Houghton Library, MS Typ 555
Charles V of France; Villars family, archbishops of Vienne; Gayot de la Regasse, 1697; Maréchal de Villeroy, 1714; Prince Galitzin (his sale, Paris, 1825); Henry Perkins (his sale June 3, 1873); Mr. Benzon; Sheldon Walker; William Augustus White, 1895 (from Quaritch); gift of the estate of Francis Minot Weld Jr., 1968.

This sumptuously illuminated *Bible historiale* in two volumes was completed for the French king Charles V in 1373.[1] The preeminent vernacular version of the Bible in the fourteenth and fifteenth centuries, the *Bible historiale* consisted of a French translation of most of the books of the Bible, combined with a commentary that related sacred history to "pagan" history, glossed unfamiliar words, and drew moral lessons from scriptural narrative.[2] Like other *Bibles historiales* made for royal and aristocratic patrons, the Houghton manuscript was provided with an extensive program of images, making it a major monument to its royal patron's desire for a vernacular and visual encounter with holy writ.

When he composed the *Bible historiale*, Guyart des Moulins (b. 1251), aimed to give lay readers access to the historical books of the Bible.[3] Working from a Vulgate version of the Bible and Peter Comestor's *Historia Scholastica*, the standard late twelfth-century textbook of biblical history, Guyart completed a first version of the *Bible historiale* in 1295 and a second, expanded version of the text in 1297. Already during Guyart's lifetime, the demand for scripture in the vernacular prompted book producers to augment his work with further biblical material.[4] Surviving today in more than one hundred manuscripts, the *Bible historiale*'s tremendous success witnesses not only to a desire for access to the Bible in the vernacular, but also to the important role reserved for images in the transmission of holy writ to new audiences in the later Middle Ages.[5]

vol. 1, f. 1r

The Houghton manuscript's two-column layout and extensive cycle of column-wide miniatures are typical of *Bibles historiales* produced by Paris's highly organized booktrade during the reign of Charles V (1364–80).[6] Introducing each book of the Bible and the subdivisions of select biblical books, the manuscript's 128 miniatures function as pictorial rubrics, helping the reader-viewer navigate the lengthy text. Thus, the small miniature of the Dream of Nebuchadnezzar (f. 109v), in which the recumbent king sees in his dream a statue, the head of which "was made of pure gold, its chest and arms of silver, its belly and thighs of bronze, its legs of iron, its feet partly of iron and partly of baked clay" (Dn 2:32–33), prefaces the Book of Daniel. Although the majority of the illuminations, as in this case, depict a key episode from the biblical narrative they preface, other paintings act as iconic glosses, pictorially framing the books they introduce in overtly Christian, interpretive terms.

Like other *Bible historiales* made for Charles V, the manuscript's first volume opens with an imposing half-page frontispiece painting (f. 1r).[7] At the center of the image, the enthroned deity turns his back on the tablets of the Law given to Moses and blesses a Eucharistic chalice and wafer set upon the Christian altar.[8] Flanking the deity, the Four Evangelists, with their symbols, are depicted at work upon the Gospels. Chronologically out of place at the start of the first volume, which begins with Genesis and ends with the Psalms, the Evangelists are crucial to the frontispiece's historical account in which sacred truth originates in the creator-deity, receives a temporary expression in the texts of biblical Judaism, is more perfectly communicated by the Evangelists, and has now been reincarnated in the *Bible historiale*'s words, images, and in its fourteenth-century Parisian milieu.[9]

vol. 2, f. 109v (detail)

The text of cat. no. 87 was written by Raoulet d'Orléans, a Parisian *libraire* and écrivain du roi, active from c. 1361–96/9.[10] Raoulet's first dated and signed work was a *Bible historiale* completed for Charles V in 1363 and his successful career, copying exclusively vernacular texts, owed much to the French king's investment in vernacular didactic texts.[11] The Houghton manuscript is one of four surviving *Bibles historiales* that Raoulet produced for Charles V.[12]

Raoulet frequently worked with the two illuminators responsible for the majority of the paintings in the Houghton *Bible historiale*: the *Livre du Sacre de Charles V* Master and the Coronation of Charles VI Master. The *Livre du Sacre* Master's illuminations possess a pronounced painterly quality, with facial features carefully modeled in ruddy flesh tones and an attentive chromatic modeling of drapery folds.[13] By contrast, the Master of the Coronation of Charles VI's illuminations are defined primarily by linear means, with effects of light and volume described by subtle modeling in almost grisaille-like technique; his figures are invested with a youthful, even sweet elegance.[14] Frequent collaborators, both artists were frequently employed in the production of manuscripts destined for Charles V. The Houghton manuscript is one of three extant *Bibles historiales* to feature illuminations by the two painters.[15]

A passionate bibliophile and an important patron of vernacular translations, Charles V owned no fewer than five *Bibles historiales*.[16] Although the Houghton *Bible historiale* does not appear among the inventories made of the royal library, the king's possession of the manuscript is not in doubt: now effaced, an inscription in Charles V's hand, on f. 273v reads:

> Ceste Bible est à nous
> Charles le Ve de notre
> nom, Roy de France
> et la fimes [faire]
> et p(ar)fere [l'an M. CCC. LXX III]
> [Charles][17]

Visible today with the aid of ultraviolet light, the king's autograph ex libris remains an enduring token of his attachment to this *Bible historiale*.

Aden Kumler

1 In addition to the sources cited below, the following studies refer to the manuscript: Avril 1972, 98n1; *Houghton Library Report* 1969, 9–10; Wieck 1983a.

2 As in many contemporary *Bibles historiales*, cat. no. 87 does not include the books of Ruth, Ezra, and Nehemiah from the Hebrew Bible; nor does it include Colossians, Philemon, and Jude from the New Testament. The manuscript's first volume encompasses Genesis to Psalms; the second volume begins with Proverbs and terminates with the Apocalypse; both volumes observe the Vulgate order of biblical books, with one or two exceptions. For further details concerning the textual contents of the manuscript see Wieck 1983b, 136–37; Komada 2000, 3:685–89, no. 15.

3 Born in 1251, Guyart des Moulins was a canon of Saint-Pierre d'Aire-sur-la-Lys in the diocese of Thérouanne (Artois) and elected doyen of the Chapter of Saint-Pierre d'Aire in 1297; his precise date of death is unknown, but he would seem to have died by June 15, 1322, when his successor in office appears in documents. By his own account, in the preface of 1297, he worked on the *Bible historiale* from June 1291 until February 1295; for further biographical details, with extensive bibliography, see Fournié 2009c; McGerr 1983, 211–44. Guyart's goal, in Lobrichon's translation (from Vatican City, BAV, ms. Barb. lat. 613, f. 2v), is quite clear: "I translated the historical books of the Bible from Latin into Romance … so that the laity can understand them" (Lobrichon 2013, 315).

4 By the time the Houghton manuscript was made, several versions of the text were in circulation. That found in this manuscript is today known as the *Bible historiale complétée moyenne*: the fourteen exemplars of this state of the *Bible historiale* identified to date strongly suggest that it was devised in Paris during the years 1320–68: Fournié 2009c, 46–50. The terminology for the textual classification of *Bibles historiales* was devised by Samuel Berger; although Berger's taxonomy has been critiqued, it has not been supplanted: Berger 1967, 157–220.

5 Eléonore Fournié has identified 144 extant single volumes or fragments of the *Bible historiale*: Fournié 2009c. As Jeanette Patterson notes, however, Fournié's tally does not take into consideration the problem posed by *Bibles historiales* in two volumes; accordingly Patterson prefers the more conservative estimate of c. one hundred extant exemplars: Patterson 2011, 5n11.

6 As Roger S. Wieck and François Avril have observed, the halved fleur-de-lis alternating in blue, gold, and red that decorated selected columns of text in the manuscript are also characteristic of manuscripts illuminated for Charles V: Wieck 1983b, 2; Avril 1992, 98. On the Parisian book trade during Charles's reign see Rouse and Rouse 2000, 1:261–83.

7 Originally, each volume of the manuscript opened with a frontispiece. The current frontispiece to the second volume is a seventeenth-century replacement.

8 On this iconographic schema, in which the deity repudiates the Mosaic law in favor of the Christian Eucharist, see Hamburger 2004a, 113–45; Kumler 2008; Flum 2013, 67–72.

9 For further discussion of the Houghton manuscript's first frontispiece, see Kumler 2008. On the hermeneutic and rhetorical role of frontispiece images in other *Bibles historiales* see Hamburger 2005, 260–308; Hamburger 2006a; Avril 1970; Burkhart 1999; Patterson 2013; Flum 2013.

10 The attribution to Raoulet d'Orléans, made by François Avril, has not been contested: Avril 1992, 98. For further discussion of Raoulet d'Orléans, see Rouse and Rouse 2000, 1:273–79; 2:121–22; Oeser 1996; Delisle 1967, 70–79.

11 The 1363 *Bible historiale* is Paris, BnF, ms. fr. 5707 (only the second of its original two volumes is extant). Raoulet dated the manuscript twice (December 20, 1362 and 1363); I follow Richard and Mary Rouse in taking the later date as a reference to the completion of the volume, and the earlier date as an indication of the prior completion of the scribal labor: Rouse and Rouse 2000, 1:274–75. Raoulet is known to have copied more than twenty manuscripts in his lifetime: the majority of these books were made for Charles V and all were written in the vernacular (ibid., 1:274).

12 The three other extant *Bibles historiales* copied by Raoulet are: Paris, BnF, ms. fr. 5707 (date 1362/3); The Hague, Mus. MW, 10.B.23 (date 1372); Copenhagen, KB, Ms. Thott 6 (undated). For further discussion see Rouse and Rouse 2000, 1:274–279; Fournié 2009a, nos. 23, 35; Fournié 2009b, no. 103. The number of *Bibles historiales* copied by Raoulet may in fact be higher; as Richard and Mary Rouse observe, in the famous poem that Raoulet composed and wrote at the end of the Vaudetar Bible ('The Hague, Mus. MW, MS 10.B.23) he claims to have completed "four and half" *Bibles historiales*, including the Vaudetar Bible; given the 1373 internal dating of the Houghton manuscript, it seems that it was not part of this tally: Rouse and Rouse 2000, 1:276.

13 The *Livre du Sacre* Master, named for his work on the Coronation Book of

Charles V (London, BL, Cotton MS. Tiberius B.VIII) painted the miniatures in volume 1, ff. 262r–83v and volume 2, ff. 12v–129v, 131r–34v: Wieck 1983b, 2; Komada 2000, 3:688. For further discussion of this artist and his œuvre, see Avril, Baron, and Gaborit-Chopin 1981, 322–25 (nos. 276–79); Komada 2000, 2:560–61.

14 As noted by Wieck, the Coronation of Charles VI Master, named after a miniature in the *Grandes Chroniques* made for Charles V (Paris, BnF, ms. fr. 2813, f. 3v), executed the lion's share of the paintings in both volumes (volume 1, ff. 1r–257v; volume 2, ff. 130v, 135v–267r): Wieck 1983b, 2; Komada 2000, 3:688. For further discussion of this illuminator and his œuvre, see Komada 2000, 2:562; Morrison and Hedeman 2010, 169–73 (no. 23), 181–83 (no. 26); Avril and Lafaurie 1968, 102 (no. 177), 112–13 (no. 195), 118–19 (nos. 203, 205).

15 The other *Bibles historiales* with paintings attributed to both illuminators are: Munich, BSB, Codd. gall. 1–2 and Paris, BnF, ms. fr. 5: Fournié 2009a, notes 47, 52.

16 Delisle 1967, 148–56 (nos. 7–11).

17 Charles V's ex libris was discovered by François Avril in 1970. Transcription and partial reconstruction quoted from Avril 1992, 99. By way of digital surrogates of extant manuscripts, the *Europeana regia* project has virtually reconstructed approximately 80 percent of the library of Charles V and his family; the Houghton manuscript was not included in this effort: http://www.europeanaregia.eu/en/historical-collections/library-charles-v-family.

88. Richard Rolle, Psalter and commentary on the Psalms

England, c. 1400–25
Parchment, ff. 204, 315 x 220 (228 x 155) mm
Harvard University, Houghton Library, MS Richardson 36
John Brakenbury; William Cecil, Lord Burghley; his sale (London, Bentley & Walford, November 21, 1687, lot 16); Henry Grey, Earl of Kent; Thomas Philip, Earl de Grey; Wrest Park sale (January 19, 1922, lot 639); Leicester Harmsworth; his sale (October 15, 1945, lot 2133); bequest of William K. Richardson, 1951.

Richard Rolle (c. 1300–49) was an English spiritual writer who became a hermit (the "Hermit of Hampole"); his translation of the Psalter may have been written for "the female religious"[1] of the period and perhaps specifically for Margaret Kyrkby of Hampole.[2] His translation was the object of at least three revisions, which took place long after Rolle's death. His first revised version (RV1) based on Jerome's Gallican Psalter, was produced by more than one reviser "sympathetic to Collard ways of thought."[3] This carefully made and corrected but incomplete copy of RV1 is one of about seven surviving manuscripts,[4] the only copy illustrated, and one of a number with fine borderwork.[5]

The text of the psalter and commentary is organized into three parts: the Vulgate verses of Jerome distinguished by blue capitals and red underlining; Rolle's English translation introduced by a red paraph;[6] and a commentary in English preceded by a colon mark. The verses are also distinguished by fine flourished initials drawn by the same maker throughout the manuscript,[7] just as the text was written by a single scribe. A notable aspect is the scribe's meticulous correction of the text, i.e., many of single words as well as of entire sentences.[8] Some of the longer insertions are arranged in triangular shape as if the scribe's exemplar showed corrections enclosed in a shield as in Trinity College Dublin, MS 71.[9] "Nota" signs entered by the scribe may also be indicative of his dependence on his exemplar.[10]

f. 2r (detail)

Either an artist named Johannes who signed a remarkable manuscript of Marco Polo[11] or an immediate follower made the Richardson miniature as well as one of the same scene in the Princess Joan Psalter (London, BL, Royal MS. 2 B.VIII).[12] These two manuscripts are part of a larger group of psalters whose miniature style and iconography were strongly influenced by Johannes for several decades;[13] and indeed the David figure of the Rolle miniature was the model for subsequent scenes in the group.[14] The borders—in a plain early fifteenth-century style—show a certain amount of regimentation, those on ff. 60v and 93v having exactly the same structure with variation only in leaf types on the sprays.[15]

Kathleen L. Scott

1 Gillespie 1989, 321.

2 Hudson 2012–14, 1:xxi-ii, n7.

3 Ibid., 1:clxxxii. The frequency and extent of the Wycliffite intrusions varies, however, throughout the revised text. Concerning dating of RV1, the period 1382–1417 has been suggested by Hudson as "certainly credible for most of the main [RV1] manuscripts," among which cat. no. 88 is included (1:clxxxv), with an "earlier rather than a later date within the period" (1:clxxxvii).

4 Ibid., 1:xxiv (not counting books with fragments or short passages in other texts).

5 The RV1 manuscripts with fine borders are Cambridge, UK, Trinity Coll., MS. B.5.25, early fifteenth century (f. 53r, reproduced by Hudson 2012–14, 1: frontispiece); Oxford, Bodleian Library, MS. Tanner 16, late fourteenth century; Dublin, Trinity Coll., MS 71 (A.2.1), first quarter of the fifteenth century, with on f. 105v, drawing of a woman's head facing monk's head with forked tongue; and London, BL, Royal MS. 18 C.XXVI, first quarter of the fifteenth century (reproduced by Kennedy 2014, fig. 5.9). The most extensively illustrated manuscript of Rolle's English Psalter Commentary (non-RV1) is Oxford, Bodleian Library, MS. Bodl. 953, late fourteenth or early fifteenth century, with seven historiated initials relating to the psalter text and two further initials (pp. 1, 450) with arms and motto of Thomas, tenth Earl of Berkeley, for whom the book was made.

6 In his prologue, Rolle states that "In þe translacioun I follow þe lettere als mykyll [much] as I may."

7 These are in mixed late fourteenth and early fifteenth-century style of flourishing: the infilled dentate edge along the outside text is typical of the

fourteenth century and the sweeping flourishes ending a "bow" are a fifteenth-century style.

8 For example, ff. 6v, 15r, 34v, 45r, 54r, 63r, 74v, 86v, 90v, 119v, 154r, 164v, and 176r. Corrections are noted by a caret mark. The corrections, however, imply a certain laxness on the part of the scribe. Textually, cat. no. 88 is "stubbornly unaligned" to any other manuscript (Hudson 2012–14, 1:cxlviii).

9 Folio 163r of MS 71 is reproduced by Hudson (ibid., 3: pl. 2).

10 Some pages on which the *nota* abbreviation occur are ff. 99r, 120r, 126r, 134r, 170v, 181 (2x), 183r, 186v, etc.

11 Oxford, Bodleian Library, MS. Bodl. 264, c. 1400–10; Scott 1996, 2: no. 13; 1: pls. 63, 65.

12 Ibid., 2: no. 14; 1: pls. 66, 67; see also 2: no. 38, pls. 164, 165.

13 Ibid., 2: no. 13. See also 2: no. 39 and pls. 169, 170.

14 London, BL, Royal MS. 2 B.VII, ff. 16 and 54; Rennes, Bm, ms. 22, ff. 32r, 76v; Oxford, Bodleian Library, MS. Don. d. 85, ff. 35v, 50v, and perhaps London, BL, Harley MS. 2946, f. 181r. Points of close identity are the slightly forward-leaning posture of the king, the curled beard, mantels draped in the same manner, and one fold of his mantel lying apart on the bench.

15 The full border at Ps 1 (f. 2r) is notable and unusual for having the same motif in each of the corner roundels, a barbed quatrefoil with pointed rather than rounded petals. The partial border at Ps 52 (f. 130v) was rendered with a bulge in the bar frame to avoid a scribal correction. The green-tinted feathering in the sprays is indicative of fifteenth-century production.

89. Hugh of Saint-Cher, Postilla super Canticum Canticorum

Lombardy (?), northern Italy, c. 1440
Parchment and paper, ff. iii + 71 + iii; ff. 1r–20v, 50r–71v (parchment), 282 x 200 (181 x 148) mm; ff. 21r–49v (paper), 282 x 200 (195 x 125) mm
Harvard University, Houghton Library, MS Typ 139
Notes of ownership by the Sisters of Sta. Chiara, Murano (fifteenth century) and Sr. Anastasia Lanardi Zanardi[ni?] (sixteenth century) on f. 71v; perhaps later in the collection of Charles Fairfax Murray; Philip Hofer bequest, 1984.

This essentially unpublished manuscript represents a unicum: a partial translation into Italian of the *Postilla* on the Song of Songs by the Parisian Dominican, Hugh of Saint-Cher (c. 1195–1263).[1] Hugh's *Postilla* were immensely popular; around 420 manuscript copies are known.[2] Vernacular translations, however, are unheard of. The title *Postilla* is simply a composite of the Latin phrase, "post illa verba" ("after these words"), which effectively sums up the commentator's manner of proceeding. Short snippets of the biblical text are subjected to exhaustive and multivarious interpretation, so that, for example, the Song of Songs, which is the shortest book in canonical scripture, receives sixty-five pages of commentary in a mammoth early modern printed folio edition. The commentary, written by Hugh and a team of collaborators, extended to the entire Bible and represented the most important supplement to the *Glossa Ordinaria* or Ordinary Gloss, the great scriptural commentary of the twelfth century.[3]

The manuscript's provenance, which links it to the Poor Clares of Murano as early as the fifteenth century, suggests that Hugh's thirteenth-century ecclesiological interpretation of the Canticle (which by the later Middle Ages was very often interpreted in mystical terms as an allegory of Christ's love for the individual soul, not as the love of Christ for his church) was translated into a Venetian dialect for an audience of nuns. No less extraordinary than the translation itself, the manuscript was illustrated with forty-five miniatures, making it the most extensive pictorial cycle illustrating the Song of Songs to have survived from the entire Middle Ages with the exception of the cycle of 110 scenes (not including the equal number of allegorizations) found in various copies of the *Bible moralisée* (itself possibly influenced by Hugh of Saint-Cher.)[4] The cycle is considerably larger than the set of thirty-two scenes found in the Rothschild Canticles (New Haven, Beinecke Library, MS 404), which is in turn related to that the *Canticum Canticorum* blockbook.[5] Usually those works provided to nuns in translation had an immediate pastoral function, such as that of the Benedictine Rule for the nuns of San Lorenzo in Venice (Milan, Bibl. Ambros., ms. A 125 sup).[6]

f. 28v

The opening miniature (f. 1r, see "Holy Writ" in this chapter) offers a view into a church, a motif which immediately manifests the ecclesiastical tenor of the commentary. Although the image is based on a passage from psalm 47, not the Song of Songs, the spirit in which it is illustrated is entirely in keeping with the Canticle. Behind a double frame, a sexpartite vault, supported by a pair of freestanding colonnettes and four columnar shafts forms a baldachin over the high altar at the center, which sits atop a dias with three steps, which the commentary allegorizes as the three levels of wisdom by which the soul attains knowledge of God. They are, in turn, identified with three of the Wisdom Books in the Bible: Proverbs for beginners, which teaches one how to live properly in the world; Ecclesiastes for intermediates, which teaches one contempt for the world; and the Song of Songs itself, for the perfect, which teaches one how to delight in the embrace and kisses of the Sponsus, who stands in turn for Christ. Despite the fervor with which the Sponsa, who spans all three steps, both kneels and presses toward Christ, she does not represent the individual soul, but rather, as the commentary explains, the church. The plunging perspective accelerates the Bride's motion toward the Bridegroom, whereas the miniature as a whole identifies the manuscript itself as a temple of sorts into which the reader is invited to enter.

Other miniatures are founded on word illustration, a method most often used to illustrate the metaphorical imagery of the Psalms in a literal, if variable, manner. Like the Psalms, the Song of Songs, which describes both bride and bridegroom in florid, erotic imagery, is filled with colorful metaphors. Others hew less closely to the letter of scripture and instead draw on Hugh's commentary. Both types of illustration occur on f. 28v,

the only page in the manuscript with more than two miniatures. Hugh's focus in this section is on Song of Songs 2:6–7: "His left hand is under my head, and his right hand shall embrace me. I adjure you, O ye daughters of Jerusalem, by the roes, and the harts of the field, that you stir not up, nor make the beloved to awake, till she please."[7] According to Hugh, the action of the left hand stands for contempt for temporal things; that of the right, for eternal joy. The embrace, in turn, stands for future bliss. There follows a *catena* or chain of scriptural authorities in support of this interpretation. These include Song of Songs 5:2 ("I sleep, and my heart watcheth"), which explains its interpolation among images that otherwise illustrate chapter 2. Christian exegesis interpreted the motif of watchful sleep as mystical contemplation. The miniature shows the bride asleep on the water's edge beside a large orb marked by the lines encompassing its surface as a spherical T-O map, whose three parts represent Asia (above) and Europe and Africa (below). The flowers strewn around her place of repose link it to the "lectulus noster floridus" (Ct 1:15: "Our bed is flourishing"), which is illustrated elsewhere in the manuscript (f. 16v). The T-O map possibly refers to a snippet from I Corinthians 15:28, which is interpolated by Hugh as part of his dense exegesis: "And when all things shall be subdued unto him, then the Son also himself shall be subject unto him that put all things under him, that God may be all in all." The element of water can be understood with reference to psalm 143:7 ("Rescue me, and free me from many waters"), to which Hugh also refers as part of his postil. The only way in which this passage is in the least bit relevant is because of the preceding phrase, "Send forth your hand from on high," which Hugh relates in turn to Song of Songs 2:6. All of these passages are among those included in the Italian translation.

Hugh moves on to the next verse (Ct 2:7), whose reference to "the roes and the harts of the field" accounts for the remaining two miniatures. The landscape in the lower margin represents the harts, which, according to Hugh, are the prelates of the church. The miniature in the second column represents the remainder of the verse. Christ, whose feet hardly seem to rest on the ground, turns back toward the daughters of Jerusalem, enjoining them not to disturb his beloved. Her sleep is represented as a visionary trance: her head turned away from the viewer, she kneels with her hands upraised in prayer, looking up toward God in heaven (like Christ, depicted with a cross-halo), where he is surrounded by a cloud burst of angels. The gleaming white city of Jerusalem sits atop the mountain immediately behind the group of women to the left. With a touch of atmospheric perspective, the landscape lightens as it recedes, illuminated in a golden glow. The image corresponds to that portion of Hugh's commentary in which he explains that the daughters of Jerusalem represent the faithful who need watching over by the roes and harts, i.e., the doctors and prelates who engage in the contemplative life.[8] According to this improbable reading, which, however, is consonant with ecclesiological readings of the Song of Songs, the daughters of Jerusalem represent the community of the church and the visionary bride, the clergy.

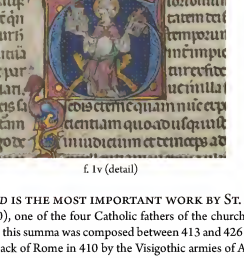
The miniatures in the manuscript, which display a keen sensitivity both to the text and to nature, as well as the lush acanthus inhabited by putti on the first folio, are consonant with an origin c. 1440 in northeastern Italy, most likely in the Veneto, during the second quarter of the fifteenth century. Although the border decoration on the opening page bears a certain resemblance to manuscripts from Verona (the city of origin of Suor Felice di Verona, the first prioress of the Poor Clares in Murano, appointed in 1441), the Venetian dialect of the text makes an origin in Venice itself almost certain.[9] In some respects—the shallow stage-like spaces, the lush, atmospheric landscape settings with miniature trees, the incorporation of detailed representations of plants and animals, the love of courtly costume—the miniatures seem to anticipate the work of Bonafatio Bembo, active in Venice and northern Italy during the second and third quarter of the fifteenth century, who, in addition to his wall and panel paintings, is best known for the set of tarot cards now in the Beinecke Library at Yale University as well as for the 289 drawings in a Venetian translation of the legend of Lancelot, the *Tavola Ritonda* (Florence, BN, ms. Pal. 556), dated 1446.[10] Whatever his identity, the remarkable artist translates scholastic commentary into a lush, sensuous idiom, a most unusual combination.

Jeffrey F. Hamburger

1 Hamburger 2016.
2 Stirnemann 2004.
3 Smith 2009, 220–23.
4 Haussherr 1975, Lowden 2000.
5 Hamburger 1990, 70–87; Lavin 2014 (unfortunately, not altogether reliable); Bartal 2000; Herniczek 2009.
6 Cipriani 1968, 5, pl. 18, suggests an origin in Emilia, despite attributing the miniatures to the Venetian illuminator Cristoforo Cortese. For the localization in Venice, see K. Lowe 1998, 54–55.
7 A digitization of the relevant portion of *Biblia latina cum postillis Hugonis de Sancto Caro*, Basel: Johann Amerbach for Anton Koberger, before 1500, can be found at http://digital.ub.uni-duesseldorf.de/ink/content/pageview/7857630.
8 Ugonis de S. Charo 1600, 3:116: "Filiae hierusalem dicuntur ecclesiae vel plebes in fide generatae; quarum pericula sollicitudines prelatorum et doctorum ecclesiarum vigilantium requirunt. Capreae et cervi camporum sunt doctores et prelati ecclesiarum in quibus sponsa contemplando quiescit et dormit cum sponso."
9 Cornelio 1758, 648–49, kindly brought to my attention by Francesca Manzari.
10 Cardini 2009, Husband 2015.

90. St. Augustine, De civitate Dei

Paris, France, c. 1290–1300
Parchment, ff. 290, 350 x 250 (235–37 x 157–59) mm
Harvard University, Houghton Library, MS Typ 228[1]
Philippe Desportes, abbot of Tiron (c. 1600, signature on front flyleaf); Jesuit college of Clermont, Paris; Gerard Meerman (bought by him at the sale of the manuscripts of the college in 1763); John Meerman (his sale, The Hague, 1824, lot 454); Thomas Phillipps (MS 4600); Chester Beatty (MS W. 68, his sale, 1933, lot 51); deposited by Philip Hofer, 1967, bequeathed, 1984.



f. 1v (detail)

City of God is the most important work by St. Augustine (354–430), one of the four Catholic fathers of the church. Divided into 22 books, this summa was composed between 413 and 426 following the dramatic sack of Rome in 410 by the Visigothic armies of Alaric. The work proposes an interpretation of human history in light of Christianity, underscoring its superiority over the pagan philosophy that still prevailed in most of the Roman world. This apologetic work had a profound impact on Christian theology throughout the Middle Ages and beyond and was very widely copied, whether in the original Latin or in translation. The eleventh and twelfth centuries mark the golden age of its diffusion; during

this period it was among the favored readings of every monastic community. The translation commissioned c. 1370 by King Charles V of France further enlarged its audience, making it accessible to an aristocratic and lay public (see cat. no. 91).

The present exemplar contains the text in its original Latin. It dates to the end of the thirteenth century and is distinguished by its especially refined execution and spacious layout, with large margins. Arranged in two columns of forty-four lines each, the text is written in a legible set script, possibly written by an Italian scribe. The painted decoration, however, indicates that it was executed in Paris. It consists of two historiated initials (ff. 1v and 13r) illustrating books 1 and 2 of Augustine's work. The other text divisions are introduced by simple ornamental initials which extend the serifs of the letters to the extremities of the margins.

The two historiated initials represent St. Augustine in a bishop's habit, crowned by an episcopal miter. He is seated on a folding, *X*-shaped throne and, in the initial on f. 13r, holds a book. The imagery is that of the classic type of author portrait. The more elaborate iconography of the initial on f. 1r refers explicitly to the content of the work. The bishop of Hippo holds in his hands the two cities evoked in his treatise: in his right hand he carries the celestial city, upright and with firm foundations, in contrast to the earthly city, held in his left hand, whose inclined position intimates its imminent ruin.

This painted decoration, which is of great graphic and painterly refinement, can be associated with what is known of the style of Master Honoré, one of the most prominent illuminators in Paris c. 1300. Two documents of the period permit a reasonably reliable reconstitution of his corpus of works. In 1296 he was paid for having illuminated several books of unspecified content for the king Philippe le Bel. One of these books was very likely the splendid breviary of Parisian use known as the Breviary of Philippe le Bel (Paris, BnF, ms. lat. 1023). The other document is a *Decretals* of Gratian (Tours, Bm, ms. 558), in which a contemporary inscription, entered at the beginning of the manuscript, indicates that it was purchased from Honoré by an unknown client.[2] The second of these documents as well as the tax rolls of 1292, 1296, and 1297 give the artist's address with great precision: rue Erembourc de Brie in the quartier Saint-Séverin on the Left Bank, where the majority of illuminators of this period were concentrated.

François Avril

1 Meerman and Meerman 1824, 72n454; de Laborde 1909, 1:133; Delisle 1868–74, 1:360; Panofsky 1953, 135, ill. 55; Bond and Hofer 1955, 15n32, pl. 12; de Ricci 1935–40, 2:1695n16; Bond and Faye, 1962, 272; Dennis 1992, 114–17; Bräm 1994, 79; Brilli 2009, 594; Cosma, Da Gai, and Pittiglio 2011, 32, figs. 5 and 133; Hourihane 2012, 3:345; Stones 2013, 1.1:56, ill. 206–7; 1.2: 102–3, cat. 1–48.

2 For a critical rereading of the documents concerning Honoré, see Rouse and Rouse 2000, 1:127–36 and 2:53, 163–66, 169–70, figs. 73, 74, and 76.

91. St. Augustine, La Cité de Dieu, trans. Raoul de Presles

Master of the Coronation of Charles VI, Master of the Livre du Sacre, and the Master of the Bible of Jean de Sy (illuminators)

Paris, France, c. 1375
Parchment, 3 vols., ff. 318, 480 x 333 (317–20 x 220–22, vol. 1) (322 x 222, vol. 2) (325 x 222–24, vol. 3) mm
Harvard University, Houghton Library, MS Typ 201[1]
Sotheby's, London, August 6, 1889 (lot 2762) and February 26, 1900 (lot 224); Henry Yates Thompson (his sale, Sotheby's, London, March 23, 1920, lot 54); Chester Beatty (his sale, Sotheby's, London, June 7 ,1932, lot 19); deposited by Philip Hofer, 1967, his gift, 1982.

The translation of *De civitate Dei*, which was confided by King Charles V to Raoul de Presles, his councillor and Master of Requests (a judicial appointment), took almost four years to complete (from All Saints, i.e., November 1, 1371 to September 1, 1375). The original copy of the translation given to the king is conserved at the in Paris (BnF mss. fr. 22912 and 22913). This long-term undertaking forms part of a vast program of translations sponsored by the "Wise King" toward the end of his reign. During the same period, Nicole Oresme, dean of the cathedral of Rouen, carried out another set of translations commissioned by the king, those of Aristotle's *Ethics*, *Politics*, and *Economics*.

f. 19r (detail)

Amplified by commentaries and supplemented by a great many authorities (the list of sources extends to 125 authors), De Presles's translation was not made by either a theologian or a philosopher but by a humanist jurist with a keen interest in history. This translation of a difficult text enjoyed a considerable success among French-speaking elites, and numerous luxury copies with extensive illumination were produced, principally in Paris, but also in the Burgundian Netherlands, until well into the fifteenth century.

Divided today into three parts, cat. no. 91 consists of only the second part of a copy of which the other half is conserved in Angers (Bm, ms. 162). In contrast to this other manuscript, which is badly damaged, the portion at Harvard has preserved the entirety of its cycle of illustrations, eleven miniatures in grisaille illustrating books 11–22 of Augustine's work. Chapter 12, illustrated here (f. 19r), concerns the nature of Good and Wicked Angels. Christ sits in the heavenly city, ramparts of Good Angels arrayed at the right. On the left, Wicked Angels, having been transformed by their iniquity into demons, tumble into the lower register, where their fellow demons are being forced into the mouth of Hell by the archangel Michael.

Together with its pendant in Angers, the manuscript is, following Charles's exemplar, of which it represents a direct copy, the second-oldest witness of De Presles's translation. Its cycle of images can be attributed to the same team of illuminators and presents virtually identical iconography, with the exception of the final miniature (book 22), which takes as its subject the Coronation of the Virgin in lieu of the Heavenly Court found in the Parisian copy. The differing layout constitutes the only significant difference between

the two copies: two columns in Paris, one column in a square format in the copy divided between Harvard and Angers. Three artists contributed to the decoration of the manuscript: the Master of the Coronation of Charles VI, the Master of the Livre du Sacre (Coronation Book), and the Master of the Bible of Jean de Sy. Despite participating in the naturalist current which appears in French illumination from the reign of Jean le Bon (1350–64), these artists nonetheless remain attached to the graphic conventions of the Gothic style of the preceding period.

The very close relationship between the two copies in Paris and Harvard-Angers permits a reconsideration of the recipient of the latter. The first owner of the two manuscripts has traditionally been considered to be Jean, duc de Berry, the younger brother of Charles V, on account of his coats of arms, which appear twice in the volume at Harvard (MS Typ 201, vol.1, ff. 1r and 2r). In fact, there exist other manuscripts illuminated during the 1370s for the brothers of Charles V by the same team of royal illuminators, such as the *Grandes Chroniques de France* with the emblems of Jean de Berry on deposit at the BnF along with other manuscripts from the Société des Manuscrits des Assureurs français.[2] Philippe le Hardi (Philip the Bold), the king's other brother, had the same artists illustrate his prayer book which today is divided between the Bibliothèque royale de Belgique in Brussels (ms. 11035-37) and the Fitzwilliam Museum, Cambridge, UK (MS 3-1954). Renewed examination, however, of the heraldry in cat. no. 91 and that in the rest of the manuscript in Angers compels reconsideration of this question. The arms of Berry at the beginning of the table of contents (f. 1r), are clearly late, if difficult to date, additions (eighteenth or nineteenth century?) on account of the deficient design of the fleurs-de-lis, unthinkable in the Middle Ages. Only the arms at the bottom of f. 2r is authentic. But the seraphs supporting the shield are not those normally found with the arms of Jean de Berry. They are, however, well-attested for Charles V. The same holds true for the lion (Angers, f. 1r), the only surviving heraldic element in the manuscript. These details suggest that the copy divided between Angers and Harvard was commissioned for and by the Wise King. A rereading of the inventories of the royal library supports such a conclusion: in the inventory of the books of the king kept at the Louvre undertaken in 1380, only two items can correspond to the translation of Raoul de Presles. Of these, one has been identified since Delisle with the royal exemplar in two volumes conserved at the Bibliothèque nationale de France. The other, described in the inventory as being very large in format ("un livre de la Cité de Dieu en deux volumes très grans"), appears to correspond well with the volumes at Angers and Harvard, whose format is indeed very ample (480 x 333 mm) in comparison with that of the copy in Paris (276 x 185 mm). That King Charles would have commissioned two distinct copies of Raoul de Presles's translation, twinned except for their size, should not come as a surprise; he did exactly the same in the case of another translation, that of the works of Aristotle by Nicole Oresme, of which there are, in effect, two "editions," each in two volumes: one, in a small format, divided between the Museum Meermanno-Westreenianum in The Hague (10 D 1) and Brussels (BRB, ms. 11201-2), the other, much larger in size, divided between Brussels (ms. 9505-06) and a private collection.

Another physical element common to the royal copies is the luxurious nature of their bindings, known from the descriptions in the inventories of the Louvre. All of these volumes were covered silk with boards held by gold or silver clasps, features that indicate the regard in which the king held these manuscripts. This esteem was shared by the covetous Louis d'Anjou, the oldest of the king's surviving brothers, who acquired three of the volumes within months of the monarch's death, in September and November 1380. No doubt it was after the death of Louis, in September 1384, that Jean de Berry came into possession of the volume at Harvard. The other volume never left Angers, where it remains today. The duke did not hold onto the manuscript for long, as it does not appear in any of his inventories.

François Avril

1 H. Thompson 1902, 206–9, no. 80; Delisle 1907, 317; de Laborde 1909, 1:241–44, no. 7, pls. 6–9; H. Thompson 1907–18, 5: pls. 6–7; H. Martin 1923, 49–50; Millar 1927–30, 2:144–47, no. 73, pls. 159–61; de Ricci 1935–40, 2:1695–96n17; *Arts of the Middle Ages* 1940, 16, no. 45a; Miner 1949, 28, no. 70, pl. 33; Panofsky 1953, 42n2 and 47n4; *French Painting* 1951, no. 8; Bond and Hofer 1955, 18, no. 46, pls. 11, 12; Miner 1962, 43–45, no. 41, pl. 48; Bond and Faye 1962, 270; Kristeller 1963–97, 5:233; Avril and Lafaurie 1968, 102n177; Meiss 1969, 121–22, 174, 298, 309, 365n105, fig. 535; Off Dunlap Smith 1974, 47–70, 200–204, figs. 10, 12, 14, 17, 26, 28; Off Dunlap Smith 1982, 69n6; Avril 1972, 98, no. 1; Wieck 1983a, 188–98, fig. 2; Wieck 1983b, 4–5, 128, no. 2; Leo 2013, esp. 153–54, figs. 2 and 3.

2 Lebigue, Garel, and Courvoisier 2001, 9–18.

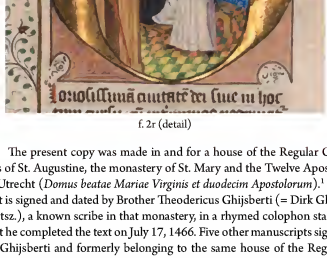
92. St. Augustine, De civitate Dei
Antonis Rogiersz. uten Broec ("Master of the Boston City of God," illuminator), Brother Theodericus Gbijsberti (scribe)

Utrecht, the Netherlands, 1466
Parchment, ff. i + 264 + i, 375 x 278–83 (c. 261–63 x 179–81) mm
Boston Public Library, MS f Med. 10 (formerly G. 400.4)
William Bragge, his sale Sotheby's, London, June 7, 1876, lot 21; sold by Henry Young (December 12, 1899) to Henry Yates Thompson; acquired by Sydney Cockerell for BPL in March 1901.

f. 1r (detail)

St. Augustine's *City of God* is one of the foundational texts of Christian theology. Written in the wake of the sack of Rome by barbarian invaders in 410, the text is at once a defense of Christianity against paganism and a far-reaching treatise on Christian philosophy, history, and theology organized around a contrast Augustine elaborates

between a flawed earthly city (City of Man), which he traces to the fall of the Rebel Angels and the creation and Fall of Man, and the City of God, the latter revealed in the coming of Christ and the church and reaching its culmination at the end of time in the Last Judgment with its divinely ordained destinies of punishment and mercy, hell and the celestial city of heaven. Augustine's work enjoyed enormous success. It is extant in nearly 400 manuscripts, the great majority Latin copies made for monastic and ecclesiastical use, at least until the late fourteenth century, when French vernacular versions, some of them richly illustrated, were prepared for royal and aristocratic patrons (see cat. no. 91).



f. 2r (detail)

The present copy was made in and for a house of the Regular Canons of St. Augustine, the monastery of St. Mary and the Twelve Apostles in Utrecht (*Domus beatae Mariae Virginis et duodecim Apostolorum*).[1] The text is signed and dated by Brother Theodericus Ghijsberti (= Dirk Ghijsbertsz.), a known scribe in that monastery, in a rhymed colophon stating that he completed the text on July 17, 1466. Five other manuscripts signed by Ghijsberti and formerly belonging to the same house of the Regular Canons in Utrecht are extant in the Utrecht University Library, which contains no less than 144 manuscripts from the monastery's collection.[2] Evidence is lacking about when and how this manuscript left the monastery of St. Mary and the Twelve Apostles in Utrecht; its earliest later provenance dates from the nineteenth century.

Doubtless because it was made for a prominent house of the Regular Canons of St. Augustine, this is a deluxe copy of St. Augustine's text—the only known illustrated version of the *City of God* from the northern Netherlands. The historiated initials of the Fall of Man (f. 1r) and of St. Augustine writing (f. 2r) are conventional, but the twenty-two-line column miniature that precedes the rubric for St. Augustine's text (f. 1v) is not. Set in a verdant landscape, it portrays St. Peter welcoming St. Augustine (shown haloed, wearing a bishop's miter, and carrying a croiser) and eight tonsured monks, garbed in the habit of Regular Canons of St. Augustine, who ascend paved stairs toward the heavenly City of God. The city is fortified and outfitted with a golden gate and golden roofs which support eight music-making angels.[3]

Although the manuscript was written in-house, the commission for the miniatures and painted border decoration on the first three pages was entrusted to a secular illuminator who had illustrated another of St. Augustine's major works for the same house at an earlier date. This is a copy of the *Confessions* of St. Augustine written in 1450 by Arnoldus Alberti, another scribe in the same monastery.[4] The painted decoration of the earlier work is less ambitious, consisting only of marginal decoration on the page commencing the *Confessions* and a historiated initial of Augustine kneeling in prayer to God.

The miniaturist entrusted with these two commissions was a prolific painter, whose hand can be found in more than twenty-five manuscripts, the great majority of them books of hours produced for secular patrons, and including a cluster dated between 1464 and 1466.[5] Formerly named the "Master of the Boston City of God" after the present manuscript, he has now been identified as Antonis Rogiersz. uten Broec, a documented illuminator from Utrecht who also worked in the southern Netherlands.[6] The identification was made possible because Antonis signed two manuscripts produced in Brabant (probably in or near Brussels), an undated Latin book of hours and a four volume Latin bible now in Malmesbury, written in 1457 for the Carthusian monastery of La Chapelle at Herinnes-lez-Enghien some twenty-five kilometers south of Brussels.[7] Antonis Rogiersz. uten Broec is one of only a very small number of Dutch miniaturists whose works can be assigned to a named personage, and one of the few who demonstrably worked in both the Southern and the northern Netherlands.

James H. Marrow

1 For which see Kohl, Persoons, and Weiler 1980, 427–52.
2 Utrecht, UB, mss. 55, 80, 83, 110, and 341, dated from 1453–62, for which see Kohl, Persoons, and Weiler 1980, 435, and Defoer, Korteweg, and Wüstefeld 1990, 223, cat. no. 73; for the 144 manuscripts now in the Universiteitsbibliotheek in Utrecht, see Kohl, Persoons, and Weiler 1980, 433.
3 For the illustrative tradition of copies of the *City of God*, see de Laborde 1909, which can be supplemented now by pertinent parts of Cosma, Da Gai, and Pittigilio 2011 (volume 2, treating the Quattrocento, 2015, was not available to us). The only remotely analogous depiction known to me is the frontispiece illustration of a deluxe copy of *De civitate Dei* produced in the southern Netherlands c. 1470–74, apparently for Wolfert VI van Borselen, stadholder of Holland, Friesland, and Zeeland, admiral of the Netherlands outside Flanders and Lord of Veere, which portrays St. Augustine in an interior accompanied by a monk and seven men, and pointing to a city in a landscape at the right in which a group of faithful are shown kneeling before an altar (Utrecht, UB, ms. 42, for which see Van der Horst et al. 1984, 240–42, cat. no. 114, col. pl. 22).
4 Utrecht, UB, ms. 40, for which see Van der Horst et al. 1984, 64–67, cat. no. 17.
5 See my entry on one of the books of hours (New York, NYPL, Spencer MS. 152) in Alexander, Marrow, and Sandler 2005, 305–8, cat. no. 68.
6 Van der Hoek 2004.
7 For the signed Latin book of hours and the bible at Malmesbury, see Van der Hoek 2004, 120–25 and Alexander, Marrow, and Sandler 2005, 208n10, which can be supplemented now by a monograph on the Malmesbury Bible addressed to a popular audience (Bartholomew 2014). For a recent study questioning the number and the identification of the hands in the œuvre attributed to Antonis Rogiersz. uten Broec, see Jossee 2014.

93. Speculum humanae salvationis

Austria or Bavaria, c. 1350–1400
Parchment, ff. 48, 226 x 168 (173 x 128) mm
Harvard University, Houghton Library, MS Typ 50
Monastery of San Pedro de Roda; bought from Carlos-Tolrá by William Inglis Morse in 1943 and presented by him.

Four line drawings, each placed above a column of didactic Latin verses confront one another across this opening of *Mirror of Man's Salvation* (ff. 18v–19r). Those on the left depict the victorious David returning with the head of Goliath impaled on the tip of his sword and the killing of Heliodorus, who robbed the Temple, those on the right, the Last Supper and Moses supervising the gathering of manna. Whereas those on the left represent two of the three types of Old Testament prefigurations of the Entry into Jerusalem, depicted on the preceding recto, those on the right pair a New Testament antitype—the Last Supper—with the first of three antitypes from the Old Testament, in this case, the Gathering of

ff. 18v–19r

Manna. The other two types for this event (the Pesach meal and Abraham with the high priest Melchizedek) occupy the verso overleaf.

From early Christian churches to the end of the Middle Ages and beyond, typology, a particular form of exegesis that read often improbable events in Jewish scripture as prophetic antecedents of the life of Christ, provided a framework for understanding all of history, even time itself. Typology provided a "proof" of the truth of Christian revelation. Its readings differed from those of allegory in that it insisted on the historical reality of both the story and its interpretation. Its figural (i.e., prophetic) language lent itself to visualization in ways that themselves testified to the abrogation of the Jewish covenant, not simply because they made the comparison of often obscure biblical passages immediately similar and hence seemingly self-explanatory, but also because images, forbidden by the strictest interpretations of Jewish law, represented the embodiment of incarnational theology.

Of the various typological compendia that circulated in the High and later Middle Ages, the *Speculum* was easily the most popular. Over 400 manuscripts survive. Although written in the early fourteenth century by an unknown Italian mendicant, most likely a Dominican, the work nonetheless enjoyed its greatest success in both art and literature north of the Alps.[1] Translated into almost every European language, the *Speculum* originally consisted of 4,924 lines of rhyming Latin prose with 192 illustrations. In the copy at Harvard, the ambitious program of illustration remained incomplete. Only seventy-five drawings were inserted; toward the back of the book, all the spaces reserved for illustrations remain blank. An attempt was made at least to add the captions for the images, but they too were left unfinished.

Although it has previously been maintained that the unfinished series of drawings was added, the *Speculum* was usually illustrated with line or tinted drawings.[2] Had the intention been to complete a book that had been left unillustrated, it is more likely that the series would be complete. Fully illuminated copies remained rare until the fifteenth century. The work thus inscribes itself in a tradition of employing line drawings for didactic religious works that in the German-speaking world can be traced to reform movements of the twelfth century. The style of the drawings in cat. no. 93 represents a simplified version of that found in manuscripts such as the copy of Heinrich von München's *Weltchronik* (Munich, BSB, Cgm 7377), a Bavarian book with 155 illustrations, the majority in the form of shaded line drawings, which is dated to the end of the fourteenth century.[3]

Jeffrey F. Hamburger

1 Palmer 2009b.
2 Wieck 1983b, 84–85, cat. no. 41.
3 Ott 1991, 1:108–10, no. 3.2.3; Klemm and Montag 1996, 30–31, no. 10; Spielberger 1998, 143–47.

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94. Peter of Poitiers, Compendium Historiae in Genealogia Christi

Northern France, c. 1200
Parchment, roll of 6 membranes sewn together, 343 x 38 mm
Harvard University, Houghton Library, MS Typ 216
Sold by H. P. Kraus, 1954; deposited by Philip Hofer, 1967, his bequest, 1984.

The *Compendium Historiae in Genealogia Christi* by Peter of Poitiers (d. 1205) unfurls biblical history in the form of a lengthy roll illustrated with a complex genealogical diagram, built on the framework of St. Augustine's Six Ages of Mankind.[1] In contrast to Vincent of Beauvais's *Speculum*, which students may have found overly complex, the *Compendium* summarizes the Old Testament using a simplified and diagrammatic linear format, clearly showing the descent of Jesus from Adam through King David.[2] At the beginning of the text, Peter explains his purpose in writing the *Compendium*: "Taking into account the great detail of biblical history and the difficulties students encounter when studying the Bible...I have attempted to summarize the series of patriarchs from whom Christ is descended...in a single, small book."[3]

The roll format had long been in use as the most practical configuration for heraldic works and necrological rolls. In the thirteenth century, this format began to be used for royal genealogies; it is much easier to follow a complex line of descent by "scrolling" down a single rotulus than it is to continually turn pages in a codex. The *Compendium* was the first work to combine genealogy and history in roll format. It was extremely well-received and survives in hundreds of rolls dating from the thirteenth to the fifteenth centuries.[4] The *Compendium* was so popular that, beyond being copied on its own, it became a direct source for a broader genre of world history, the Universal Chronicle.[5] Peter's genealogical diagrams appear, for example, in the first half of cat. no. 178.[6] Considering the *Compendium*'s hundreds of copies and its incorporation into these and other texts, its impact on scholasticism and education throughout the Middle Ages was truly remarkable.

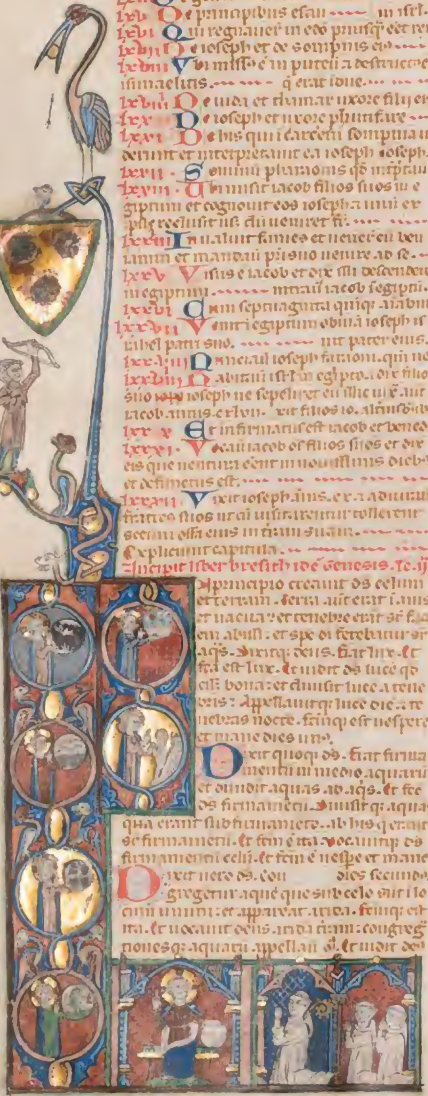
This copy of the *Compendium* was written in northern France in the early thirteenth century and is thought to be one of the oldest surviving copies.[7] It served as a model for a later copy now belonging to the Bibliothèque St-Geneviève in Paris.[8] It is easy to see why the later scribe was so inspired. The illustrations in the present roll are delightful in their simplicity and clarity, each character clearly identified by rubrication and by some identifying iconographic feature (for example, Eve offers an apple, and Adam is shown mid-bite).

It begins with a "consanguinity tree" that explains the calculus involved in determining one's relationship to various family members. The genealogy of Jesus begins on the second membrane with Adam and Eve (the First Age). Enlarged medallions depict Noah (the Second Age), Abraham (the Third Age), Aaron, Moses (who is depicted with horns, as is typical in medieval art), King David (the Fourth Age), King Zedekiah (the Fifth Age), and Alexander the Great. The genealogy culminates with the birth of Jesus (the beginning of the Sixth Age).

Lisa Fagin Davis

1 Augustine, *De Genesi Contra Manichaeos* I:23–25. *PL* 34:190–94.
2 See Moore 1936, 97–117, for a detailed history of the development of the text.
3 Catalán and Miró 2000, 93.
4 L. Davis 2014, 11.
5 Moore 1936, 111–17.
6 L. Davis 2014, 21.
7 Monroe 1978, 95–96. The Harvard roll is not listed by Moore, but it is older than the earliest manuscripts in his list (Moore 1936, 101).
8 Moore 1936, 106nn16–17. The fourteenth-century *Compendium* was de-accessioned by the Bibiothèque St-Geneviève in the 1920s and was purchased by Henry Walters (Baltimore, MD). It was for many years Baltimore, Walters Art Museum W.80. In 1982, the Walters sold it back to the Bibiothèque St-Geneviève, where it is now ms. 1212. See Paris, BSG, ms. 1212, http://initiale.irht.cnrs.fr/ouvrages/ouvrages.php?id=3317&indexCourant=1.

cat. no. 86, f. 4v



Lxxi Oe generationibus esau. ---- in terra
lxxii Oe primogenitis esau ---- in terra
lxxiii Qui regnauerunt in eos priusq; esset rex
lxxiiii Oe ioseph et de somniis eius ----
lxxv Vt missus e in puteum a destructore
ismaelitis. ---- q erat idue. ---- ---- ----
lxxvi Oe iuda et thamar uxore filii eius
lxxvii Oe ioseph et uxore phutiphare ---
lxxviii Oe his qui carceri sunt mandati
detinent et interpretantur ei ioseph. ioseph.
lxxix Somnium pharaonis qd interpretatus
lxxx Qui misit iacob filios suos in e
gyptum et cognouit eos ioseph. a quo ex
plete redierunt ad eum et nouerit fr. ---- ----
lxxxi Ne timeant fames et neuer eu deu
tamen et mandauit pisno uenire ad se.
lxxxii Visus e iacob et dixit illi descendere
in egyptum. ---- ---- ---- in egypto. iacob egypti.
lxxxiii Quam septuaginta quinq; animas
lxxxiiii Venit in egyptum obuiam ioseph et
vidit pater suo. ---- ---- ---- pater eius.
lxxxv Quomodo ioseph fratrum. qui ne
lxxxvi Quomodo ioseph in egypto. dixe filio
suo ioseph ne sepelire eu illic sed in
iacob annis. et lxx. ---- ---- filios. ioseph filios.
lxxxvii Et in fratrum est iacob et benedi
lxxxviii Vocauit iacob et filios suos et dixe
eis que nouissimis eorum illis dieb.
et defuncti est. ---- ---- ---- ----
lxxxix Venit ioseph. ad. et ad omnia
fratres suos in eu ut sepelirent eum et ter
sepelierunt eum ossa eius in terra sua.
Explicunt capitula. ---- ---- ---- ----

Incipit liber primus de genesis. fe. ij.

In principio creauit ds celum
et terram. terra autem erat inanis
et uacua. et tenebre erant super fa
ciem abissi. et spiritus dei ferebatur super
aqas. Dixitq; deus. fiat lux. et
facta est lux. et uidit ds lucem qd
esset bona. et diuisit lucem a tene
bris. Appellauitq; lucem diem. et
tenebras nocte. factumq; est uespere
et mane dies unus.

Dixit quoq; ds. fiat firma
mentum in medio aquarum
et diuidat aquas ab aqis. et fe
cit ds firmamentum. diuisitq; aquas
quas erant sub firmamento. ab his q erant
super firmamentum. et factum est ita.
Vocauitq; ds firmamentum celum. et factum est uespere et mane
dies secundus.

Dixit uero ds. congregentur aque quae sub celo sunt in lo
cum unum. et apparebit aridum. factumq; est
ita. et uocauit deus aridam terram congregationes
quoq; aquarum appellauit maria. et uidit deus
qd esset bonum. et ait. germinet terra herbam
uirentem et facientem semen. et lignum po
miferum faciens fructum iuxta genus suum.
cuius semen sit in semetipso super terram. et factum
est ita. et protulit terra herbam uirentem. afferentem
semen iuxta genus suum. lignumq; faciens
fructum. et habens unum quoq; semen secundum
genus suum. et uidit ds qd esset bonum. factumq;
est uespere et mane dies tertius.

Dixit autem ds. fiant luminaria in firmamento celi. et diuidant diem. et nocte
et sint in signa. et tempora. et dies. et annos.
et luceant in firmamento celi. et illuminent
terram. et factum est ita. fecitq; ds duo magna luminaria. luminare maius ut praeesset
diei. et luminare minus ut praeesset nocti. et stellas.
et posuit eas ds in firmamento celi. ut lucerent super terram. et praeessent diei ac nocti. et dividerent lucem ac tenebras. et uidit ds qd
esset bonum. et factum est uespere et mane. dies
quartus.

Dixit etiam ds. producant
aquae reptilia anime uiuentis.
et volatile super terram. sub firmamento celi.
et factum est ita. creauitq; ds cete grandia.
et omne animam uiuentem atq; motabilem.
quam produxerant aquae in species suas. et
omne volatile secundum genus suum. et uidit ds
qd esset bonum. benedixitq; eis dicens. crescite
et multiplicamini. et replete aquas maris. et
uolatilia multiplicentur super terram. et factum est uespere
et mane. dies quintus.

Dixit quoq; ds. producat terra animam uiuentem in genere suo. iumenta. et reptilia
et bestias terre secundum species suas. factum
est ita. et fecit ds bestias terre iuxta species suas.
et iumenta. et omne reptile terre in genere suo. et
uidit ds qd esset bonum. et ait. faciamus hominem
ad imaginem et similitudinem nostram.
et praesit piscibus maris. et volatilibus celi.
et bestiis. omniq; terre. omnique reptili quod
mouetur in terra. et creauit ds hominem ad imaginem
suam. ad imaginem dei creauit illum.
masculum et feminam creauit eos. benedixitq;
illis ds. et ait. crescite et multiplicamini.
replete terram et subicite eam. et dominamini
piscibus maris. et volatilibus celi. et omni
bus animantibus que mouentur super terram.
deq; ds. ecce dedi uobis omne herbam afferentem
semen super terram. et uniuersa ligna
que habent in semetipsis semen generis sui.
ut sint uobis in escam. cunctisq; animantibus terre. omni
q mouetur in terra.
et cunctis uolatilibus celi. et omnibus quae mouentur in terra.
et quibus est anima uiuens. ut habeant ad escam
et factum est ita. uiditq; ds cuncta q fecerat
et erant ualde bona. et factum est uespere et mane
dies. vi.

BEATVS VIR

3. Before the Book of Hours: The Psalter & Other Prayer Books

No type of book speaks to the proliferation of devotional imagery more eloquently than the book of hours. In part highly personalized, in part no less standardized, the genre deserves its moniker as the "bestseller" of the late Middle Ages. Prayer, however, did not require images as an accompaniment. For the better part of the first Christian millennium, prayer books remained unillustrated. The history of the illustrated prayer book is thus simultaneously a history of the development of attitudes toward the visual and visualization.

The most important precedent for the book of hours was the Hebrew Psalter in its Latin Vulgate translation (one of several such translations that circulated in the Middle Ages). Although medieval psalter illustration extends as far back as the Carolingian period (i.e., the eighth and ninth centuries), it first flourished on a significant scale in the High Middle Ages. Many of the earliest illustrated examples were made for women, either nuns or pious aristocratic ladies (cat. no. 95). Beginning in the late eleventh, but increasingly in the twelfth century, psalters, whether for monastic or lay usage, received sometimes lengthy prefatory cycles of Old and New Testament imagery (cat. no. 97). In the most lavish examples, such cycles could include one hundred images or more. Only in rare cases did each psalm receive its own illustration, usually in the form of a small initial. Far more common was a distribution of narrative scenes among the liturgical divisions of the psalms (in non-monastic churches, psalms 1, 26, 38, 52, 68, 80, 97, and 109), which defined the sets sung in the Divine Office on different days of the week, so that all 150 psalms would be performed over its course (cat. nos. 96, 98). In other psalters, the psalms are divided into three groups of fifty (psalms 1, 51, 101). A combination of the two schemes produced a tenfold division, thereby increasing the number of opportunities for illustration.

In addition to transforming the Psalter into a Christian book (with, for example, the life of David providing a typological anticipation of the life of Christ), prefatory cycles provided substantial pictorial sections that, apart from captions, were entirely free of text. Vernacular captions can, but need not, point to lay readership. In some psalters, the subject of David as author of the psalms and type of Christ received yet further elaboration underscoring the allegorical interpretation of the psalms (cat. no. 99).

Outside of France, the Low Countries and, to a lesser extent, England and Italy, the psalter and, later, the book of hours, never quite displaced an older and often more flexible form of prayer book known simply as the *liber precum* (or prayer book). This type of devotional book, which had its origins in the Carolingian period , remained especially popular in Germany, where, by the fifteenth century, numerous examples were illustrated with prints and drawings, some glued in (cat. nos. 70, 72), others printed directly on the parchment or paper.

In whatever form, illustrated prayer books provide extraordinary insight into the interplay of text and image, image and imagination, and, not least, the delicate interaction of religious subjectivity and pastoral discipline.

Jeffrey F. Hamburger

cat. no. 96, f. 14v

95. Baptism of Christ from a psalter

Augsburg (?), southeastern Germany, c. 1240–50
Parchment, 1 leaf, 170 x 128 (framed space of B[eatus] on verso: 155 x 115) mm
Harvard University, Houghton Library, MS Typ 997[1]
C. G. Boerner, Leipzig, cat. 110 (November 28, 1912), lot 15; C. G. Boerner, Leipzig, cat. 24 (1913), no. 20; Gustav Nebehay, his sale, Sotheby's, London, June 14, 1926, lot 120; Maggs, London; Edgar Huidekoper Wells & Co., New York; George J. Dyer for Fogg Art Museum (1927.21); transferred (1990M-16) to Houghton Library.[2]

The single leaf shows the Baptism of Christ. Against the foil of a highly burnished gold ground, the Son of God stands naked in the middle of the River Jordan. Following a Byzantine tradition, the green-ocher colored river is given the form of a mountain that reaches up to his shoulders. John the Baptist, fully clothed in a light brown camel fur mantel, lifts his right arm in blessing. On the other side of the River Jordan an angel holds the light garment that Christ has laid aside. The oversized figures overlap the three-part frame.

Although the leaf is no more than a fragment, its original context can be reconstructed. It belonged to a psalter and stood before the first psalm: "[B]eatus vir," as indicated by the full-page initial *B* on its verso. The miniature formed the last page in a series of scenes of the Infancy of Christ and is linked stylistically to a group of psalters localized to Augsburg. The single leaf shows similarities to a psalter and a psalter fragment in New York, Morgan Library & Museum (MSS M.280 and M.275), both dated around 1240–50. The psalter M.280 is decorated with sixteen miniatures with subjects from the Tree of Jesse to the Last Judgment and the Death of the Virgin. From the psalter fragment M.275 only nine folios are preserved. During the thirteenth century Augsburg was a growing commercial town with an intensified devotion influenced by the Franciscan and Dominican orders. Numerous such psalters were produced there as prayer books, especially for women.

Gude Suckale-Redlefsen

1 De Ricci 1935–40, 1:1050 (as 1927.21); H. Swarzenski 1936, 1:140, no. 63.1; 2: fig. 755; Suckale-Redlefsen 2010; Worm 2012.
2 Kidd 2016a and 2016b.

96. Psalter

Bergues-Saint-Winnoc, French Flanders, c. 1250
Parchment, ff. 170, 272–74 x 183 (168–71 x 105) mm
Boston Public Library, MS f.Med. 84 (formerly Ms. 1510)
Eighteenth-century signature of William Draper (possibly d. 1787), f. 124v; sold Sotheby's, London, May 19, 1936, lot 2, to Quaritch; sold by Quaritch to BPL in 1940, his cat. 532, no. 433.

f. 8v

In the thirteenth century, the thriving commercial towns of Flanders produced a large number of illuminated devotional psalters for a prosperous lay clientele. The Boston psalter's large scale and ample use of highly burnished gold immediately identifies it as a prestigious possession.[1] The text is spaciously laid out with each verse beginning on the left, allowing for decorative line fillers. The calendar is illustrated with twelve large wash-colored drawings of labors of the months.[2] The prefatory miniature cycle is lengthy; but the psalm divisions after psalm 1 have foliate vinework initials which—despite their huge scale—make the book less deluxe than it might have been.

Indicative of its secular usage, the calendar is sparse in its entries, but both calendar and litany include saints from French Flanders.[3] The presence of Peter of Verona, canonized in 1253, provides a terminus post quem for production of the book. The appearance of both old-fashioned hairpin-loop drapery and some newer large folds of the style developed in Paris c. 1240 suggest a date no later than the 1250s. The artist was apparently an itinerant member of a major Bruges atelier, as there are many similar psalter manuscripts, but none exactly comparable.[4]

Some striking textual and iconographic features help to identify the book's likely owner. Inclusion of an Office of the Dead is rare in Flanders, as the secular patrons did not practice very elaborate devotions. The office follows the liturgical use of the Augustinian abbey of Saint-Riquier at Watten, north of Saint-Omer.[5] Yet the lack of liturgical gradations in the calendar argues against institutional use. The miniatures underscore Marian devotion. Flemish psalters routinely depict a woman offering a candle at an altar on Candlemas in February. Here the woman is crowned and haloed, and thus the Virgin Mary herself performs the ritual on her February 2 feast. In the Adoration of the Magi miniature (f. 8v), Mary holds a floreate scepter alluding to the flower arising from the rod of Jesse (Is 11:1) that was interpreted as a prophecy of the coming of the Christ child. This motif is rarely depicted in Flemish psalters and thus here may indicate ties with a house of Augustinian canonesses dedicated to Our Lady of the New Plant, as Kerstin Carlvant has proposed.[6] Elizabeth of Roesbrugge, founder of this house and by 1244 a resident there in her widowhood, would be a likely patron for the manuscript.[7] Her ownership would explain the secular nature of the psalter's liturgy, the striking Marian elements reflecting the house's dedication, and its inclusion of an Augustinian Office of the Dead, highly suited to the devotions of a widow.

Seven grand full-page miniatures depicting Christological subjects precede the psalter. Unlike other early Flemish exemplars, the Boston psalter does not limit itself to infancy scenes but splits its cycle between Infancy and Passion, then concludes with the Resurrection and Christ in Majesty, a pattern shared with several slightly later books from Bruges and Ghent.[8] Given its thematic completeness and its length, there is no reason to posit that the cycle was ever much longer, but the collation of these leaves is difficult to analyze, and cycles usually began with the Annunciation.[9]

The psalms themselves commence with a full-page Beatus initial depicting David playing a harp above and killing Goliath below (f. 14v; see image at beginning of this chapter). David, as author of the psalms, is traditionally depicted here at the first psalm. Goliath, fully armored in casque, coat of mail, and knee guards, and with a large shield slung on his back, pulls a long sword from its scabbard—all to no avail, for his knees bend, and a spot of blood appears on his forehead where a rock has hit him. As the ancestor and type of Christ (the "Blessed Man" of the psalm), David is victorious over the forces of evil. Ornamental initials decorated with foliate vinework mark eight further divisions of the psalter; that for psalm 109 is now missing.[10] Many of these initials have dragons inside or in their frames. The two at psalms 51–52 depict explicitly demonic figures appropriate to their texts about malice and denial of God.[11] The large initials mark the standard liturgical divisions in the monastic Divine Office. Here their non-figural decoration may reflect the owner's less intensive engagement in liturgical practice. As a deluxe book for an aristocratic owner, secular in essence, but with personalized monastic elements indicative of its use at a convent, the psalter in Boston shows how the secular and religious realms might merge.

Judith Oliver

1 Sotheby's, London, May 19, 1936, 10–11, lot 2, pls. 4–6; Quaritch 1937, 132, no. 433; *More Books* 1948, 251 and 253; Bond and Faye 1962, 208, no. 84; Carlvant 1978, passim, table 4A, figs. 25a–f; *Vlaamse kunst op perkament* 1981, 148, 151, 160–61 (cat. no. 72), and pl. 64 (by Kerstin Carlvant); Carlvant 1985, 326n10 and 339–41; Netzer 2006, nos. 10a–b; Carlvant 2012, 37–50, 155–60, and passim, table 1, col. pl. 1, figs. 3a–k; Stones 2013–14, 1.1:48n7.

2 Depiction of a man feeding hogs at a trough in November and slaughtering a hog in December are unusual subject choices. As is usual in Flemish psalters, there are no signs of the zodiac.

3 The calendar includes Bertin abbot of St. Bertin in St. Omer (September 5), Omer bishop of Thérouanne (September 9), and Winnoc abbot of Wormhout (November 5). The litany includes these three saints as well as others from the region: Riquier, abbot of Centula (Saint-Riquier) in Picardy and patron saint of Watten, Folquin, bishop of Thérouanne (whose relics were venerated at Saint-Bertin), and Wulmarus, founder of the abbey of Samer south of Boulogne-sur-Mer.

4 Carlvant 2012, 37 attributes the book to her "Bruges Master" atelier responsible for London, BL, Add. MS. 24683 (in a less advanced style of the 1230s), and Cambridge, UK, Magdalene Coll., MS F.4.7 (in a more advanced one of c. 1260).

5 Ottosen 1993, 197 and 341. This usage is shared by Baltimore, Walters Art Mus., Ms. W.47, a late thirteenth-century psalter from the Thérouanne area (L. M. C. Randall 1989, 95–96, no. 40 notes its Augustinian features); Beaune, Bm, ms. 39, a mid-thirteenth-century psalter for Augustinian nuns or canons in Tournai; and Utrecht, RMCC, ABM h91, a book of hours for Watten of c. 1460.

6 Carlvant 2012, 158–59, col. pl. 1 and fig. 3g.

7 Ibid.

8 The cycle depicts the Nativity, Adoration of the Magi, Presentation, Flagellation, Crucifixion, Resurrection, and Christ in Majesty. For other examples of mixed cycles, see New York, PML, MS M.72 and Dublin, Chester Beatty Library, W MS 61, both of the 1260s, in Carlvant 1978, 480–82, table 6.

9 Amongst extant Flemish psalters, the Boston cycle ranks among those with the maximum eight miniatures (including the *Beatus* initial). There may be a stub before the Nativity leaf; ff. 7–8 are sewn in as a separate bifolium, and ff. 9–14 may be a quire of 6.

10 A comparable use of foliate initials at major psalm divisions is seen in Walters Ms. W.47, for which see note 5 above. L. M. C. Randall 1989, 95, no. 40, and fig. 82.

11 A figure with ass's ears hides in the vines at Ps 51 on f. 61r ("why dost thou glory in malice"). A horned devil blowing a long trumpet emerges from the initial shaft at Ps 52 on f. 62r ("The fool said in his heart: there is no God").

97. Crucifixion from the Potocki Psalter

Paris, France, c. 1250
Parchment, 155 x 105 (miniature size 108 x 84) mm
Museum of Fine Arts, Boston, 57.707, gift of the Schaeffer Galleries in memory of Dr. Georg Swarzenski
Probably removed from a thirteenth-century French psalter in the late eighteenth century before it was purchased by Stanislaw Kostka Potocki; Schaeffer Galleries, New York, 1957.

This leaf formed part of a series of full-page miniatures in the psalter, Warsaw, Biblioteka Narodowa, rps I 8003. The others, still in the manuscript are the Betrayal (f. 8v, preceding psalm 1), the Entry to Jerusalem (f. 33v, preceding psalm 26), the Three Maries and Angel at the sepulchre (f. 64r, preceding psalm 38), the Flagellation (f. 101v, preceding psalm 68).[1] Other leaves are in the Blackburn Museums and Art Gallery, Hart MS 20960 (four leaves, bound: Adoration of the Magi [f. 1v]; Presentation of Christ in the Temple [f. 2r]; Flight to Egypt [f. 3v]; Baptism of Christ [f. 4r]).[2] Another leaf, depicting the Deposition of Christ, is in the Cleveland Museum of Art (1985.80).[3] All the miniatures are tipped in singletons, out of narrative sequence, facing major psalm initials which are the work of another artist. An offset of the initials *KL* on the January page on the verso of the Three Maries indicates that it was the last miniature before the calendar. The calendar is indeterminate, though the presence of St. Augustine with translation (September 6, October 11) suggests that the psalter may have belonged to a member of a house of canons.[4]

Robert Branner compared the full-page miniatures to those in the collection of sermons of the bishops of Paris (Paris, AN, LL 79),[5] and to murals in the Sainte-Chapelle.[6] Large-scale monumental figures with the beginnings of sharp-fold draperies characterize all of the miniatures. Indoor scenes are presented beneath elaborate architectural canopies within which the figures occupy all of the space, interacting intensely with each other through expressive gestures and glances. Although undated, these miniatures hold an important place in the emergence of the courtly style in the mid-thirteenth century.

Alison Stones

1 Purchased at the end of the eighteenth century by Prince Stanislaw Kostka Potocki. Acquired by the National Library in 1933; evacuated to Canada in WWII, returning in 1959. Restoration work on the manuscript was carried out in 1995. Tchórzewska-Kabata 2004. Earlier scholars did not know the Boston or Cleveland leaves, writing only about the Warsaw manuscript: Sawicka 1933, no. 587, pl. 19; Ameisenowa, 1933; Sawikca 1938, pls. 4a–b; Sawicka in Dobrzycka 1973, 68–69, no. 134.

2 Sale of the collection of Lord Hastings, Sotheby's, London, July 20, 1931, lot 6, pls. 4–5; bequeathed to the Blackburn Museum by R. E. Hart in 1946. Exhibited at the Whitworth Art Gallery, Alexander and Crossley 1976, 19, cat. no. 11, pl. 1 (ff. 1v–2r), without reference to the Potocki Psalter but attributed to Paris c. 1240.

3 Purchased in New York in 1985 from William H. Schab Gallery; previous provenance unknown. Tchórzewska-Kabata 2005.

4 My thanks to Peter Kidd for photographs. An oddity is the feast of Margaret of Scotland (June 10) in an otherwise sparse set of entries.

5 François 1938.

6 Branner 1968. In Branner 1971b, the author seemed to assume that the Potocki Psalter was all painted by the same artist, an opinion he seemed to modify in Branner 1977, 209. His other comparisons do not convince (Toledo and Oxford *Bibles moralisées*, Montiéramey Missal in the Grand séminaire de Verdun, and Hand III of the *Vies des saints* in London, BL, Royal MS. 20 D.VI).

98. Psalter

Douai (?), northern France, c. 1275
Parchment, ff. 201, 160 x 117 (100 x 65) mm
Boston Public Library, MS q Med. 161 (formerly Ms. 1586)
Sotheby's, London, May 16, 1955, lot 86; purchased by BPL from Quaritch in 1957.

Among the dozens of northern French devotional psalters illuminated in the second half of the thirteenth century, this manuscript stands out on account of its liturgical division into nine parts (instead of the usual eight or ten), as psalm 101 is treated as a small decorative initial. The same nine-part division can be found in some other French psalters, but the reason for this division remains unexplained.[1] Eight initials mark divisions of the monastic office for matins throughout the week and vespers on Sunday. Their illustrations employ ubiquitous French literal interpretations of the psalm texts with David enacting the words of the psalms (and clerics doing likewise at psalm 97).[2] The ninth initial added at psalm 51 depicts the man "mighty in iniquity" of this text. The biblical warrior Doeg carries a shield emblazoned with the double-headed eagle of the Holy Roman Empire, perhaps an expression of French political animosity. Typologically, the warrior symbolizes the Antichrist. King David at psalm 80 plays a carillon with two hammers seemingly responding to the text's evocation of musical instruments (f. 97r). Bells however are not mentioned, so the scene functions as a general personification of music and divine harmony, providing a prelude to the singing clerics at psalm 97.

f. 97r

Although the calendar is now missing, the litany is very long and contains many north French saints from the regions of Amiens, Cambrai, Arras, Saint-Amand, and (further north in Hainault), Saint-Ghislain and Nivelles. Perhaps most regionally distinctive are the group of saints from Douai.[3] Pinwheel terminals and dragon extensions on many large initials have a general resemblance to those in books made in Arras and Cambrai in the 1260s–70s, such as the bible leaves from Lille shown elsewhere in this publication (cat. no. 84). The tightly curled hair and occasional concave faces bear a generic resemblance to the Parisian courtly style typified by the St. Louis psalter of the third quarter of the century.[4]

Text pages are enlivened with line endings depicting fish and human-headed monsters. One line-filler dog is even attacked by an eagle in the margin. The most imaginative images in the book are the large animals inhabiting the upper or lower margins on many text pages and occupying some small psalm initials as well. Some are borrowed from the bestiary (a text very popular in the Cambrai region).[5] They include dogs, a wolf, ape, bear, storks, cock, peacocks, pelican, heron, cat, rabbit, goat, siren (mermaid), and phoenix. Many birds are less identifiable; there are also a large number of imaginary wyverns (dragon-like beasts with two legs). Placement of these creatures was often inspired by the psalm texts, as many are threatening predators embodying the violence and iniquity the psalmist pleads to be saved from. A rabbit at psalm 142 blows a horn as the text begins "Hear O Lord,… give ear." As a final reference to salvation, the art-

ist placed a phoenix arising anew from the flames above the Canticle of the Three Hebrews cast into a fiery furnace and saved by an angel (Dn 3:57–89).

Judith Oliver

1 Haseloff 1938, 54–56 and table 12 lists fourteen manuscripts (including a number of bibles as well as psalters) with the nine-part division, all from Paris or northern France and dating from the mid- to late thirteenth century.
2 The calendar, prefatory miniatures, and initials for Pss 1, 26, and 109 are all now missing from the Boston psalter, for which see Sotheby's, London, May 16, 1955, lot 86; Bond and Faye 1962, 218, no. 161; and Netzer 2006, nos. 12a–b. At Ps 68 David in the Waters prays to God above. God's orb is subdivided into three parts with the sun and moon of the heavens above and the waters below, an image borrowed from Gn 1:2–3 where on the first day of creation God creates day and night above the waters of the earth. The same distinctive cosmic orb is found at Ps 68 in an English bible of the 1270s (Princeton, Princeton UL, Garrett MS. 28, f. 228r). Skemer et al. 2013, 1:12–16, pls. 4–5.
3 They are: Amatus or Amé, patron saint of Douai; Rictrudis, abbess and patroness of Marchiennes; and her son Maurontius, abbot of Breuil near Douai, whose relics were in the church of St. Amé in Douai.
4 Paris, BnF, ms. lat. 10525.
5 One copy of the 1270s comes from the abbey of Marchiennes near Douai (Douai, Bm, ms. 711).

99. Psalter
Masters of the Delft Half-Length Figures (illuminators)

Delft, northern Netherlands, c. 1475–80
Parchment, ff. ii + 249 + iii, 169–70 x 119–20 (c. 100–103 x 66–67) mm
Harvard University, Houghton Library, MS Typ 132
Anna Jandr (d. 1511); Marlyes Jansd; Edward Duff Balken (no. 7); sold by Maggs, London, 1944; deposited by Philip Hofer, 1967, his bequest, 1984.

This Dutch vernacular psalter was apparently made for use by a member of a Franciscan institution in Delft, most likely a house of the Third Order of Franciscans; if the half-length figure of a nun (?) in the left margin of the frontispiece illustration (f. 45v) depicts the patron for whom this manuscript was made, this would have been a member of a female religious house. The localization and assignment to a Franciscan house are indicated in the first instance by saints cited in the calendar (red entries of Francis, Jeroen, and the 11,000 Virgins) and the litany (Francis first among the Confessors). The decoration and illustration of the book confirm a localization to Delft. The elaborate decoration of intricate blue and red pen-flourishes in the margins of the first text page of the psalter (f. 46r) and of additional leaves which demarcate the divisions of the psalms for recitation at different days and times, is that of the Delft "block group," and that in the margins of the full-page miniature (f. 45v) is that of the so-called *kriezelgroep*, also of Delft.[1] The figural style is a somewhat arid version of that of the Masters of the Delft Half-Length Figures, generally similar to that in many manuscripts of the *kriezelgroep*.[2] Stylistically comparable works with miniatures or marginal figures by the Masters of the Half-Length Figures include books of hours in Weimar and a private collection.[3]

The Harvard psalter contains three, independently conceived categories of illustration: a full-page frontispiece of allegorically inspired subject matter; a cycle of historiated initials and one marginal illustration (f. 95v) at the liturgical divisions (leaves demarcating divisions of the psalms into groups which are recited at different days and times); and a series of marginal figures or illustrations.[4] The cycle of historiated initials is the only traditional element of the ensemble, marking the liturgical divisions with scenes showing King David in actions that illustrate the literal sense of the opening words of each of the psalms.[5]

f. 45v

The full-page frontispiece, which shows King David receiving six gifts from seven angels (f. 45v, illustrated above), is known in only one other Dutch manuscript, a psalter-lay breviary of c. 1450–60 that was also made for use in a Franciscan house in Delft.[6] This unconventional miniature illustrates the psalm preface found on ff. 42r–43v, which recounts the six gifts presented to David by angels and assigns moral meanings to each. Although rubrics or incipits identify this psalm preface as an extract from St. Ambrose's *Expositio in Psalmum 118*, the reference is apparently spurious. On the basis of preliminary research, I have been unable to identify any Latin source for the text or versions of it in other European vernaculars. It appears to be known in only nine Middle Dutch manuscripts, of which four may be assigned by style of decoration or provenance to Delft.[7] This ps.-Ambrose psalm preface may therefore be an original Dutch text. It is noteworthy in any case in that it appears to have inspired illustrations only in psalters made for use in Franciscan institutions in Delft.

Twenty of the twenty-six marginal figures or "mini-scenes" interspersed throughout the psalter illustrate the *Psalm tituli*, which appear separately from the psalms immediately following the calendar (ff. 15r–36r);[8] the six exceptions are representations of angels, most shown playing musical instruments, which accompany psalms 109, 114, 121, 131, 137, and 143, that is, psalms corresponding to daily liturgical divisions at vespers. The incipits of the relevant tituli correspond exactly to the marginal illustrations, as may be exemplified by the representations of Ezra at his Writing Desk (Ps 1, f. 46r), King David feigning Madness (Ps 32, f. 84r), the Three Sons of Core in a Choir Stall (Ps 41, f. 99r), and Daniel in the Lion's Den (Ps 63, f. 118v), for which the corresponding tituli begin: "Also als die meesters segghen, so screef esdras desen psalm …" (f. 15r); "Desen psalm maecte davidt doe hi hem veinsde als een ghec voorden coninc achis …" (f.

18v); "Desen psalm maecten choren kinder…" (f. 19v); and "Desen psalm maecte davidt als die leerres segghen van daniel doe hi soude ghewerpen worden onder die leeuwen …" (f. 22r). It is seems likely, therefore, that the marginal illustrations that accompany the psalms derive from an exemplar in which the tituli were intercalated with the psalms, where they would perforce have appeared adjacent to the texts they illustrate. The hypothetical exemplar may date to 1420, the year to which the Sunday Letter and Golden Number wheels in the Harvard psalter are keyed (f. 2v). When the tituli were extracted from the psalter for presentation as a separate textual unit (ff. 15r–36r), the redactionist left the marginal illustrations adjacent to the psalms, as they appear in this manuscript. In that context they abbreviate and stand in for the tituli, appropriating for visual images a function and authority traditionally vested in texts.[9]

The present manuscript is among the most richly and complexly illustrated psalters known from the northern Netherlands. It contains notable examples of allegorical imagery and of original text and image inter-relationships, some of which may be associated specifically with Delft, if not also with Franciscan usage.

James H. Marrow

1 For the Delft "block group" of pen-flourish decoration, see Defoer, Korteweg, and Wüstefeld 1990, 186, and Korteweg 1992, 58–60 and cat. nos. 32 (dated 1476), and 33; for so-called *kriezel* decoration, Defoer, Korteweg, and Wüstefeld 1990, 186, and Korteweg 1992, 60 and cat. nos. 34–35.

2 For the Masters of the Delft Half-Length Figures, see Defoer, Korteweg, and Wüstefeld 1990, 187 and cat. no. 60.

3 Weimar, HAAB, Cod. Oct. 82, for which see Byvanck and Hoogewerff 1922–26, cat. no. 94, pl. 212 and Rothe 1968, pl. 107 (where erroneously described as a breviary); for the manuscript in a private collection, formerly in New York, see Defoer, Korteweg, and Wüstefeld 1990, 196, cat. no. 59, and As-Vijvers 2014, 73–87, cat. no. 8.

4 For a list of the illustrations subdivided according to these categories, see Marrow 1990, 349–50.

5 For this tradition of "word illustration" of the psalms, see Haseloff 1938, 22–33, and Leroquais 1940–41, 1:xciv–xcvi.

6 London, BL, Egerton MS. 1152, for which see Defoer, Korteweg, and Wüstefeld 1990, 195, cat. no. 58, and col. pl. 58.

7 Seven are cited in Marrow 1990, 346–47, to which can be added Rotterdam, GemeenteB, ms. 96 G 4, ff. 3r–5v, and Utrecht, RMCC, BMH 104, ff. 8r–9r. For a diplomatic edition of this ps.-Ambrose psalm preface from the manuscript cited in the previous note (Egerton MS. 1152, f. 133r), see Marrow 1990, 351.

8 This set of *Psalm tituli* does not correspond to any of the Latin sets published by Salmon 1959. For the hypothesis that they may also be original Dutch texts, see Desplenter 2013, 167.

9 For other of the functions of marginal illustrations in manuscripts from Delft with analogous marginal figures, see De Kruyter 1973 and Rudy 2008.

cat. no. 98, f. 97r

pet: et in secula seculorum. Amen.

Exultate deo adiutori nro: iubilate deo iacob.

Sumite psalmum et date tympanum: psalterium iocundum cum chythara.

Cucinate in neomenia tuba: in insigni die sollempnitatis uestre.

Quia preceptum in israhel est: et iudicium deo iacob.

Testimonium in ioseph posuit illud:

Ad completorium uersus:

Conuerte nos deus salutaris nr̄: Et auerte ira tuam a nobis.

Deus in adiutorium meum intende. Domine ad adiuuandum me festina: Gl'a: Psalmus:

Sepe expugnauerunt me a iuuentute mea: dicat nunc israhel: ꝛc:

Sepe expugnauerunt me a iuuentute mea: ꝛ enim non potuerunt m̄.

Supra dorsum meum fabricauerunt peccatores, prolongauerunt iniquitatem suam: Dominus iust' concidet ceruices peccatorum confundantur ꝛ conuertantur retrorsum: omnes qui oderunt syon. Fiāt sicut fenum tectorum. quod priuſ

4. Minding Time: Books of Hours

There are more books of hours in the present exhibition catalogue than any other type of text. This is not an accident. The major presence of *horae* in Boston-area institutions may, it could be argued, reflect the tastes of those donors and librarians who formed these collections. A better argument, however, would be that this statistical strength is a reflection of their popularity in their own era (and their survival rate today). Indeed, in the three hundred years of their celebrity from the High Gothic to the Renaissance—that is, from around 1250 to around 1550—more books of hours were produced, written by hand or printed, and then read and loved, than any other text.[1]

The book of hours was a prayer book used mainly by laypeople. At its heart were the Hours of the Virgin, a set of prayers, recited daily, in honor of the Blessed Virgin Mary. (The phrase "book of hours" is short for "Book of the Hours of the Blessed Virgin Mary.") The essential role played by these Marian devotions stems from the indispensable role the Virgin played as intercessor between man and God. Christians fervently hoped that their spiritual mother would hear their petitions, take mercy on them, and plead their cases to her Son who, surely, would not—could not—deny his own mother anything she might ask. Mary was the "back door" into heaven, and the book of hours offered direct access to her, at home or at church, without intervention from the clergy.

By the late fourteenth century, the typical book of hours consisted of a calendar; Gospel lessons; Hours of the Virgin; Hours of the Cross; Hours of the Holy Spirit; two Marian prayers: "Obsecro te" and "O intemerata"; Penitential Psalms and litany; Office of the Dead; and about a dozen suffrages to saints. This heterogeneous assemblage covered the major pietistic concerns of the late medieval and Renaissance user and helped account for the book's appeal. Forgiveness (or avoidance) of sin was sought through the Penitential Psalms, for example, while saints were beseeched for help in dealing with the dangers of childbirth, travel, or disease. Praying the Office of the Dead reduced the time one's dearly departed spent in the painful fires of purgatory. Children learned to read from books of hours and, as treasured heirlooms, the volumes would be passed down from one generation to the next. Family histories were sometimes recorded on their flyleaves.

In addition to prayers, pictures, too, were an attraction. A typical manuscript book of hours might contain about a dozen images, a private picture gallery to please the eye and inspire the heart of its owner whenever he or she might want. In most *horae* the Hours of the Virgin were illustrated by the cherished events in Mary's life surrounding the Infancy of Christ, from the Annunciation to the Flight into Egypt. This suite included the beloved events of the Christmas story: Nativity, Annunciation to the Shepherds, and Adoration of the Magi. The calendar might have small but amusing illustrations of the labors of the months or signs of the zodiac, or both. The Gospel lessons often received stately portraits of the Four Evangelists. The Penitential Psalms could begin with a picture of their traditional author, King David, or the source of one of his mortal sins, Bathsheba. The Office of the Dead often starts with a depiction of one of the multiple rites of the medieval funeral—an image to comfort the living while they prayed for the dead. Suffrages were provided with their own gallery of the popular saints.

Finally, it must be said, illuminations within books of hours rank with frescoes, stained glass, tapestries, and panels as one of the great storehouses for the art of the late Middle Ages and Renaissance. Some of the finest artists of the period painted images on their pages, and Boston's collections are blessed with a representative range of artistic schools and geographic production. Stars include the French artist Jean Bourdichon (cat. no. 112) and the Master of the Houghton Miniatures, the Flemish illuminator named after his contributions to the Emerson-White Hours (cat. no. 116). Other illuminators, if less known, are equally fascinating. In France, these include the Master of the Troyes Missal (cat. no. 109) and the Master of the Burgundian Prelates (cat. no. 110); in Flanders, the Masters of the Gold Scrolls (cat. no. 115); and in the Netherlands, the Master of the Dark Eyes (cat. no. 128), and the Masters of Gijsbrecht van Brederode (cat. no. 125). Noble holdings, of which Boston can be proud.

The largest grouping in this catalogue, the books of hours are arranged in rough chronological order within, respectively, the geographic regions corresponding to modern-day France, Flanders, the northern Netherlands, Germany, England, and Italy.

Roger S. Wieck

1 The first book to consult on books of hours remains Leroquais 1927–43. Sources in English include Wordsworth 1920, Harthan 1977, Backhouse 1985, Wieck 1988, Wieck 1997, and Wieck 1999. More recent sources include E. Duffy 2006, Reinburg 2012, and Hindman and Marrow 2013, the bibliography of which is especially useful.

cat. no. 116, f. 171r

100. Book of hours

Paris region, France, after 1297
Parchment, ff. i (paper) + iv + 203 + ii, 129 x 83 (68 x 51) mm
Museum of Fine Arts, Boston, 22.376, Frank Sidney Adams Fund
Lent to MFA by Frances D. Bruen in 1895, returned to her son Charles B. Perkins in 1909, purchased by the MFA from him on March 2, 1922.

ff. 83v–84v

This book of hours was the personal prayerbook of a laywoman who kneels at the Gradual Psalms, a popular place for owner portraits in devotional books.[1] One of two prayers following these psalms is addressed to St. Catherine, who is thus perhaps the owner's name saint. The manuscript's contents are the typical ones found in books of hours: a calendar (in French), followed by the Office of the Virgin, Penitential Psalms, a litany, collects, Gradual Psalms, two prayers, and the Office of the Dead, all in Latin.[2] The liturgical contents localize the book to Paris or its general vicinity, with some entries suggesting usage slightly farther east.[3] The calendar is rather surprisingly unillustrated, which makes the book a somewhat modest product of the period. The introduction of the vernacular solely in the calendar indicates that the owner was particularly interested in following the cycle of the ritual year, while she would no doubt have known the standard Latin texts by rote.

The Office of the Virgin is illustrated by an image of the Annunciation at matins (f. 19r), followed by a series of Passion scenes (e.g., the Entombment illustrated above, ff. 84v–85r) at the minor hours.[4] Such a hybrid cycle is typical of thirteenth-century manuscripts from Liège in the Low Countries. It is also found in the earliest books of hours produced in Paris itself, beginning with the psalter-hours long associated with Isabelle of France, which recent scholarship would reassign to Marie de Brabant, on the occasion of her marriage to Philippe III in 1274. As Brabant is in the diocese of Liège, this royal patronage would explain the artist's adoption of the northern Netherlandish cycle; and emulating this royal innovation, some later Parisian books of hours followed suit.[5]

Following the Passion images in the Hours of the Virgin, the Seven Penitential Psalms, beginning with psalm 6 ("O Lord rebuke me not in thy anger"), petition God for mercy and are introduced by an image of the risen Christ of the Last Judgment. Two swords point toward his face in illustration of Revelation 1:16 "from his mouth issued a sharp two-edged sword."[6]

The French artist's style and compositions place him among the later followers of Master Honoré of Amiens, the most prominent illuminator working in Paris at the end of the thirteenth century.[7] The Boston manuscript finds its closest model in a book of hours in Vienna by Master Honoré's successor, the Master of the Bible Historiale of Jean de Papeleu, who ran the leading Parisian workshop of the period c. 1295–1325.[8] The Boston artist was a less skilled assistant or provincial imitator, to judge by his somewhat less elegant draftsmanship and more wooden figures.[9]

At some point in the fourteenth century, the book was taken to northern Italy and remodeled for use there by a Bolognese artist active during the last quarter of the century.[10] A second calendar was inserted at the beginning and a new Office of the Virgin was added after the original French hours to make the book liturgically appropriate for its Italian owner.[11] The prestige of Parisian Gothic manuscripts was such that they were often brought to Italy and adapted for continuing use there.

Judith Oliver

1 Bennett 2004, 220 notes two Parisian books of hours with laywomen at the Gradual Psalms: Baltimore, Walters Art Mus., Ms. W.97, f. 81 (which she dates to the 1260s, but see L. M. C. Randall 1989, 97–99, no. 41; and Oliver 1990, 11 and fig. 9 dating it to the last quarter of the century); and Nuremberg, StB, Cod. Solger 4.4°, f. 179v by the Honoré shop (Simmons 1994, pl. 39).
2 "Acquisitions" 1922, 28 (misidentified as an English missal); Oliver 1990, 4–17; Stones 2013–14, 1.1:61, 85, and 128, 2.1:122, and 2.2:198.
3 Oliver 1990, 7–8 and 16–17.
4 Betrayal: f. 46v, Christ before Pilate: f. 59r, Flagellation: f. 65r, Christ carrying the Cross: f. 69v, Crucifixion: f. 73v, Deposition: f. 77v, and Entombment: f. 84r.
5 Cambridge, UK, Fitzwilliam Mus., MS 300. Stirnemann 2011, 173–75. The hybrid cycle recurs in Walters Ms. W.97 (see note 1 above) and in Madrid, BNE, ms. Vitr. 23-10 (of late thirteenth-century date). Oliver 1990, 6–7.
6 Oliver 1990, 7.
7 Stones 2013–14, 1.1:61 includes the Boston hours in the Amiens school, the town in which Master Honoré originated, but the liturgy is not that of Amiens.
8 Vienna, ÖNB, Cod. Ser. n. 2596. Oliver 1990, 9–11, figs. 6–7. An unpublished leaf from another book of hours by this shop is in a private Belgian collection (de Kesel, MS. ARDK-89).
9 Oliver 1990, 9–11.
10 De Ricci 1935–40, 2:948; Manzari 2013, 171 and notes 144–46.
11 A number of Italian scribes attempted to adapt the book to Roman use as well by scraping and rewriting texts in matins and adding marginal notes in the minor hours.

101. Book of hours, use of Paris
Luçon Master (illuminator)

Paris, France, c. 1405
Parchment, ff. i (paper) + 169 + iii (paper), 191 x 134 (99 x 56) mm
Harvard University, Houghton Library, MS Richardson 45
Comte de Kerchove de la Deuze, Baron d'Exaerde; Longmans; bought by John Trotter Brockett, c. 1816; his sale (Sotheby's, London, December 1823, lot 2307); bought by Johnstone; Dukes of Newcastle, Clumber sale (Sotheby's, London, December 6, 1937, lot 959; bequest of William K. Richardson, 1951.

f. 1r

The ten large miniatures in this book of hours constitute an enviable collection of beautiful—and characteristic—illuminations by an artist called the Luçon Master.[1] He is named after the fine suite of illuminations in a deluxe pontifical-missal that the bishop of Luçon, Étienne Loypeau, commissioned as a gift for Jean, duc de Berry, around 1405.[2] Loypeau, who was a protégé of the duke, had lived for a time in his household as keeper of reliquaries.

The present manuscript is probably the second half of what was once a glorious book of hours. The manuscript starts with the Office of the Dead, a text that normally appears toward the end of a typical book of hours. Among its other texts, which are no longer in their original sequence, it contains the "Obsecro te," "O intemerata," "Ave mater creatoris," and numerous other Marian devotions; Masses for the Holy Spirit, the Virgin, the Cross, and the Dead; the Hours of the Passion; the Fifteen Joys of the Virgin; and a prayer to the Five Wounds. Added later in the fifteenth century at the end are Eucharistic prayers, a group of suffrages, and a few other miscellaneous devotions. Missing are such major texts like the calendar, Gospel lessons, Hours of the Virgin, Penitential Psalms and litany, Hours of the Cross, and Hours of the Holy Spirit. These missing texts may have featured as many as fifteen miniatures and, in the calendar, twenty-four vignettes of the labors of the months and the signs of the zodiac. What remains in cat. no. 101 appears complete, so it would seem that the original codex was at one time split in half to produce two volumes (the missing half has not come to light).

The Luçon Master was active in Paris from the 1390s to around 1417. He headed a busy workshop: over thirty-five manuscripts have been attributed to him. The miniatures in the Houghton manuscript exhibit all of the Luçon Master's elegant stylistic traits and they compare in quality and execution with those in Loypeau's eponymous pontifical-missal. His figures, with pale faces, are dressed in softly modeled robes; they move gracefully, often in a Gothic sway, against finely tessellated, gilt backgrounds. His palette favors pure, jewel-like colors: pure red, strong orange, deep blue, light pink, and sometimes a solid black. The artist, like his Parisian contemporaries of the International Style, did not concern himself with the depiction of realistic space or deep emotions. Meiss considered the Luçon Master one of the finest illuminators in France of the fertile early fifteenth century, second only to the Limbourg brothers.

The miniature of the Final Absolution (f. 1r) is unusual for its severely restricted palette in which black, gold, and white dominate (the color ranges of the remaining nine miniatures in the book are more typical for the artist). The men's pale faces and half-opened eyes are typical, as are the tessellated background and the green ground suggesting—unnaturally since the scene actually takes place indoors—grass. The artist illustrates a specific, poignant, moment within the medieval funeral service: the conclusion of Final Absolution. After the funeral Mass, which took place on the morning following the night's chanting of the Office of the Dead (see cat. no. 102), the priest would exchange his chasuble for a cope. Circling the bier, he would then offer the dead a final blessing of incense and holy water.[3] In the miniature, these blessings have taken place; the celebrant is ending his prayers. The acolytes are lining up, as the procession that will escort the dead from church to cemetery is about to begin. At the right, the acolyte who will lead the march steadies his processional cross; behind him, another acolyte holds the situla (holy water bucket) and aspergillum (sprinkler) that the priest will use at the graveyard to bless the dead one last time.

Roger S. Wieck

1 Meiss 1956, 193n23; and Meiss 1974, 1:393–97, with MS Richardson 45 cited on 395. Charles Sterling preferred the name "Maître d'Étienne Loypeau"; see Sterling 1987–90, 1:22, 325, 327, 425, 434, 501.

2 Paris, BnF, ms. lat. 8886; Meiss 1974, 1:351–52, 2: figs. 511, 513; and Taburet-Delahaye 2004, 279–80, no. 171, illus. The complete manuscript is on the BnF's *Gallica* site.

3 Wieck 1999.

102. Office of the Dead from a book of hours
Master of Berry's Cleres Femmes (illuminator)

Paris, France, c. 1405–10
Parchment, 1 leaf, 184 x 136 (140 x 84) mm
Museum of Fine Arts, Boston, 1973.691, gift of Mr. John Goelet in honor of Hanns Swarzenski
Parent manuscript sold Sotheby's, London, July 20, 1916, lot 954 to Quaritch; bought by Chester Beatty in 1917; broken up, the present leaf and four miniatures were sold in his sale, Sotheby's, London, December 3, 1968, lot 23; bought by London bookdealer Herbert Bier; sold to John Goelet in 1969.

In any book of hours, the Office of the Dead was, after the Hours of the Virgin, one of the most essential sets of prayers. The Office, which was identical to the text found in the breviary, one of the church's official liturgical books, was prayed to shorten the time one's dead friends and relatives spent in the fires of purgatory. The Office of the Dead was the one devotion within the book of hours with which one prayed for others, not oneself.

The iconographic range for the (usually) single image that marked the start of the Office was rich, with subjects that included Job on the Dung Heap, the Raising of Lazarus, Dives in Hell, and all manner of personifications of Death. Among the most popular, however, were images depicting the various rituals of the medieval funeral, from deathbed to burial.[1] These funerary miniatures offered hope and solace to those praying the Office, for they illustrated the ideal death, that is, one within the bosom of the church and with the benefit of her salvific sacraments. This miniature depicts three clergymen chanting the Office of the Dead from a large antiphonal over the dead (this part of the service took place during the night prior to the morning of the funeral Mass, which was then followed by burial). The corpse, unseen, lies in a coffin that has been draped

with a black pall upon which is stitched a gold cross. A wood catafalque, surrounding the bier, supports burning tapers, as do two large gold candlesticks. Leaning against the wall to the right is a processional cross, which will be used in the morning's procession that will escort the corpse to the graveyard; to the left, stand two mourners dressed in black.

The miniature is by the Master of Berry's *Cleres femmes* or someone close to him; the artist is named after the miniatures he painted in a manuscript of Boccaccio's *Cleres et nobles femmes* received by Jean de Berry in 1404 as a gift from Jean de la Barre, *receveur general des finances*, in Languedoc and Guyenne.[2] The artist, whose busy shop flourished in Paris from around 1403 to 1415, may have trained in Flanders or Germany. His style is characterized by luminous colors, lively figures, and compositions with shallow backgrounds—all features of this miniature.[3] The ivy-leaf border, with its hybrids and bas-de-page landscape with animals, has been attributed to one of the illuminators who contributed decorative borders in Jean de Berry's *Belles Heures*.[4]

The parent manuscript of this miniature was bought by Alfred Chester Beatty (1875–1968) in 1917 and became his Western MS 104.[5] As was sometimes his custom, Beatty extracted the book's miniatures (there were twelve, with possibly three more lacking) and had them framed separately. In 1931, he gave three of the miniatures away and exchanged four others; in 1968, the remaining five were sold following his death.[6]

Roger S. Wieck

1 Wieck 1999.

2 The eponymous manuscript is in Paris, BnF, ms. fr. 598; see Meiss 1974, 1:287–90, 373–75, 2: figs. 6, 73; and Taburet-Delahaye 2004, 264–65, no. 161, illus. Meiss 1974, 1:375, related the present miniature and it four sisters (Christ in Majesty, Crucifixion, Last Judgment, and Virgin and Child in a Garden) to the Master of Berry's *Cleres femmes*. Meiss 1967, 358–59, and Meiss 1974, 1:394 and 397, attributed two other sisters (Pentecost and Coronation of the Virgin) to the Luçon Master. Recently, Mara Hofmann has attributed the Annunciation to the Shepherds to the young Bedford Master (Haincelin of Haguenau?): Sotheby's, London, July 7, 2015, lot 36.

3 Hourihane 2012, 1:319–20.

4 The *Belles Heures* is in New York, Met, The Cloisters Collection, 54.1.1a, b; see Farber 1993; Hofmann 2007; Mara Hofmann's description in Sotheby's, London, July 7, 2015, lot 36; and Kidd 2015b.

5 The manuscript was sold in Sotheby's, London, July 20, 1916, lot 954, to Quaritch.

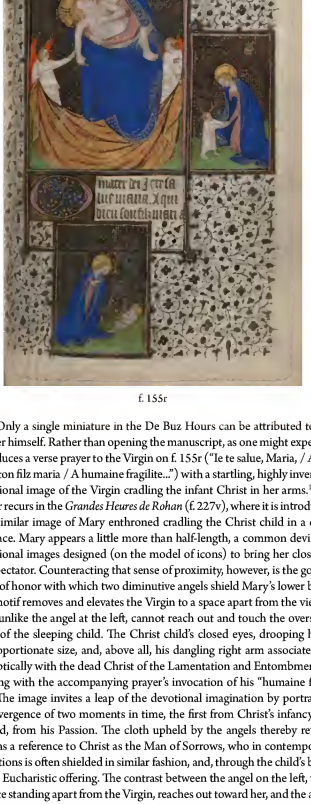
6 The provenance and whereabouts of the twelve miniatures from Beatty's broken Western MS 104 are: 1) Annunciation to the Shepherds: exchanged by Beatty with Abraham Shalom Yahuda (1877–1951), 1931; bought from Eisemann by Herbert Bier and Edmund Schilling, October 31, 1939; sold to Grete Ring, December 29, 1939; Sotheby's, London, December 6, 2001, lot 16; private collection; Sotheby's, London, July 7, 2015, lot 36. 2–4) Adoration of the Magi, Presentation in the Temple, and Flight into Egypt: given by Beatty to Harold K. Hochschild, 1931; given by him to Princeton University Art Museum, 1979 (y1979-36, -37, -38; see Princeton 1980, 61, illus.; Moodey 2000). 5) Coronation of the Virgin: exchanged by Beatty with A. S. Yahuda, 1931; Louis V. Randall (né Ludwig Rosenthal, 1873–1972) of Bern and Montreal, by 1960 (see L. V. Randall 1960, 12–13, illus.; *Europäische Kunst* 1962, 180, no. 162); Jörn Günther 1994, 263–65, no. P, illus.; private collection, Germany. 6) Christ in Majesty: lent by Beatty to the Burlington Fine Arts Club, 1936 (see Mann 1936, 53–54, no. 124); Sotheby's, London, December 3, 1968 (Beatty sale), lot 23C; bought by Maggs; H. Bier; John Goelet; Jörn Günther 2002, 110, no. 31, illus.; private collection, Germany. 7) Crucifixion: lent by Beatty to the Burlington Fine Arts Club, 1936 (see Mann 1936, 53–54, no. 124); Sotheby's, London, December 3, 1968 (Beatty sale), lot 23B; bought by Maggs; H. Bier; J. Goelet; present whereabouts unknown. 8) Pentecost: exchanged by Beatty with A. S. Yahuda, 1931; bought from Eisemann by H. Bier, October 31, 1939; sold to E. Schilling, April 2, 1943; Dr. Francis Springell (1898–1974) and his wife; Sotheby's, London, June 28, 1962, lot 49; bought by Brod; private collection, New York. 9) Virgin and Child in a Garden: lent by Beatty to the Burlington Fine Arts Club, 1936 (see Mann 1936, 53–54, no. 124); Sotheby's, London, December 3, 1968 (Beatty sale), lot 23A; bought by Maggs; H. Bier; J. Goelet; destroyed by fire in Germany, 1998. 10) Last Judgment: lent by Beatty to the Burlington Fine Arts Club, 1936 (see Mann 1936, 53–54, no. 124); Sotheby's, London, December 3, 1968 (Beatty sale), lot 23E; bought by Maggs; H. Bier; J. Goelet; present whereabouts unknown. 11) Chanting the Office of the Dead: lent by Beatty to the Burlington Fine Arts Club, 1936 (see Mann 1936, 53–54, no. 124); Sotheby's, London, December 3, 1968 (Beatty sale), lot 23D; bought by H. Bier; sold to J. Goelet, February 6, 1969; given by him to the MFA 1973 (1973.691; see Levin 1975, 50, no. 12, pl. 61; *Illustrated Handbook* 1976, 198, illus.). 12) St. Margaret with Female Patron: exchanged by Beatty with A. S. Yahuda, 1931; bought from Eisemann by H. Bier and E. Schilling, October 31, 1939; sold to H. E. Schwab, March 1, 1940; Sotheby's, London, December 7, 1992, lot 13; bought by Princeton University Art Museum (y1992-163).

103. Book of hours ("De Buz Hours"), use of Paris
Circle of the Rohan Master (illuminator)

Angers, France, c. 1420–25
Parchment, ff. 197, 233 x 170 (118 x 80) mm
Harvard University, Houghton Library, MS Richardson 42
Antoine de Buz, seigneur de Villemareule, and wife Barbe de Laon, Nogent-l'Artaud (family records, ff. 195r–97r); Quaritch; bought by George C. Thomas, Philadelphia, c. 1900; Rosenbach; bought by William K. Richardson, 1947, his gift, 1948.

With twenty large and forty smaller miniatures as well as a set of calendrical illustrations, the De Buz Hours is by any measure a splendid example of northern French illumination of the first quarter of the fifteenth century. Illuminated in the circle of the itinerant artist known as the Rohan Master after the (added?) coats of arms in the *Grandes Heures de Rohan* (Paris, BnF, ms. lat. 9471), the De Buz Hours, which is named for a sixteenth-century owner, presents a puzzle typical of many manuscripts of the period. On the one hand, it is clearly affiliated with one of the most distinctive artistic personalities in fifteenth-century France; on the other hand, the manuscript's fabric results from a complex

collaboration in which individual artistic personalities are submerged in pursuit of an overall stylistic schema.



f. 155r

Only a single miniature in the De Buz Hours can be attributed to the Master himself. Rather than opening the manuscript, as one might expect, it introduces a verse prayer to the Virgin on f. 155r ("Ie te salue, Maria, / A qui Dieu ton filz maria / A humaine fragilite...") with a startling, highly inventive devotional image of the Virgin cradling the infant Christ in her arms.[1] The prayer recurs in the *Grandes Heures de Rohan* (f. 227v), where it is introduced by a similar image of Mary enthroned cradling the Christ child in a close embrace. Mary appears a little more than half-length, a common device in devotional images designed (on the model of icons) to bring her closer to the spectator. Counteracting that sense of proximity, however, is the golden cloth of honor with which two diminutive angels shield Mary's lower body. The motif removes and elevates the Virgin to a space apart from the viewer, who, unlike the angel at the left, cannot reach out and touch the oversized body of the sleeping child. The Christ child's closed eyes, drooping head, disproportionate size, and, above all, his dangling right arm associate him proleptically with the dead Christ of the Lamentation and Entombment, in keeping with the accompanying prayer's invocation of his "humaine fragilite." The image invites a leap of the devotional imagination by portraying a convergence of two moments in time, the first from Christ's infancy, the second, from his Passion. The cloth upheld by the angels thereby reveals itself as a reference to Christ as the Man of Sorrows, who in contemporary depictions is often shielded in similar fashion, and, through the child's body, to the Eucharistic offering. The contrast between the angel on the left, who, despite standing apart from the Virgin, reaches out toward her, and the angel at the right, who stands so close as to be touching her honorific blue garment, lends the otherwise static image a sense of animation that comes to a head in the kiss exchanged between Mary and her sleeping son. The motif of the sleeping child derives ultimately from Byzantine art, where it is known as the *anapeson* (ἀναπεσών, literally "the reclining one") and refers to the sleeping Christ, awaiting resurrection. The tender kiss, however, is inspired by a passage from the Song of Songs, an important source for the Marian liturgy, chapter 1, verse 2: "Let him kiss me with the kiss of his mouth." Mary's fervent love for her child serves as a proxy for that of the viewer.

No less characteristic of works from the circle of the Rohan Master than the miniature's expressionistic devotional intensity is the sophistication and inventiveness of the overall mise-en-page. Like that at the center, two additional miniatures, both painted by a collaborator, employ a dense tessellated ground of dizzying detail. They depict, on the right, the Virgin teaching the Christ child how to walk (a motif that underscores his humanity in so far as he is just like any other child) and, in the lower margin, the Virgin praying to the newborn child. The Virgin's crossed hands as well as the rays of golden light that radiate from the child's body relate the image to the vision of the Nativity by St. Bridget of Sweden (1303–73), which had a profound effect on Marian iconography. In this image, however, the narrative content is stripped away; all one is left with is an image of devotion comparable to that in which the viewer him- or herself is engaged. In toto, the three miniatures resemble multiple windows on a modern computer; the artist moves them around across the "screen" of the page in varying arrangements. That the bar border framing the text was painted prior to the miniatures can clearly be seen from the way in which it shows through the background of the image in the lower margin. Overlap, however, clearly indicates that the fine rinceaux in the margins, which is characteristic of Parisian books of hours of the early fifteenth century, most notably, the *Belles Heures* of Jean, duc de Berry (New York, Met, The Cloisters Collection, 54.1.1a, b), painted c. 1405 by the Limbourgs (artists on whom the Rohan Master depended for models), was completed only after the miniatures or at least after their frames.

The extraordinary subtlety of the Marian image, the sole image in this book of hours by this particular artist, is of a piece with the most famous inventions by the Rohan Master in the book of hours in Paris for which he is named. The Master's identity, however, remains a mystery and presents among the most challenging issues of connoisseurship in French painting of the fifteenth century.[2] Close examination of the miniature presents these problems in encapsulated form. Whereas the face of the Virgin and the body of the Christ child are modeled with considerable depth, with a layer of green underlying the pinkish surface tones (as in Italian panel painting of the Trecento), the angels, let alone the figures in the two marginal panels, are painted in a more schematic, flatter fashion. On this one page alone, there are clearly two hands at work. Whereas the Madonna can be attributed to the Rohan Master himself, the marginal elements belong to a second hand, one of the two to three assistants who participated in the illumination of the Rohan Hours.

Believed on the basis of liturgical evidence in other books of hours to have started his career in Troyes (Champagne), the Rohan Master appears to have spent a period (c. 1415–20) in Paris before moving on to the Angevin court in Angers. Where the Harvard Hours should be placed within this trajectory is difficult to determine. Although its Paris use suggests, without sealing, an origin in the city, it is generally thought to be the first extant manuscript dating to the artist's residency at the Angevin court in Angers. The stylistic kinship with the Rohan Hours, however, now generally dated c. 1431 on account of its possible creation as a marriage gift, could suggest a somewhat later date.[3]

Jeffrey F. Hamburger

1 Sonet 1956, no. 878, lists only a dozen instances, including the Rohan Hours, to which should be added Vienna, ÖNB, Cod. 1855, f. 214r; see Brayer 1964, 39. For the De Buz Hours, see Panofsky 1949 and Wieck 1983b, 8–9, no. 4, and 117. For the Rohan Hours, see most recently Domínguez Rodríguez, Ruiz, and Docampo 2006, König 2006, König 2013b, and Panayotova 2014.

2 For the state of the question, with discussion of the De Buz Hours, see König 2006, esp. 27 and Panayotova 2014.

3 For the suggested link to the marriage of Yolande of Aragon's children in 1431, see Avril 1975, 47–48.

104. Book of hours, use of Paris

Paris (?), France, c. 1420–30
Parchment, ff. 196, 200 x 142 (93–95 x 58–59) mm
Massachusetts Institute of Technology, Institute Archives and Special Collections, BX2080.P375 1420z
Gift of I. Austin Kelly III, former curator of rare books at MIT, in honor of Professor William N. Locke, director of libraries.

f. 169r

All of the variable texts of the MIT hours are written for use in Paris. That the book was most likely made there as well is supported by the style of its twelve half-page illuminations.

Although the painter has not yet been identified in other manuscripts, he appears to be a late follower of the Virgil Master, a Parisian illuminator active in the late fourteenth century and first two decades of the fifteenth century who takes his name from a copy of Virgil's *Eclogues*, *Georgics*, and *Aeneid* dated 1403 in the Bibliotheca Medicea Laurenziana in Florence (ms. Med. Pal. 69).[1] Like his contemporary the Luçon Master, the Virgil Master hoods his figures' eyes with heavy upper lids, with the result that the two illuminators' hands can easily be confused. But while the former painter favors markedly round heads, the latter's heads, like those in the MIT hours, are narrower and more elongated.

The most unusual depiction in cat. no. 104 is that which introduces the Fifteen Joys of the Virgin (f. 169r). There, within an immured garden (*hortus conclusus*), the seated Virgin points at the three-wheeled walker on which the baby Jesus stands, his feet on the axle and his hands on the handlebar.[2] Two standing angels propel or steady the walker by grasping the ends of the handlebar while a third, encouraging angel crouches in front of the walker's foremost wheel. The hiding of that wheel gives the front brace and handlebar of the walker the appearance of a crucifix and thereby seems proleptically to allude to Jesus's future sacrifice.[3]

Although probably by the same illuminator, the Annunciation in cat. no. 104 is distinguished by its exceptionally refined execution (f. 27r). The carefully painted physiognomies of Gabriel and the Virgin Annunciate, the beautifully tooled burnished-gold backdrop, and the enclosing acanthus-and-rinceaux border have no rivals within the codex.[4] A similar mixture of marginal flora surround three of the seventeen large illuminations in an hours painted in Paris between about 1410 and 1415 by the ps.-Jacquemart.[5]

Gregory T. Clark

1 For the Virgil Master, see Meiss 1974, 1:408–12, and Taburet-Delahaye 2004, 299–300 and passim.
2 In the celebrated book of hours painted about 1440 for Catherine of Cleves, Duchess of Guelders, the baby Jesus uses a four-wheeled walking frame to move on his own through the Holy Family's living room at the Saturday Hours of the Virgin at sext (New York, PML, MS M.917, p. 149; illustrated in color in Dückers and Priem 2009, 341). A child, often identified as the infant Savior, pushes a three-wheeled walker along all by himself on a panel by Hieronymus Bosch of about 1500 in Vienna (Kunsthistorisches Museum, 6429; reproduced in color in Koldeweij, Vandenbroeck, and Vermet 2001, 74, ill. 63a). For both three- and four-wheeled late medieval walking frames for children, see Willemsen 2001, 193–94.
3 For the proleptic Passion, see Acres 2013; Acres discusses the Bosch panel in Vienna (see note 2 above) on 76.
4 The Gothic loggia behind the figures on f. 27r invites comparison with the tabernacle housing the children of Israel painted by the Virgil Master between about 1400 and 1405 in a *Bible historiale* owned by Jean, duc de Berry (Paris, B. Arsenal, ms. 5057, f. 77r; reproduced in color in Taburet-Delahaye 2004, 267).
5 Jörn Günther 2008, no. 14. The three folios in the Günther hours are 43r (Visitation), 52r (Nativity), and 57r (Annunciation to the Shepherds).

105. Book of hours, use of Paris
Master of Morgan 453 (illuminator)

Paris, France, c. 1450–55
Parchment, ff. 161, 200 x 143 (92 x 62) mm
Harvard University, Houghton Library, MS Typ 32[1]
Francisco Vindel (Barcelona); sold in 1930 to William Inglis Morse, his gift, 1943.

f. 70r

In 1982, John Plummer ascribed the illuminations in this codex to the Master of Morgan 453. Named after a Paris hours in the Morgan Library, the artist worked in the late 1410s and 1420s alongside an impressive number of major and minor Parisian illuminators, usually but not always in an assisting role. In contrast to his collaborators, the Master of Morgan 453 rarely aped the compositions of others and almost never recycled his own. Even his palette changed from manuscript to manuscript.

In the 1430s, his creativity seemingly beginning to flag, the Master migrated to Amiens, where Parisian émigrés had introduced his inventions already by the early 1420s. Probably sometime in the 1440s he returned to Paris, where he painted his last known miniatures, the fourteen in the present hours. The strong resemblance of its floral borders to those in a Paris hours of about 1460 by the Jean Rolin II Master (Geneva, BGE, Comites Latentes 11) suggests that the Houghton codex was made sometime in the 1450s.

A majority of the figure types, landscape elements, and decorative details in the fourteen Harvard paintings are entirely typical of the Master of Morgan 453; the tender visual exchange between mother and son in the Flight into Egypt (f. 70r) is especially characteristic. That said, four features distinguish the Houghton miniatures from all of the artist's other works. One is the favoring of spartan compositions that exclude all figures not absolutely required by the narrative. Another is the setting into landscapes of at least four subjects usually depicted partly or entirely indoors. A third is the frequent harking back to late fourteenth- and early fifteenth-century compositional models. The fourth and last is the excessive and unnatural symmetry that mars a number of the Harvard compositions.

That compositional minimalism and the deeper landscape settings in cat. no. 105 suggest that the mature Master was seeking to pass naturalistic muster in the midst of a younger generation of illuminators for whom the achievements of the southern Netherlandish *ars nova* were increasingly second nature.

Gregory T. Clark

1 Bond and Faye 1962, 254; Wieck 1983b, 16–17, no. 7; Wieck 1983a, 190–91, fig. 3; G. Clark 1988, 7–24, 206–9, figs. 1–14; G. Clark 2016, 160–71, 181–83 passim, figs. 65–78.

ff. 154v–55r

106. Book of hours ("Connolly Hours"), use of Paris

Paris, France, 1490s
Parchment, ff. i (parchment glued to paper) + 158 (last glued to paper), 155 x 105 (94 x 57) mm
Boston College, John J. Burns Library, MS.1986.097

The craze for books of hours, which began in the mid-thirteenth century, reached its peak in the late fifteenth and early sixteenth centuries. Starting around 1485, Parisian printers began supplying printed books of hours to a new market (see cat. no. 114). Producers of the handwritten and hand-painted book of hours, always considered a more upscale product, continued to fight for their share of the market by producing manuscripts, the texts of which they codified and the images for which they streamlined.

The Connolly Hours (so named after Boston College librarian Terence Connolly) is a characteristic example of a late Parisian book of hours commissioned by a bourgeois customer who, shunning printed editions, wanted a codex with cachet. It contains all the traditional devotions and customary kinds of illustrations.[1] The only slight exception is the image at the start of the Penitential Psalms, where we find David chastened by Nathan instead of the more common David in Prayer or David spying on Bathsheba. The paucity of female saints in the suffrages (there are only two, Catherine and Barbara) might indicate that the original owner was an unmarried man.[2]

The style of the miniatures is typical of illumination for the middle market; it derives from that of the Parisian artist called the Master of Jacques de Besançon.[3] The palette employs royal blue, rose, salmon pink, and muted greens and grays; gold is used for highlights. The manuscript is most effective visually in the suffrages. Although the miniatures of the saints themselves are small, the borders of these folios are decorated on three sides with the era's typical gold-and-blue acanthus juxtaposed with areas of flowers painted on shell gold. These floral areas come in all different shapes; those on the border framing the image of St. Nicholas (f. 154v) appear like angled stripes; those opposite, on the border framing St. Barbara (f. 155r), are circular. It is the medieval equivalent of juxtaposing polka dots with paisley!

Roger S. Wieck

1 Sullivan and Valette 1999 discuss the texts and reproduce all the miniatures; the complete codex is on the John J. Burns Library website.
2 There are seven male saints in the suffrages. If the original owner had been married (or intended to), he might have at least included a suffrage to Margaret, patron saint for a safe birth.
3 Avril and Reynaud 1993, 256–62.

107. Book of hours, use of Rennes

Brittany (?), France, c. 1427
Parchment, ii + ff. 163 + ii, 230 x 150 (110 x 82) mm
Boston Public Library, MS q Med. 81 (formerly Ms. 1489)
Thomas, Lord of Guémadeuc and Québriac, and his wife Jacquemine de Beaumanoir, by 1582; Françoise de Vollant, wife of René de la Bintinaye, by 1639; by gift to one Monsieur de Bel Air; Jeanne Françoise [Maclovie] de Carman, dame du Ferron and de [Quienge] by 1761; Monsieur Marie Ange-Toussaint Placide de Ferron, June 24, 1815; [possible sale by A. Rosenthal, December 1939]; purchased by BPL April 10, 1940.

f. 143r

As tangible signs of familial wealth, status, and legacy, costly books of hours were often commissioned as marriage gifts and bequeathed to daughters.[1] Whereas the particular diocesan use of books of hours can often be identified from the calendars and prayers, it is sometimes more difficult to ascertain commissioners and owners or their place of production. Not only are scribal colophons and inscriptions usually absent, the itinerancy of anonymous illuminators complicates attribution, particularly in the duchy of Brittany, where princely and urban scriptoria are not as well established and documented as elsewhere. This manuscript's owner, however, can be identified from inscriptions recording births and marriages, the coats of arms (*mi parti, d'azur, trois fleurs-de-lis argent; d'argent à trois jumelles de gueules mises en band*), and the inscribed initial *M* on f. 143r as Marguerite de Fontenay, wife of Thomas de Québriac (d. 1472).[2] In 1427, the seigniorial domain of Chasné passed from the Fontenay to the Québriac family, very possibly by marriage alliance, thus providing circumstantial evidence for the manuscript's date; a plausible ante quem is 1436 when Thomas de Québriac remarried.[3] Another border shield represents the combined arms of the Fontenay and Rostrenen families (*mi parti, d'argent à trois jumelles de gueules mises en bande; d'hermine à deux fasces de gueules*), attesting to a familial alliance.

Illuminated by two artists working in the artistic traditions of the Egerton Master and the Rohan Master, the manuscript's pictorial program suggests familiarity with Parisian court illumination, whereas the artists' figural style hints at a Netherlandish origin.[4] Facial features are delicately painted with large eyelids and high foreheads. Human figures are most often placed against colorful backdrops of tessellated tiles, gold-scroll arabesques and diamonds and, less frequently, in rudimentary landscapes. François Avril has linked the two artists to a Breton book of hours for the use of Saint-Brieuc (Paris, BnF, ms. nouv. acq. lat. 3194; c. 1420) and an unfinished *Bible historiale*, written at Châteaubriant (Paris, BnF, ms. fr. 163; dated 1417) and notes stylistic affinities to the Egerton Master, who worked in early fifteenth-century Paris.[5]

The Mass of St. Gregory on f. 143r represents the moment at which the saint is said to have seen Christ as the Eucharistic Man of Sorrows. A noblewoman—representing the manuscript's owner, Marguerite de Fontenay—kneels in prayer, accompanied by the archangel Michael. The elaborate architectural setting with its exterior arches, rosettes, and pinnacles, not unlike the Sainte-Chapelle in Paris, might suggest the now dismantled Québriac family chapel. In its architectural conception, it is similar to the composition in a book of hours illuminated in Angers by the Rohan Master and associates (Cambridge, UK, Fitzwilliam Mus., MS 62, f. 141v; c. 1417–18).

Atypically, no prayers accompany the Mass of St. Gregory illumination in cat. no. 107; elsewhere, the subject is often paired with the Seven Verses of St. Gregory or prayers of indulgence. Diffusion of the St. Gregory iconography has been tied to the system of indulgences, which the saint is said to have offered to repentant pilgrims who recited five *Pater nosters* and five *Ave Marias* before the Man of Sorrows image in the Church of Sta. Croce in Rome.[6] The miniature of St. Gregory functioned as a vehicle for visual contemplation before which one recited prayers and asked for forgiveness. Lay viewers may also have considered the devotional image as an aid in gaining entrance to heaven or, given the nature of the prayers to which it often was attached, for diminishing the time spent in purgatory by the family members for whose salvation they prayed.[7]

Diane Booton

1 Wieck 1988.
2 The Québriac coat of arms was first identified by Funke 1957; the Fontenay coat of arms by Booton 2004, and the individual by Deuffic 2009. For further details and illustrations, see Bond and Faye 1962, no. 81; Plummer 1982, no. 33; Netzer 2006, no. 8. Early BPL publications may refer to this manuscript: Haraszti 1955, 121; Oldham 1957, 14.
3 From an *aveu*, dated 1435 (Nantes, Archives Départementales de Loire-Atlantique, B 1386). In 1436, Thomas de Québriac married Jeanne de Montbourcher (d. 1461), thus we assume that his first wife Marguerite died prior to this date. See Deuffic 2009, 86n8.
4 Booton 2005 and 2010, König 1983.
5 Avril and Reynaud 1993, 175; Sclafer 1994, 33–36.
6 Lewis 1992.
7 Schiller 1971, 1:227.

108. Book of hours, use of Rome
Workshop of Jean Colombe (illuminator)

Bourges, France, c. 1475–80
Parchment, ff. 147, 116 x 88 (64 x 45) mm
Harvard University, Houghton Library, MS Typ 464
Adriana Raphael Salem; gift of Mr. and Mrs. Ward M. Canaday, 1964.

This book of hours was illuminated in the workshop of Jean Colombe, one of the most prolific illuminators in the second half of the fifteenth century. Between Tours as a rising center of manuscript production in the Loire region during the reign of Louis XI and the growing importance of Lyons in eastern France around 1500, Bourges in central France became a crossroad of artistic exchange after 1460.

f. 5v

The incomplete manuscript contains five miniatures in full color, six in grisaille (like that on f. 5v showing the Martyrdom of St. Catherine) and four in camaïeu d'or, framed with four-sided compartment borders populated by little birds, grotesque figures, and huntsmen with their dogs. Whereas the five miniatures in full color have been partly repainted, those in camaïeu d'or react to Jean Fouquet's innovative experiments with this technique both in enamel and illumination.[1] Jean Colombe used this technique already early in his career, but cat. no. 108 is the only known manuscript where he alternated it with grisaille for the large miniatures.[2]

The patron's quadripartite coat of arms appears several times in the margins of the picture pages, but has subsequently been overpainted. On f. 7r he is shown in full armor kneeling in front of St. Gerald of Aurillac, a knight who founded a Benedictine monastery after turning blind. One of the surviving suffrages, placed at the beginning of the manuscript during a later rearrangement, is dedicated to Eutropius of Saintes who was also venerated in Clermont-Ferrand and supports the attribution to an Auvergnate patron. Whereas the decorated initials are typical for a book of hours produced in the Colombe workshop around 1480–85, the marginal figures point toward an earlier dating.[3] The Visitation (f. 1r) and the Annunciation (f. 9r) repeat compositions from Colombe's early masterpiece, the hours of Louis de Laval (Paris, BnF, ms. lat. 920), begun around 1468, whereas others belong to the common repertoire of later manuscripts. It therefore seems possible that cat. no. 108 was made when Colombe's workshop worked on Louis de Laval's manuscript for a second time.[4]

Christine Seidel

1 Notably the round enamels that Fouquet made for the frame of the Melun diptych (today all but one, the self-portrait of the artist in the Musée du Louvre, OA 56, are considered lost). Gauthier 1972, 306–8 proposed that the technique emulates reverse painting on glass used in Byzantium and Italy during the late Roman and medieval period, see also Avril 2003, 131–37, no. 9. In the hours of Etienne Chevalier (Chantilly, Mus. Condé, ms. 71), Fouquet used camaïeu techniques to decorate initials as well as to imitate bronze reliefs along the lower edge of marble pedestals, see Reynaud 2006, nos. 10, 31, 32, 36, 38, 39, and 43.

2 Jean Colombe's calendar miniatures in the Raguier (?)-Robertet Hours (New York, PML, MS M.834, ff. 1r–12v) imitate round bronze reliefs; the manuscript was begun by Fouquet probably for Antoine Raguier between 1460–65, according to Schaefer 1994, 232–36, and finished by Colombe for Jean Robertet around 1465–70, see Avril 2003, 252–58, no. 28.

3 Other books of hours with the same style of initial decoration are Florence, BML, ms. Med. Pal. 241; Laon, Bm, ms. 243t; and London, BL, Harley MS. 5328. The full-colored huntsmen are comparable to the marginal figures in New York, PML, MS M.248, a book of hours begun in Angers and finished by Jean Colombe, see Plummer 1982, 41–42, no. 54. The illuminator responsible for the marginal decoration in cat. no. 108 was a workshop assistant who most likely also illuminated Baltimore, Walters Art Mus., Ms. W.319, a *Compendium historial* from c. 1470 copied after a manuscript illuminated by the Coëtivy Master (Paris, BnF, ms. fr. 730), see L. M. C. Randall 1992, 251–55, no. 153.

4 On Paris, BnF, ms. lat. 920, and the different stages of execution see Avril 1993, 328–32, no. 179.

109. Book of hours ("Habert du Berry d'Artois-Hoe Hours"), use of Sens and Troyes
Master of the Troyes Missal (illuminator)

Troyes, France, c. 1470
Parchment, ff. i + 237, 266 x 184 (120 x 83) mm
Harvard University, Houghton Library, MS Richardson 7
Habert du Berry d'Artois family; E. V. Utterson; his sale (Sotheby's, London, April 19, 1852, lot 1218); to Pickering; J.-J. Techener, 1860; William Bragge, his sale (Sotheby's, London, June 7, 1876, lot 98); to Quaritch; W. H. Crawford, his sale (Sotheby's, London, March 12, 1891, lot 1542); to Quaritch; Robert Hoe, his sale (Anderson, New York, January 8–12, 1912, lot 2475); bequest of William K. Richardson, 1951.

f. 17r

The illumination of this thick, handsome book of hours is lush. The front and back of all its leaves are embellished with intricate foliate borders set within wide margins of luxuriously blank parchment. The Hours of the Cross, instead of the traditional single image of

the Crucifixion, is treated to seven large miniatures, to the first of which, the Betrayal, are added four border vignettes of the Agony in the Garden, Christ before Annas, Christ before Caiaphas, and the Apostles. The Annunciation for the Hours of the Virgin, too, is treated with four border vignettes plus a historiated opening initial. Reading counter-clockwise and chronologically, the images tell the story of the Virgin's miraculous conception and early life: Joachim Praying, Meeting at the Golden Gate, Birth of the Virgin, Virgin Weaving, and the Marriage of the Virgin. The illumination is by Master of the Troyes Missal, the leading illuminator working in Champagne during the third quarter of the fifteenth century.

One of the most unusual features of the manuscript is the fact that the majority of its texts were translated into rhyming French verse.[1] It is worth quoting the beginning of the Penitential Psalms, psalm 6 ("Domine ne in furore tuo arguas me…"), as a sample of these verses:

> Dieu en ton iugement
> arguer ne me vueilles,
> ne pugnir aigrement,
> ne mes torfaiz recueillez.
> Se pitié de moy as,
> qui sens toy nay santé,
> mes os tu gariras,
> qui fort sont tourmenté.[2]

The litany is also in French. What in Latin is a simple invocation of the saint's name alone has been elaborated into a rhyming quatrain. Thus the invocation to St. Louis begins:

> Saint Loys qui fus roy de Fra(n)ce,
> qui par purté et innocence,
> as acquis souverainne gloire,
> envers Dieu nous soyes adiutoire.[3]

The Master of the Troyes Missal is named after his masterpiece, a huge missal of over 375 folios that he illuminated around 1460 for a church in that city.[4] As seen in the eponymous missal—and in the present book of hours—the Troyes Missal Master's style, while deriving from that of the Bedford Master (which dominated manuscript illumination in northern France from the early fifteenth century to around 1460) was quite distinct. His figures have sloped, angular faces with jutting jaws and drooping, half-lidded eyes (while the Virgin will often get a high bulbous forehead). His old men are often bearded and frowning. Landscapes are deep, with vertiginous rock formations, while his architecture is on a dollhouse scale. He has a penchant for busily patterned fabrics. Many of these elements can be seen in the miniature of St. Luke painting the Virgin (f. 17r). A book of hours similar in layout to the present volume, with lush borders throughout but with only eight large miniatures, was acquired by the Médiathèque in Troyes in 2003.[5]

This luxurious book of hours, as well as other works painted by the Master of the Troyes Missal, serves as a reminder that high-quality illumination was not just executed in France's capital alone.

Roger S. Wieck

1 In French verse in the manuscript are the Hours of the Cross, Hours of the Holy Spirit, Hours of the Virgin, Penitential Psalms and litany, "Obsecro te" and "O intemerata," suffrages, and some of the prayers on ff. 183r–99v. Remaining in Latin are the Gospel lessons, John's Passion, and the Office of the Dead.

2 Folio 127r–v: "God when you judge me / do not deny me / nor punish me sorely / nor keep account of my faults. / If you have pity on me / who, without you, cannot be blessed / you will heal my bones / which are terribly tormented."

3 Folio 142v: "St. Louis who was king of France / who by purity and innocence / has acquired great glory / be my intercessor with God."

4 Paris, BnF, ms. lat. 865A; Avril and Reynaud 1993, 182–83, no. 97, illus.; Avril, Hermant, and Bibolet 2007, 126, no. 21A, illus.; the complete codex is on the BnF's *Gallica* site. Although he did not name him, Plummer first grouped the artist's work when MS Richardson 7 was lent to the Morgan exhibition *The Last Flowering*; see Plummer 1982, 60, no. 79, pl. 79.

5 Troyes, Bm, ms. 3897; Avril, Hermant, and Bibolet 2007, 134, no. 23, illus.; it was bought in London, Christie's, November 19, 2003, lot 22. Another book of hours, smaller and with less ornate borders but with fourteen miniatures, was sold in Troyes, Ivoire, October 17, 2014, lot 325.

110. Book of hours, use of Rome
Master of the Burgundian Prelates (illuminator)

Probably Dijon, France, c. 1485, with additions from the 1520s
Parchment, ff. vi (paper) + 131 + iv (paper), 201 x 150 (106 x 68) mm
Harvard University, Houghton Library, MS Lat 249
Bequest of Charles Sumner, 1874.

f. 14v

This fine book of hours was painted by the Master of the Burgundian Prelates, one of the most eccentric and original illuminators of the late fifteenth century. Nicole Reynaud baptized the artist in 1975 after a group of manuscripts he illuminated for several powerful church officials in the Burgundian towns of Langres, Dijon, and Autun.[1] Since that time, his œuvre has grown.[2] The miniatures in this book are painted with his characteristic light blue and green (e.g., John the Baptist, f. 14v), deep raspberry, gold, and plum. The artist's playful side appears in the miniature of John on Patmos (f. 15v), where two bare trees suggest the frame of the miniature, whose space otherwise flows uninterrupted into the surrounding border.

In the 1520s, the manuscript was slightly remodeled by Claude Chisseret, wife of Arnoulet Machéco (a prominent Dijonais family). At the front of the book she added a portrait of herself kneeling before the Virgin and Child with St. Bernard (who stands behind her as her patron) receiving Mary's lactation (f. 1r). Obviously proud, as François Avril

observed, of joining such an illustrious family, Claude added at the back of the book an elaborate heraldic family tree detailing the alliances of the Machécos with other Burgundian families (f. 131v). These additions were painted by Oudot (or Odot) Matuchet, an artist documented in Dijon from 1516 to 1533.[3]

The original manuscript contains an uncommon text, the Hours of the Blessed Sacrament (ff. 29–32). It was included because the original patron, no doubt a resident of Dijon or the area, was a devotee of the Sacred Bleeding Host that was housed in the city's Sainte-Chapelle. This miraculous communion wafer had been given by Pope Eugenius IV to Duke Philip the Good of Burgundy in 1433; he installed it in the chapel adjacent to his ducal palace in the center of town. Soon after, it became the focus of an intense cult, which endured until the Host's destruction by French Revolutionaries in 1794.[4] In the manuscript, the Hours of the Blessed Sacrament are illustrated with three scenes specific to the Sacred Host. In the main miniature, a priest holds a monstrance containing the Bleeding Host—the artist has carefully indicated the wafer's distinct embossed image. The priest stands beneath a canopy, which hints at the preeminent role that the Host played in the city's Corpus Christi processions. Below is an image of Pope Eugenius presenting a box containing the Host to kneeling representatives of the duke. At the right, a Jew desecrates the Host by stabbing it repeatedly, causing it to bleed. Eugenius's letter to Duke Philip that accompanied the Host in 1433 had informed him that the wafer had been brutally abused by someone with a knife. The transformation of this abuser into a Jew in the Houghton manuscript (the earliest such evidence for this particular cult object) follows the medieval trope that communion wafers that bled did so as the result of Jewish desecration.[5]

Roger S. Wieck

1 Reynaud 1975.
2 Plummer 1982, 75–76, nos. 97–98, pls. 97–98; Avril and Reynaud 1993, 393–97, nos. 222–25, illus. The artist's most bizarre—but delightfully so—work has only recently come to light, the Hours of Gabriel de Chabannes; see König 2013a, 1:277–98, no. 13, illus.; the book had been sold in part 3 of the Arcana Collection in London, Christie's, July 6, 2011, lot 22.
3 Avril 2011–12, 17–18, illus., with discussion and illustration of the Houghton manuscript.
4 For the Sacred Bleeding Host of Dijon, see Wieck 2007b; Wieck 2007c; Izbicki 2010; Rudy 2015b, 249–54, figs. 234–38; and Wieck 2014a, 72–78, nos. 57–63, illus.
5 Interestingly, it is to the artist of Claude Chisseret's additions to the Houghton manuscript, Oudot Matuchet, that many of the surviving images of the Sacred Bleeding Host can be attributed; see Avril 2011–12, 13–14 illus.; Wieck 2014a, 73–74, nos. 58–59, illus.

111. Book of hours, use of Rome
Workshop of Jean Poyer (illuminator)

Tours, France, c. 1500
Parchment, ff. ii (modern parchment) + 79 (pp. 5–162) + ii (modern parchment), 186 x 115 (130 x 64) mm
Harvard University, Houghton Library, MS Typ 614[1]
Gift of Mrs. William S. Spaulding, 1976.

p. 48

The story of the infancy of Christ is the most common cycle of illustrations for the Hours of the Virgin. In this book of hours, however, it has been replaced with scenes from the Passion of Christ. This alternative was popular in manuscripts produced in fifteenth-century England, Flanders, and the Netherlands, but is rarely found in books of hours made in France. In this example, matins opens with the Tree of Jesse (p. 13), but the hours of lauds through compline are illustrated with events from the Passion, notably the Betrayal (p. 31), Flagellation (p. 43), Crowning with Thorns (p. 48), Ecce Homo (p. 53), Pilate washing his hands (p. 58), the Carrying of the Cross (p. 63), and the Crucifixion (p. 71). The Tree of Jesse at the beginning of the Hours of the Virgin faces a miniature of St. John on Patmos (p. 12). The diptych-like opening, however, is unintentional, the accidental result of the missing Gospel readings.

Equally unusual is the miniature with the Temptation of Adam and Eve (p. 84), which appears at the end of the short Office of the Virgin for Advent and fills the remaining space at the end of the text. The Temptation originally faced a miniature at the beginning of the Penitential Psalms, which is now missing. The Hours of the Cross and the Holy Spirit open respectively with the Deposition of Christ (p. 102, instead of the Crucifixion, which occurs already at compline in the Hours of the Virgin) and Pentecost (p. 106). The Raising of Lazarus (p. 110), the last full-page miniature in the manuscript, introduces the Office of the Dead.

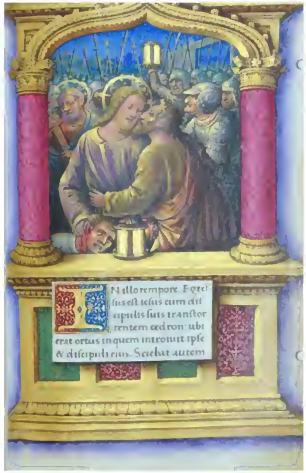
This richly illuminated book of hours was painted by the workshop of Jean Poyer of Tours (*fl.* c. 1485–1503), a painter who rivaled Jean Bourdichon for royal and courtly patronage during the reigns of Louis XI (1461–83), Charles VIII (1483–98), and Louis XII (1498–1515). The main openings in this book of hours have colorful miniatures set into golden picture frames or architectural settings that contrast with the dark marbled grounds. The illusionistic imitation of small panel paintings proved popular especially in the generation after Jean Fouquet, who explored so

many novel pictorial concepts in France around the middle of the fifteenth century.

Although the decoration of the manuscript appears homogenous, it is the work of two different artists. The signs of the zodiac and labors of the months in the calendar and the full-page miniature of St. John on Patmos were painted by an illuminator who painted a book of hours in Budapest (NSZL, Cod. Lat. 225), another in Oxford (Keble Coll., MS 23), and a single miniature in Paris from yet a third (Paris, BnF, ms. lat. 1374, f. 144r). The compositions reflect the artist's close knowledge of Jean Poyer, but his execution is much less refined and more comparable to local illumination in late fifteenth-century Tours. The other twelve full-page miniatures and the twelve small miniatures for the suffrages are more intimately linked to the work of Jean Poyer. Characteristic are slender figures with finely modeled heads, and an overall sensitivity for depth and color. Most impressive in this manuscript is an almost theatrical chiaroscuro, with figures in the foreground dressed in dark blue, crimson, and purple colors that contrast with the much darker and limited tones in the background. These miniatures are similar in style and execution to those in the Hours of Henry III (Krakow, Bibl. Czartor., MS. 3020). Both manuscripts experiment with unusual iconographies and are painted in a style that imitates Poyer's achievements from the 1490s. A single leaf of the Raising of Lazarus (Sotheby's, London, July 5, 2005, lot 20) has the same composition as the miniature in the Houghton hours, is painted in a similar style, and employs a similar architectural frame. These works represent the more routine production of Poyer's workshop, and the shop may have prolonged this style even beyond the turn of the century, when Poyer and his closest collaborators were experimenting with more advanced solutions.

Mara Hofmann

1 *Houghton Library Report* 1980, 1; Wieck 1983a, 197, fig. 9; Wieck 1983b, no. 20; Avril 1984, 367 (MS Typ 614 cited incorrectly as MS Typ 617); Backhouse 1987, 231n50; Avril and Reynaud 1993, 313; Hofmann 2004, 54–55, 85–86, figs. 201–3; Stoneman 2006, no. 26.



p. 22

p. 115

112. Book of hours, use of Rome
Jean Bourdichon (illuminator)

Tours, France, c. 1515–20
Parchment, ff. iv + 1 (heavy parchment folio marked "i") + 2 (bifolium with eighteenth-century title page, p. 1) + 254 (pp. 2–256) + ff. ii, 165 x 105 (112 x 55) mm
Isabella Stewart Gardner Museum, 6.T.1
Given by Henry Englefield, sixth Baronet to his second wife Catherine Buck; William Pitt, London, his sale, June 20, 1808, lot 842; sold to Henry Charles Englefield, seventh Baronet, dispersed with the Englefield library after his death in 1822; purchased by Isabella Stewart Gardner from Consiglio Ricchetti in Venice, August 12, 1890.

This splendid, jewel-like book, currently disbound to allow for its conservation, typifies the richly decorated books of hours used by wealthy laypeople toward the end of the Middle Ages.[1] Its illustrations are particularly refined, but its textual content is largely representative of such books, which were created in the tens of thousands from the late thirteenth century onward. Aside from prayers added in a later, Italian hand (pp. 252–55), the text is of a uniform, humanistic minuscule script quite unusual for French manuscripts of the period.[2] The elaborately framed miniatures, lush and polished compositions executed in a cool palette, are the work of Jean Bourdichon (1457–1521), one of France's leading painters and illuminators at the turn of the sixteenth century.[3] Together, these particularities of script and decoration point to the work having been produced for an Italophile patron with close links to the French royal court, early in the reign of King Francis I.

This book's fourteen large miniatures mark the habitual textual divisions, with a further twenty-six small miniatures accompanying the Gospel sequences and suffrages. Many of the miniatures exhibit half- or three-quarter-length figures brought radically close to the picture plane, an example of the so-called dramatic close-up effect that has long been associated with Bourdichon.[4] In the Arrest of Christ (p. 22), the sense of proximity is heightened by the lantern Malchus places precariously on the sill of the ogee-arched frame. In the Crucifixion (p. 115) and Pentecost (p. 121, see Foreword in this volume), notches in the entablatures creatively accommodate important details. No two surrounds are identical, though all are elaborately inlaid with purple, red, and green marble panels ornamented with sprays of gold vinework. The mauve shadows that set the compositions in relief above the surface of the page, known as shredding, are derived from Veneto-Paduan illumination that Bourdichon had come to know during the previous decade.

While its original intended recipient is unknown, the book's miniatures display close parallels to several works from the final years of Bourdichon's activity, and can thus be dated with a fair degree of certainty. Comparable works include the central portion of a book of hours now in the Morgan Library & Museum, New York, which has recently been associated with a 1518 payment to the painter on behalf of the French king,[5] as well as a magnificent book of hours now housed at Waddesdon Manor.[6] Although both these books are of a larger format, they share the inventive gold and marble architectural frames that demarcate the large miniatures in the present example. While the larger books contain magnificent floral borders reminiscent of those found in Bourdichon's masterpiece, *Les Grandes Heures d'Anne de Bretagne* of c. 1503–08,[7] the bare margins found in a book otherwise rich with miniatures suggest that such ornament was perhaps restricted to patrons in the immediate royal circle or was simply contrary to the taste of the book's owner.

This book demonstrates the ongoing appeal of the handwritten and illuminated book of hours amongst the highest circles of European society, even as printed editions, published in large numbers in Paris and other centers from the 1480s onward, came to dominate the commercial market. During this time, the city of Tours, where Bourdichon spent his entire career serving as *valet de chambre* and *peintre et enlumineur du roy*, maintained its status as a provider of luxury goods for the French court. From there, Bourdichon and his contemporaries Jean Poyer (cat. no. 111) and the Master of Claude de France (cat. no. 113) successfully served the needs of the nobility and the upper bourgeoisie.[8] Answering to their desire for Italianate detailing, the illusionistic frames that surround the miniatures in the present book announce the status of the images they contain as autonomous artworks akin to miniature altarpieces. Simultaneously, the lack of any marginal ornamentation signals a break from established convention, and heralds a new approach to the page as a vehicle for images neatly segregated from the text.

Nicholas Herman

1 The binding recently removed dates to 1969. Its covers were sewn too tightly, preventing the book from being opened without over-flexing the pages and endangering the illuminations.

2 On the late development of humanistic script in France, see H-J. Martin 2000.

3 On Bourdichon's career see, most recently, Herman 2014.

4 This term, adapted from cinematography, was first applied to images of this period, including those by Bourdichon, in Ringbom 1965.

5 MS M.732. See Herman 2015, with previous bibliography.

6 MS 20. See Delaissé, Marrow, and De Wit 1977, 416–45.

7 Paris, BnF, ms. lat. 9474.

8 For Jean Poyer see Hofmann 2004. For the Master of Claude de France, with references to the recent discovery of his name, see Wieck 2014b.

113. Prayer book for holy week of Antoine de La Barre

Master of Claude de France (illuminator)

Tours, France, c. 1518–20
Parchment, ff. i (paper) + 63 + i (paper), 189 x 125 (109 x 67) mm
Harvard University, Houghton Library, MS Typ 252
H. Harvey Frost; sold by Maggs, London, 1952; deposited by Philip Hofer, 1967, his bequest, 1984.

THIS PRAYER BOOK IS A SUPERB EXAMPLE OF ILLUMINATION by the Master of Claude de France.[1] Active in Tours during the first two decades of the sixteenth century, the artist is named after two jewel-like manuscripts he painted for Queen Claude de France, first wife of François I: a tiny book of hours and an even tinier prayer book.[2] Although we find traces of him as early as 1498, he does not emerge as an independent artist until around 1508. He flourished in the second decade of the century, when he illuminated the majority of his work, and disappeared shortly after 1520. All told, his actual career lasted only a dozen years. In that brief span, however, he created some of the most mesmerizing illuminations in France during the "last flowering" of the handwritten and hand-painted book.[3]

ff. 36v–37r

This manuscript, while not a book of hours, is textually related to that genre. It originally contained each of the four Gospel lessons that are standard in most books of hours, but here they are arranged in the traditional biblical order (Matthew's lesson is lacking). Each lesson is then followed by that Evangelist's account of Christ's Passion (of which only John's traditionally appeared in books of hours). The manuscript was probably commissioned for use in holy week, during the liturgy of which all four accounts of the Passion were read, climaxing with John's, which is the central reading in the service on Good Friday.[4]

As in books of hours, each of the standard lessons in this book, too, is marked by a miniature of an author portrait; added to the background, however, is a biblical episode (Mark's portrait page is missing). Each of the Passions is marked by a scene from the end of Christ's life. Luke's Passion, for example, is illustrated by a miniature of Christ Washing the Feet of the Apostles, in the background of which Judas can be seen receiving his payment (f. 36v).

The miniatures in this prayer book are executed in the artist's masterful style of fineness and delicacy. Infused with sweetness, his miniatures employ a palette exhibiting a subtle range of soft purples, mauves, and roses, painted in tiny, stippled brushstrokes. The short, childlike figures express themselves with quiet, restrained gestures. Another characteristic of the artist is his use of floral borders, which are luxuriously employed throughout the entire book. Facing the miniature of the Washing of the Feet, for example, is a border filled with peaches, their blossoms, and their leaves (f. 37r). Other particularly handsome borders include crocuses (f. 41r), daffodils (f. 60r), and pink and white roses (ff. 58v–59r). The artist learned to paint such beautiful—and accurate—floral specimens while an apprentice under the court artist Jean Bourdichon. He assisted Bourdichon in 1498, painting flower panels in the Hours of Louis XII, and, in the early sixteenth century, he was on hand when Bourdichon painted his great masterpiece, the *Grandes Heures d'Anne de Bretagne* (Paris, BnF, ms. lat. 9474), whose borders are filled with a huge variety of flowers and fruit.[5] (See cat. no. 112 for a manuscript illuminated by Bourdichon.)

The miniature marking John's Gospel lesson depicts the Evangelist on Patmos with, in the background, Christ, accompanied by angels, creating the animals; in the distance stands a handsome, symmetrical building. This composition reprises one that the artist first painted in the Oglethorpe Bible, a monumental two-volume *Bible historiale* whose commission had probably originated with Louis XII and Anne de Bretagne but was probably completed by their successors, François I and Claude.[6] The striking domed building is based on the structure, representing the Temple of Jerusalem, that Pietro Perugino painted around 1482 in his fresco of the Surrender of the Keys in the Vatican's Sistine Chapel. The Claude Master did not travel to Italy, so he must have learned of Perugino's Temple second-hand.[7]

An effaced heraldic shield on f. 33v originally contained the arms of Antoine de La Barre, abbot of St. Catherine's in Rouen, abbot of St. Martin's in Tours (1518), bishop of Angoulême (1524), and, finally, archbishop of Tours (1527 until his death in 1547).[8] It was, no doubt, soon after he became abbot of St. Martin's in Tours in 1518 that La Barre had made for himself this manuscript as well as a pontifical, also illuminated by the Master of Claude de France.[9] La Barre seems to have celebrated his new position as abbot of one of France's most prestigious abbeys by commissioning new manuscripts illuminated by an artist who was not only local but also highly favored in court circles.

Roger S. Wieck

1 I first attributed the Houghton manuscript to the Claude Master in 1981. John Plummer, since the Morgan at that time owned no work by him, borrowed the book for his exhibition *The Last Flowering*; see Plummer 1982, 100–101, no. 128, pls. 128a–b. The most recent discussion of the book is in Wieck 2014b, vii, 10, 31, 47, 50–51, 54, 78, figs. 64–65.

2 The artist was named by Charles Sterling in Sterling 1975. The book of hours is in Bibermühle (Switzerland), Heribert Tenschert; see König 2012. The prayer book is in New York, PML, MS M.1166; see Wieck and Brown 2010.

3 The artist's career is the subject of the monograph Wieck 2014b.

4 Matthew's Passion was read on Palm Sunday; Mark's on Tuesday; Luke's on Wednesday; and John's on Good Friday.

5 On the artist's training and interests in flowers, see Wieck 2014b, 31–38, 43. For the most recent facsimile of the *Grandes Heures d'Anne de Bretagne*, see Miró 2008–10. The floral triumphs by the Master of Claude de France and Bourdichon are part of a botanical interest percolating in northern France in the second half of the fifteenth and early sixteenth centuries; see cat. no. 61.

6 Oxford, Corpus Christi Coll., MSS 385 and 386; a New York private collector owns a miniature (Solomon Teaching) from the lost third volume. See Wieck 2014b, 31, 43–47, 50, 80, figs. 59, 61–63, with citations to other literature.

7 The other significant Italianism in the work of the Claude Master is his miniature of the Virgin and Child with St. John the Baptist in the Morgan's prayer book of Claude de France (MS M.1166, f. 15v); in the miniature he pays homage to Leonardo da Vinci's *Virgin of the Rocks*. The Claude Master saw Leonardo's panel first-hand; it had been brought to France by Louis XII; see Sterling 1975, 22–23; Fagnart 2009, 54–60; and Wieck 2014b, 9, figs. 12–13.

8 Maxence Hermant identified La Barre's effaced arms in the Houghton manuscript in de Chancel-Bardelot et al. 2012, 80.

9 Paris, BnF, ms. lat. 10578. The codex contains four small miniatures and numerous floral borders by the Claude Master; see de Chancel-Bardelot et al. 2012, 80, no. 18, illus.; and Wieck 2014b, 10, 51, 54, 80.

114. Book of hours, use of Rome
Gilles Hardouyn (printer), Germain Hardouyn (publisher)

Paris, France, c. 1519
Printed book on parchment, with numerous metalcuts, some illuminated by hand, ff. 90 (plus 10 manuscript leaves bound before and after printed text), 218 x 141 mm
Museum of Fine Arts, Boston, 25.697, gift of Mrs. Horatio Greenough Curtis
By 1902, Horatio Greenough Curtis, Boston; by inheritance to his widow, Annie Nelson Curtis.

f. b4v

This is a representative example of a book of hours printed in early sixteenth-century Paris, probably decorated, illuminated, and bound for an early owner of the book. The Hardouyn brothers were not the only publishers of books of hours, but they were the most productive: they published the most editions in France during the 1510s and 1520s. Like this example, many of their editions were illustrated with full-page and smaller engraved miniatures, as well as engraved borders. In addition to printing some of their own editions, the Hardouyns published books printed by numerous other printers who worked with various engravers and typesetters.[1] Unusually, two different engravings of the Annunciation introduce the Little Office of the Blessed Virgin Mary (ff. b4v–b5r). The existence of two Annunciations exemplifies an important feature of early printed books, especially books of hours: editions and books were often assembled from quires created by different engravers, printers, and booksellers.

Printed books of hours were the books most commonly owned by literate residents of French cities in the sixteenth century. An early owner had this book illuminated, probably in a Paris workshop. Ten leaves of prayers in Latin and French, likely transcribed from other prayer books, were added subsequently, possibly by another owner. A family chronicle has also been inscribed on the flyleaves of the book. The binding probably dates from the sixteenth or seventeenth century.

Virginia Reinburg

1 Tenschert and Nettekoven 2003, 2:534–659, 3:1033–81.

115. Prayer book with hours for seven days of the week
Masters of the Gold Scrolls (illuminators)

Bruges (?), southern Netherlands, c. 1440
Parchment, ff. 195, 195 x 140 (115–18 x 77–84) mm
Museum of Fine Arts, Boston, 44.862, gift of Mrs. Sumner Pingree

f. 147v

An artisan or artisans working in the Gold Scrolls style painted the three miniatures and seven historiated initials in the Boston codex.[1] That style and the one named after Guillebert de Mets, the celebrated scribe of Grammont (Geraardsbergen) in East Flanders, were the two dominant styles in the southern Netherlands in the second quarter of the fifteenth century.[2] While codices in the Guillebert de Mets style are most often localized to East Flanders, and more specifically to Ghent, the Gold Scrolls style is usually associated with West Flanders, and more particularly with Bruges. The range of flesh tones both within and between the ten illuminations in this manuscript suggests that two or more hands were responsible. All ten paintings, however, exhibit the fine gold scrollwork and doll-like figures that characterize the Gold Scrolls style.

Until the abbot Letus petitioned in the suffrages (f. 164r–v) can be identified, we can only adduce from the calendar and remaining suffrages that this manuscript was written for a recipient in the archdiocese of Rheims.[3]

Iconographically, the most remarkable image in the codex is the single full-page one (f. 147v), which faces the suffrage to Sts. Peter and Paul. There, the twelve apostles appear in half length in three registers. With the exception of Thomas, all the apostles gaze toward the lower left, where Jesus appears in half-length within a small, oblong miniature painted just outside the main one.[4] As the black rule that encloses the principal miniature visibly runs underneath the ancillary illumination, it seems clear that the latter image was added after the former one was painted, presumably at the request of the patron.[5]

In the Savior's right hand is his heart, which he offers to his disciples. Is Jesus's position at the lower left, beneath all but four of the twelve apostles, an allusion to the humility that he made manifest most broadly by his sacrifice for humankind on the Cross and more narrowly by the washing of his disciples' feet just before the Last Supper (Jn 13:4–11)? And is Thomas's turning away from the Savior an allusion to his disbelief in Jesus's resurrection until he could touch the wounds in the Savior's hands and side (Jn 20:25–28)?

Gregory T. Clark

1 For the Gold Scrolls style, see Ilona Hans-Collas's entries in Bousmanne and Delcourt 2011, 140–47.
2 Dominique Vanwijnsberghe and Erik Verroken consider the Guillebert de Mets style in Bousmanne and Delcourt 2011, 148–65.
3 Red-letter feasts include Remigius (d. circa 533), "apostle of the Franks," and bishop of Rheims (October 1), and Piaton (d. circa 286), martyr of Tournai (October 1). (The entry in red of Nicasius, the fifth-century bishop-martyr of Rheims, in red on December 12 is puzzling, as he is black-letter in Paris on December 10 and red-letter in Rheims on December 14.) The local feasts in black in the calendar include Walericus (d. circa 622), founder of the abbey of Saint-Valéry-sur-Somme, in the diocese of Amiens (April 1); Gislenus (d. circa 680), bishop of Cambrai and founder of the abbey of Sts. Peter and Paul at Saint-Ghislain, near Mons (October 9); and Avia (October 21), third- or fourth-century virgin-martyr at Desvres (Pas-de-Calais) and patroness of the church of Sainte-Avoye on Paris's Right Bank. (Presumably the "Donas" entered in black on October 14 is Donatian [d. circa 390], bishop of Rheims and patron of Bruges, whose remains had first been brought to the church of St. Donatian in Bruges in the ninth century.) In addition to the abbot Letus, the suffrages include Gislenus (f. 160r–v); Quintinus (Quentin) (d. 287), martyr of the Vermandois (f. 161r–v); Piaton (ff. 163v–64r); Fursey (d. circa 648), abbot of Lagny (Seine-et-Marne) and patron saint of Péronne in the Vermandois (ff. 164v–65r); and Avia (f. 175r–v).
4 From left to right, we see Peter, Paul, Andrew, and James Major (top row); John the Evangelist, Thomas, James Minor, and Philip (middle row); and Bartholomew, James Minor, Simon, and Matthias (bottom row).
5 I would like to thank Claudia Rabel of the Institut de Recherche et d'Histoire des Textes (IRHT-CNRS, Paris and Orléans) for this observation.

116. Book of hours ("Emerson-White Hours"), use of Rome

Master of the Dresden Prayer Book, Simon Marmion, Ghent Associates, the Master of the Houghton Miniatures (with Hugo van der Goes) et al. (illuminators)

Probably Bruges, Flanders, c. 1480
Parchment, formerly one volume of 248 leaves, subdivided in the late nineteenth century into two consecutively foliated volumes: MS Typ 443: ff. vi (i–v binder's vellum, vi old paper) + 118 + v (binder's vellum); MS Typ 443.1: ff. v (modern binder's vellum) + 130 (ff. 119–248) + vi (binder's vellum), 143 x 104–5 (c. 73 x 48) mm
Harvard University, Houghton Library, MSS Typ 443 and 443.1
Quaritch, 1886 (cat. 369, no. 35696); divided by Quaritch, 1892. MS Typ 443: William A. White, 1892; Mrs. William Emerson; gift of the family of William Augustus White and daughter Frances White Emerson, 1958. MS Typ 443.1: Quaritch, 1892; Alfred T. White; Adrian Van Sinderen; gift of Mrs. Adrian Van Sinderen, 1966.

One of the finest illuminated books of hours produced in Flanders c. 1480, the Emerson-White Hours is unusually complex in its textual, decorative, and pictorial elaboration. In addition to texts commonly found in Flemish *horae* of this period, the manuscript contains a series of texts drawn from or for use in liturgical celebrations, such as Dominical Prayers for the Liturgical Year, a set of six Masses, and the Office for Good Friday. Liturgical texts of this type are found normally only in bespoke books of hours, particularly those made for noble patrons and others sufficiently wealthy to have had private chapels and access to the services of personal ecclesiastical advisors.[1]

The texts of the Emerson-White Hours, including its unusual liturgical components, are closely matched by those of the Huth Hours, another of the foremost Flemish illuminated manuscripts of the same period.[2] Despite differences in the sequence of the texts in the two books, the replications are detailed enough to imply that one of the two volumes copies the other or that both are based on a common model. The similarities between the two extend also to codicological and artistic features, such as the layout of the pages, the numbers of lines of text per page, the script, common patterns of border decoration, some repeated pictorial compositions, and miniatures by some of the same illuminators.[3] The two books are true "sister manuscripts," an observation buttressed by the fact that both contain sets of initials in the margins of some of their decorated pages which presumably refer to their unidentified patrons ("YY" in the Emerson-White Hours and "MY" and "YM" in the Huth Hours).[4] The possibility ought to be considered that both volumes were made not only at the same approximate date and locale, but also for members of the same or closely related families.

The program of decoration and illustration of the Emerson-White Hours is also noteworthy. The manuscript is furnished with elaborate marginal decoration of the type introduced into Flemish illumination in the 1470s, consisting of gold, colored, or gold and colored panel borders with trompe l'œil decoration of painted or gold foliage and flowers, some also including birds or insects, jewelry, iconographically charged objects and figural details (such as rosaries or a series panel borders incorporating depictions of the Instruments of the Passion), simulated fretwork containing initials,[5] and leaves with margins consisting of simulated opulent brocades, architectural frameworks, or fully historiated scenes. Deco-

ff. 99v–100r

ration of this type appears not only on leaves introducing major new texts or text segments, but on all the original text leaves as well, investing the book with qualities of opulence and variety to engage and stimulate the eyes and mind of its owner.

The cycle of illustration of the Emerson-White Hours is likewise rich and diverse, despite the fact that it has come down to us in a markedly incomplete state. The manuscript lacks most of the full-page illustrations that were presumably present when it was completed. Estimates of the number of missing full-page miniatures range from twenty to forty or more, although the precise number is difficult to establish. Among large miniatures absent from the book that were presumably removed from it at an uncertain date, one can propose cycles of full-page illustrations for the Hours of the Virgin and the Hours of the Passion (eight miniatures each), and single full-page miniatures that may have prefaced such texts as the Psalter of the Passion, some of the ten Masses, Prayers to Mary, the Short Hours of the Cross and of the Holy Spirit, the Seven Penitential Psalms and litany, the Office of the Dead, and some of the suffrages of saints. Thus far three extant single-leaf miniatures have been proposed as illustrations removed from the manuscript;[6] others, if they survive, remain to be identified.

The illustration of the Emerson-White Hours was entrusted to a diverse group of miniaturists, including some active primarily in different locales. The juxtaposition of miniatures by different painters in this book allies the commission with a distinct class of books of hours that showcase the work of leading illuminators of the period. The practice can be compared with that found in some modern musical performances in which guest soloists, including leading artists from other locales, are contracted to step in to enhance the productions and the reputations of local ensembles. The Emerson-White Hours incorporates miniatures by four or more of the most talented painters active in Flanders during the period, who contributed illustrations displaying the artistic skills for which they were best known.

The largest number of miniatures in the book were entrusted to the Master of the Dresden Prayer Book, who produced the twenty-four illustrated roundels in the calendar and twenty of the twenty-five historiated initials.[7] As these illustrations all appear on text leaves that make up part of the corpus of the manuscript, it is likely that it was produced in Bruges, which was the center of this painter's activity by c. 1480.

Three of the seven full-page miniatures in the manuscript, all on inserted single leaves, are by Simon Marmion of Valenciennes, one of the leading panel painters and miniaturists of the period.[8] Marmion's skills in the depiction of lush and detailed landscapes, all rendered in a distinctive palette dominated by vibrant greens, atmospheric blues and pastel pink, can be seen in the miniatures of the Penitent St. Jerome, St. Apollonia, and St. Christopher.[9]

One of a group of painters known as the "Ghent Associates," contributed the full-page miniatures of St. George and the Dragon, St. Catherine, and St. Barbara (f. 112v), the last of which is closely based on an exquisite drawing of a seated female figure on green prepared paper by or after Hugo van der Goes,[10] as well as the historiated borders on at least five other leaves.[11] The miniaturists known as the Ghent Associates are closely allied with the Master of Mary of Burgundy, and in earlier scholarship their works were frequently attributed to that painter. Features of some of the figures by this painter, such as the drawn faces of his females, derive from types familiar from the art of Van der Goes and have analogies in works attributed to other miniaturists influenced by him, particularly the Master of the First Prayer Book of Maximilian.[12] The full-page miniatures in this style in the Emerson-White Hours are among the finest works attributed to the Ghent Associates.[13]

The other leading figure who collaborated in this commission, also formerly subsumed in the proposed œuvre of the Master of Mary of Burgundy, has been named after this manuscript as the "Master of the Houghton Miniatures."[14] Works attributed to this painter also appear in the Huth Hours, the sister manuscript of the present book, in two detached miniatures from an unidentified devotional manuscript, and in an accomplished and highly finished drawing of Fourteen Heads now in Berlin,[15] that was presumably part of a set of model drawings.

f. 112v

By far the most distinctive feature of the works attributed to the Master of the Houghton Miniatures is their strong relationship, even dependence, on the art of Hugo van der Goes. This accounts for some stylistic characteristics of the works gathered together in this group, such as linear features in depictions of hair and beards and the cool palette of works in this manner, as well as the physical and expressive gravity of many of this painter's figures, which invests them with suggestions of interiority and psychological depth.

The question of when, where, and how works by this painter became so fully and deeply imbued with formal and expressive qualities derived from Van der Goes has not been posed. The closeness and dependence suggest that the Master of the Houghton Miniatures must have worked for a while alongside Van der Goes, possibly as one of his close apprentices or assistants.

Questions of the nature of the relationship between a presumed teacher and a student or follower invariably turn on estimations of matters of quality and degree. In the Emerson-White Hours, the depiction of St. Anthony the Abbot in the Wilderness (f. 99v) seems to me sufficiently superior to other of the miniatures in this group to suggest the possibility that it represents the work or participation of Hugo van der Goes himself, rather than that of a mere follower.[16] The firm, angular and geometric forms of the figure of St. Anthony, the signs of apparent psychological disquiet reflected in his grave and worn facial figures, and the suggestion of his immersion in the open book he holds on his lap, all invest him with qualities analogous to those found in some of Hugo's most memorable depictions of male saints or prophets, such as those of the Portinari

Altarpiece (Florence, Galleria degli Uffizi); at the lateral edges of Hugo's Adoration of the Shepherds in Berlin (Staatliche Museen Preußischer Kulturbesitz, Gemäldegalerie, 1622A); or disposed around Mary in the Death of the Virgin in Bruges (Groeninge Museum, GRO0204.I). The suggestions of gravity, character, and inner life in the figure of St. Anthony differ in degree and acuteness from the expression of figures in other of the illustrations attributed to the Master of the Houghton Miniatures as well as from that of the male heads in the set of character studies in the drawing in Berlin attributed to this painter. Differences of this order seem to me to distinguish the works of Hugo from those of an associate, student, or follower who imitates his types and forms without capturing their essence.

As Hugo died in 1482 and the date of the Emerson-White Hours is estimated by most authors at c. 1480, or "before 1482," his participation in the commission would have been possible. That kind of collaboration between a teacher and his pupil, a painter and a miniaturist, rare as it may be, should not be excluded out of hand, particularly against the backdrop of the activity during the fifteenth century of a significant number of leading painters also as book illuminators. Such Flemish and French panel painters as Jan van Eyck, Rogier van der Weyden, Petrus Christus, Jean Fouquet, Simon Marmion, and Gerard David, to name only some of the most prominent, are also credited with the design and execution of illustrations in illuminated manuscripts.[17] Whatever the identity of the Master of the Houghton Miniatures, I think it likely that he trained with and worked alongside Hugo van der Goes. The miniature of St. Anthony in the Emerson-White Hours seems to me a candidate for a work attributable in part or whole to Hugo van der Goes himself, who would have been represented here alongside other leading painters of the day.[18]

James H. Marrow

1 Examples include some of the books of hours commissioned during the late fourteenth century by members of the French royal family, such as those made for Jean, Duke of Berry and his brother, Philippe le Hardi, Duke of Burgundy, some of which include series of Masses. For the tradition, see Van Buren, Marrow, and Pettenati 1996, 224–25, 253.

2 London, BL, Add. MS. 38126, for which see Pollard et al. 1912, 16–19, no. 13, pls. 13–16; Kren and McKendrick 2003, 174–76, 525, cat. no. 33, and the full digital record on *British Library Digitised Manuscripts*. Hindman 1977, 190 was the first to call attention to the remarkably close textual similarities between the Emerson-White and the Huth Hours.

3 As noted, *inter alia*, by Hindman 1977, 189–91; Brinkmann 1997, 1:198; and Kren and McKendrick 2003, 170–71.

4 In Bernard Quaritch's descriptions of the manuscript (the earliest-known published notices on the book), the original owner or patron is variously identified as Isabel of Portugal or Juana la Loca; see Quaritch 1886, 3458–60, cat. no. 35696 (also verbatim in Quaritch 1887), and Quaritch 1891, 70, no. 558. Although unfounded, those names for the manuscript are sometimes repeated in later literature. Hulin de Loo 1939, 179, suggested identifying the owners alluded to by the initials "YY" as Hippolyte de Berthoz and Isabeau van Keverwijk, which is apparently also unfounded. The book is named nowadays after modern owners of each of the two volumes: William Emerson and William Augustus White.

5 For a comparably designed fretwork border in which the initials form legible inscriptions, see the leaf with a full-page miniature of St. Sebastian in the Berlin Hours of Mary of Burgundy (Berlin, SMPK-KK, Cod. 78 B 12, f. 327v) of c. 1480–82 (König 1998, 99–100). The Emerson-White Hours contains decoration of this type on illustrated pages, where it appears in all four margins (e.g., ff. 62r, 114r), and on ordinary text leaves, where it appears only in the outer margin (e.g., ff. 53r, 207v).

6 See Brinkmann 1997, 1:197–98 and Thomas Kren in Kren and McKendrick 2003, 169–73, cat. no. 32, figs. 32c–d for the suggestions that the miniature of the Mass of St. Gregory now in Brussels (BRB, ms. II 3634-36) may have prefaced the prayer known as the "Verses of St. Gregory" on f. 92r, and that the Annunciation to the Shepherds in Los Angeles (Getty Mus., Ms. 60 [95. MI.53]) may have prefaced the beginning of terce of the Hours of the Virgin on f. 157r. Kren suggests as well (Kren and McKendrick 2003, 169, 172n2) that a miniature of the Ascension (not known to me) now in Antwerp (collection of the late Dominique de Hertoghe; formerly sale at Paris, Hôtel Drouot, June 11, 1954, lot 12) may have prefaced the Mass of the Ascension on f. 68r.

7 Historiated initials on ff. 51r, 55r, 60r, 62r, 65v, 88r, 90r, 91r, 93r, 94r, 95r, 96r, 97r, 98r, 101r, 104r, 105r, 105v, 109r, 114r. Brinkmann 1997 remains the definitive study of the Master of the Dresden Prayer Book.

8 For Marmion, see Kren and McKendrick 2003, 98–116, 199–206, 330–35, and passim.

9 Brinkmann 1997, 1:198 also attributes column miniatures on ff. 92r, 100r, 119r, 166r, and 171r to Marmion.

10 London, Courtauld Institute Gallery, Princes Gate Collection, 314; Kren and McKendrick 2003, 163–65, cat. no. 30.

11 Historiated borders on ff. 111r, 113r, 116r, 157r, 194r. For the Ghent Associates, first defined by Van Buren 1975, see ibid., 179–89.

12 Ibid., 190–98, 305–8, 316–29.

13 Ibid., 169–70.

14 Thomas Kren in ibid., 123, 168–78, and Kren 2005, 359–64. Works attributed to this hand in or from the manuscript include the full-page miniature of St. Anthony the Abbot in the Wilderness and the historiated margin on the facing text page of Scenes from the Life of St. Anthony, the historiated margins of the Funeral Procession of the Virgin and of Two Pilgrims Praying before an architectural façade at vespers of the Hours of the Virgin, that with a depiction of a cemetery commencing the Office of the Dead, and the three single-leaf miniatures posited as having been excised from this volume.

15 Kren and McKendrick 2003, 174–78, cat. nos. 33–35.

16 For what follows, see the excellent enlarged detail of the figure of St. Anthony in ibid., 120.

17 Documentary evidence also indicates that in 1436 a little-known artist named Eluthère du Pret entered the service of the painter Jacques Daret (pupil himself of Robert Campin, the putative Master of Flémalle) to learn the art of illumination; Vanwijnsberghe 2001, 307–8. Robert Campin is also known to have produced at least one work of illumination, a Crucifixion for an unidentified missal; see ibid., 277–78.

18 Another, unnamed miniaturist may have contributed the historiated initial and the illustrated margin of Scenes from the Garden of Gethsemane and the Arrest of Christ (f. 31r); the facial types in these illustrations recall the work of Lieven van Lathem. A somewhat coarse painter, likely one of the decorators responsible for some of the borders on ordinary text pages with figures and instruments of the Passion, was responsible for the leaf with a historiated initial of the Five Wounds of Christ and its accompanying marginal illustration of figures and objects of the Arma Christi (f. 198r).

117. Leaves from the Boston-Cambridge rosary psalter
Simon Bening (illuminator)

Bruges, Flanders, 1520s
Parchment, 87 x 58 mm (each)
Boston Public Library, MS pb Med. 35
Numbers 1–4, 6–8, and 10–14 were given to BPL in April 1917 by Mrs. Joseph Georges (Harriet) Cupples (the bibliography up to 1981, including the *Census*, cites only these 12); the Agony in the Garden (no. 5) and the Crucifixion (no. 9) were acquired by BPL from Christie's, New York, May 22, 1981, lot 12.

Attributed to the great Flemish illuminator Simon Bening (1483–1561), the fourteen scenes from the life of Christ and the Virgin in the Boston Public Library, plus two other miniatures now in the Fitzwilliam Museum in Cambridge, England, were originally bound together as a series of meditations on the fifteen Mysteries of the Virgin.[1] In the manuscript's original construction, each miniature faced a prayer, written in Spanish, that reflected upon the event recorded in the miniature and guided the reader in her devotions. Similar to the way in which the rosary is practiced today among Catholics, the meditations were to be recited daily, along with recitations of the *Pater noster* and ten *Ave Marias*.

no. 1

The Boston and Cambridge miniatures and prayers are now known collectively as a "rosary psalter." (a.k.a. *Rosarium*).[2] The meditations' structure evolved into the devotional exercise known today as the rosary. The identification with the psalms is due in part to the fact that the number of *Ave Marias* recited over the course of the meditations—150—equals the number of psalms that formed the basis the Divine Office. Furthermore, it is believed, based on the comparison with another rosary psalter associated with Bening's workshop,[3] that the last miniature showing the Empty Cross (no. 14) prefaced another devotional text known as the Psalms of the Passion, which are the ten psalms Christ recited on the Cross.[4]

In the Boston-Cambridge rosary psalter, word and image together become the basis of prayer and meditation. Each of the fifteen prayers is a meditation on one of the fifteen Mysteries, that is, the five joyful, five sorrowful, and five glorious mysteries that the Virgin experienced as the mother of Christ. The Annunciation (no. 1), Visitation, Nativity, Presentation in the Temple, Christ among the Doctors are the joyous mysteries; Christ's Agony in the Garden, his Flagellation, the Crowning with Thorns, the Carrying of the Cross, and his Crucifixion are the sorrowful; and the glorious are the Crucifixion, Pentecost, Resurrection, Ascension, and the Virgin's Assumption and Coronation in Heaven. The text of each prayer begins with a salutation recalling one of the events of Christ's life and then a request to aid the reader in sharing the Virgin's joy, sorrow, or glory at the event. The request is then followed by a recitation of the *Pater noster* and the *Ave Marias*. The text helps to focus the reader's meditations on the Virgin's role in and experience of these events. The facing miniature allows the reader not only to visualize but also to internalize the event. For example, the first meditation in the series begins with a miniature depicting the Annunciation. Opposite the miniature was the prayer that now appears on the reverse of the miniature of the Presentation in the Temple (now Fitzwilliam Mus., MS 257a). Translated, it reads:

> O Virgin, my most fortunate lady: *for the joy you received when you were greeted by the angel*: and for the happiness you felt at the presence of the Son of God in your womb: I beg you, my lady, to make happy my soul and make use of it so that it can serve you in praise of Our Lord. Pater noster qui es in caelis: sanctificetur nomen tuum: adveniat (Our Father who art in Heaven, hallowed by thy name. [Thy kingdom] come), and ten Ave Marias.[5]

no. 14

In the miniature, Mary kneels at a prie-dieu, turning as the Angel Gabriel descends upon her. Heavenly light emitted by the dove of the Holy Spirit above her falls upon the scene, signifying the moment of the Incarnation. The naturalistic rendering of physical features and vivid, dramatic details draw the viewer into the scene, creating a sense of immediacy and presence at the event. The words of the prayer then guide the reader

to address the Virgin directly, making her a participant in the sacred event taking place in front of her eyes. The setting within a contemporary interior further collapses time between this event from sacred history and the viewer's own time and thus reinforces the connection between what takes place on the page and in the viewer's own imagined devotional experience. In other miniatures, Bening employs similar visual devices to heighten the dramatic effect, such as copious amounts of bright red blood that pour from Christ's body and the demonic expressions of his tormentors in the scenes from his Passion.

Because of the sumptuous quality of the illumination and text, it has been suggested that the Boston-Cambridge rosary psalter was made for Joanna I of Castile, sometimes called Johanna "the Mad." Johanna was queen of Castile and Aragon from 1504, and of Aragon from 1516, until her death in 1555. Although there is no firm evidence to confirm her ownership, the manuscript was likely intended for an aristocratic Spanish owner. The text, written in a round Gothic script, has been ascribed to the Spanish scribe Antonius van Damme. Bening and van Damme were frequent collaborators and worked together on several commissions for wealthy Spanish patrons.[6]

Lynn Ransom

1 For attribution of the first twelve leaves in the Boston Public Library to Bening, see Kupfer-Tarasulo 1979. Kupfer-Tarsulo also identified in this essay the two sister leaves, formerly belonging to Henry Yates Thompson but now in the Fitzwilliam Museum in Cambridge (MS 257a-b), and provided a reconstruction of the original manuscript; see also Arnould and Massing 1993, 90. Two additional leaves sold at Christie's, New York (May 22, 1981, lot 12) and were later purchased by the Boston Public Library. A reconstruction of the manuscript has been produced in facsimile in Domínguez Rodríguez and Treviño Gajardo 2004.

2 Kupfer-Tarasulo 1979, 220–23. See also Domínguez Rodríguez and Treviño Gajardo 2004, 159.

3 The Acuña Rosarium, now in a private collection (sold Sotheby's, London, July 6, 2000, lot 57).

4 Domínguez Rodríguez and Treviño Gajardo 2004, 165.

5 [Virgen bien auenturada señora mia: *por el gozo que recebiste quando del angel fuiste saludada*: y por el alegria que sentiste con la presencia del hijo de dios en tus entrañas: te suplico que alegres señora mi alma y la dispongas para que te pueda server en alabança de nuestro señor. Pater noster qui es in caelis: sanctificetur nomen tuum: adveniat y diez Ave Marias.] Transcribed and translated in Domínguez Rodríguez and Treviño Gajardo 2004, 166.

6 On van Damme, see Richard Gay, "Selected Scribe Bibliographies," in Kren and McKendrick 2003, 519.

118. Book of hours
Follower of the Master of the Moral Treatises (illuminator)

Ghent (?), Belgium, c. 1470–80
Parchment, ff. 208, 104 x 72 (64–65 x 38–40) mm
Boston Public Library, MS q Med. 137 (formerly Ms. 1561)
Ex libris of the Jesuits of Louvain dated 1643, f. 3r; later owned by E. P. F. Cooper, exhibited as no. 232 in the Burlington Fine Arts Club exhibition of 1908, Cooper sale, Sotheby's, London, December 7, 1953, lot 50; purchased by BPL in 1955 from Maggs.

While the Hours of the Virgin and Office of the Dead in this manuscript follow the universal use of Rome, the calendar and litanies are written for the archdiocese of Rheims, and more specifically for the diocese of Tournai.[1]

f. 41v

The thirty-three grisaille illuminations appear to be the work of a follower of the Master of the Moral Treatises. That painter takes his name from four vernacular spiritual texts made for or acquired by Margaret of York, Duchess of Burgundy.[2] Like the Boston painter, the Moral Treatises Master favored semi-grisaille; indeed, he employed it in three of the duchess's four manuscripts.

Among the stylistic traits shared by the Moral Treatises Master and our painter are the male and female physiognomical types; the voluminous heads of shoulder-length hair sported by many of the angels and male figures; the chalky whites used to model stuffs; the expansive and generously detailed landscape backgrounds, with forms rendered in rich blues and stretches of verdure in muted green; the billowy cloud forms; and the soaring late Gothic ecclesiastical interiors, one of which provides the setting for the Annunciation (f. 41v).[3]

At the same time, the figures of the Boston artist are easily distinguished from those of the Moral Treatises Master by the bolder dotting of the whites of their eyes, the more generous rouging of their cheeks, and the description in black of their pupils and eyelids. To these features may be added the dark outlines and hatches used to model drapery folds, the birds that pepper many of the skies, and the taste for red-cloth backdrops with gold patterning like the one behind the Gabriel and Virgin Annunciate. A *horae* fragment offered by Christie's of London in 1988 is the only other manuscript possibly by our painter that can be identified at this time.[4]

The workshop of the Moral Treatises Master has been localized to Ghent and Margaret's four manuscripts dated to the 1470s, for which reason the same place of manufacture and date for the hours can tentatively be proposed for the Boston hours.

Gregory T. Clark

1 Eleutherius of Tournai (d. 532) is entered in black on February 20; Bruges saints Basil the Great (d. 379) and Donatian (d. circa 390) appear in red on June 14 and October 14, respectively; Bavo (d. 654), patron saint of Ghent, is entered in red on October 1; and Nicasius, the fifth-century bishop-martyr of Rheims, appears in red on December 14. Gaugericus (d. circa 625), bishop of Cambrai, in the archdiocese of Rheims until the redrawing of the diocesan lines in 1559, mistakenly appears among the martyrs in the litany.

2 For the Moral Treatises Master, see most recently Kren and McKendrick 2003, 158–62, and Bousmanne and Delcourt 2011, 421–24.
3 Compare the lavish tresses of the Gabriel (f. 41v), for example, with those of the second man from the left in the Last Judgment in the Morgan Apocalypse (New York, PML, MS M.484, f. 103v; reproduced in color in Kren and McKendrick 2003, 159, and Bousmanne and Delcourt 2011, 421, ill. 313). With respect to clouds, compare the blue and gray ones highlighted with gold in the Boston Last Judgment (f. 121v) and the like forms above the twenty-four elders in the Morgan Library Apocalypse (M.484, f. 31r).
4 Christie's, London, December 7, 1988, lot 31.

119. Book of hours, use of Tournai
Master of the Gardner Hours (illuminator)

Probably Lille, Franco-Flemish border region, c. 1490–1500
Parchment, ff. iv (paper) + 162 + viii (paper), 164–66 x 123 (c. 122 x 73–74) mm
Isabella Stewart Gardner Museum, 6.T.4
Possibly the manuscript described as an "Old Missal" purchased by Isabella Stewart Gardner from Shreve, Crump & Lowe, Boston, December 4, 1895.

f. 13v

Although made for use in the French-speaking part of the diocese of Tournai, this book of hours was probably not intended for use in that city.[1] The calendar is written in a version of French with traits of Picard, the dialect spoken at the time in northern France. Sparse rather than full, the calendar lacks a red entry for the Dedication of the Cathedral of Tournai on May 9, which is one of the major feasts of the city. The two patron saints of Tournai, Eleutherius (February 20) and Piat (October 1), have only secondary importance in the calendar: they are cited in black, rather than red, and Piat appears only after Remigius on October 1. The litany of saints is generalized in character, with Piat appearing last in the list of martyrs. The suffrages are directed to saints venerated throughout Christendom, so offer no evidence of localization. The liturgical use of the Office of the Virgin and of the Dead, however, is that of the diocese of Tournai, adopted in such cities as Lille and Ghent. The textual evidence suggests, therefore, that the manuscript was not produced for a patron in Tournai, but for someone in the French-speaking part of the diocese, of which Lille was the second-largest city after Tournai itself.

The decoration and illustration of the manuscript point in the same direction. The manuscript contains only six full-page miniatures of an original set probably of thirteen.[2] The male figures have distinctive facial forms consisting of large, round heads, globular eyes, reddened lips and cheeks, and shaggy hair painted with the tip of the brush, all executed with rapid brush strokes. The somewhat gypsy-like air of the figures points to the influence of the Master of Edward IV, an illuminator active in Bruges during the last quarter of the fifteenth century, but whose impact on illumination in Lille was sufficiently profound as to raise the possibility that he might also have been active in that major city of Francophone Flanders.[3]

The somewhat unrefined border decoration of miniature pages and the text pages they face point also toward Lille, as indicated by their slender acanthus with jagged edges, veins highlighted with white or gold, all enclosed within double red fillets. This style of border decoration is Lillois, known in at least six other manuscripts, of which several have distinct connections with Lille.[4]

Two other books of hours for the use of Tournai can be attributed to the illuminator who executed the miniatures of the Gardner hours, one belonging to the Cathedral Archives of Tournai,[5] and another offered for sale at London in 1979,[6] which preserves its original binding signed by the Lille binder, A. Fierlin.[7] These manuscripts have border decoration identical to that in the Gardner hours, attesting to a sustained collaboration between the same illuminator and border painter. The alliance between these two craftsmen was not exclusive, however, as the same decorator is known to have supplied marginal decoration for miniatures by other painters, including leaves attributed to Cornelia van Wulfschkercke, a Carmelite of Bruges.[8]

Some iconographic preferences also relate the Gardner hours to pictorial traditions current in Lille, in particular the striking representation of the figure of Death lancing the naked body of a woman laid out on a mat, a subject that reappears in a book of hours by the Master of the Claremont Hours, an illuminator probably active in Lille during the last three decades of the fifteenth century.[9] Depictions of the Annunciation with the angel approaching in flight from the left are also common in contemporary works localized to Lille. Other noteworthy iconographic features include the depiction of Christ kneeling in prayer before God the Father (f. 13v) in a quasi-literal illustration of the *Pater noster*, the text it prefaces; Joseph walking toward Mary and Elizabeth in the background of the Visitation (f. 45v); or the splendid and spatially sophisticated depiction of Pentecost (f. 27v), articulated in and around an open-air building that recalls analogous architectural settings associated with manuscripts from Hainaut.

With their simplified calendars and litanies of saints, their generalized choice of suffrages of saints, and their stereotypical contents, the production of the Master of the Gardner Hours, so far as we know it from the three books of hours grouped together with the Boston manuscript, could have been sold for use virtually anywhere in French-speaking areas of the diocese of Tournai. These manuscripts were produced following practices known from Bruges, in which full-page miniatures on single leaves of vellum were added to personalize otherwise finished manuscripts according to the needs and wishes of their buyers. This rationalization of working methods testifies to the progressive organization of the book trade in a city which had long been overshadowed by Flemish workshops and those in Tournai. From the 1480s, illumination from Lille came into its own and achieved economic as well as aesthetic importance. Proof of this can be found in a dispute in which the painters of Lille accused the illuminators of unfair competition. This led in 1510 to the promulgation of statutes which clearly defined the areas of expertise of each craft.[10] As James H. Marrow has determined, the Gardner hours was subsequently the property of Guillaume-Florentin von Salm-Salm (1745–1810), bishop of Tournai at the time of the French Revolution, a period when Lille was still a part of the diocese of Tournai.

Dominique Vanwijnsberghe

1 For Tournai calendars and liturgical use, see Vanwijnsberghe 2007b, 359–94.
2 The Hours of the Virgin lacks six full-page miniatures (those from prime

to compline, probably depictions of the Nativity, the Annunciation to the Shepherds, the Adoration of the Magi, the Presentation in the Temple, the Massacre of the Innocents, and the Flight into Egypt), and another miniature is missing from the beginning of the Seven Penitential Psalms (probably a depiction of David in Penitence).

3 For the activity of the Master of Edouard IV at Lille and his influence on local illuminators, in particular Jean Markant, see Vanwijnsberghe 2006.

4 For these manuscripts, see Vanwijnsberghe 2007b, 378n27, 379n45.

5 Ms. A 19.

6 Sale at Sotheby's, London, December 11, 1979, lot 56 (present whereabouts unknown).

7 The author of the catalogue entry transcribed the signature as AUDERLIN, but the signature doubtlessly reads A. FIERLIN. For this binder, see Colin 1992.

8 For the state of research on Cornelia van Wulfschkercke, see Vanwijnsberghe 2015.

9 Brighton, Jubilee Library, R61718, f. 79. See Vanwijnsberghe 2007a, 373–75, figs. 11–12 and col. pls. 3–4. Grateful thanks to James Marrow, who kindly provided me with photographs of the manuscript in Brighton.

10 For the statutes, see Charron 2000.

120. Book of hours

Probably Antwerp, Brabant, southern Netherlands, c. 1480–90
Parchment, ff. ii (paper) + 118 + ii (paper), 165–66 x 114 (93–94 x 61–62) mm
Wellesley College, Margaret Clapp Library, Special Collections, MS 27
Count Dmitri Petrovich Boutourlin; offered in 1831, his sale at Audin de Rians, lot 155; sold by Silvestre, November 16, 1840, lot 65; owned by René Brisart, his sale at Verhulst, December 10, 1849, lot 39; sold Olschki, 1910, cat. 74, no. 25; owned by Bertha Mahony Miller; given by her to Wellesley College in 1959.

f. 82v

Although this manuscript was made in and for use in the southern Netherlands, it is highly unusual in being written in Middle Dutch. Dutch-language books of hours were the norm in the northern Netherlands, but are exceedingly rare in the south. Moreover, this is not the Dutch translation of Geert Grote, which was the standard text of vernacular books of hours from the northern Netherlands.[1] The text of the Hours of the Virgin in this manuscript represents an alternative redaction and translation, which is known thus far in only three other manuscripts.[2] Latin equivalents for most of the antiphons, capitula, hymns, and lessons of this redaction have been found in a printed breviary of the Church of St. Mary in Antwerp (dated 1496; copy in Brussels, BRB, Van Hulthem 647),[3] which suggests that the use of the Hours of the Virgin in this manuscript might be assignable to Brabant, if not also to Antwerp. The three other manuscripts containing the same Dutch-language redaction of this text can be assigned to Brabant on the basis of saints cited in their calendars, and this is also true of the calendar of cat. no. 120: its entries of Gudule (January 8), Aldegundis (January 29), Digna (May 15), Rombaut (July 1), Amelberga (July 10), Gommarus (October 9), and Machutus (November 15) are all typical of calendars made for use in Brabant. It seems reasonable, then, to conclude that this manuscript was made for use in Brabant (possibly Antwerp).

The large decorated initials and the painted and gold border decoration in this manuscript have precise analogies in a Latin book of hours that was sold at Christie's in 1999, and must be the product of the same hand(s).[4] As the Hours of the Virgin in the former Christie's hours is of the use of Rome and its calendar is exceedingly sparse, it is not easily localized.[5] Its miniatures, moreover, are by two painters, neither of whom worked on Wellesley MS 27. Thus far, no other manuscripts containing miniatures by the painter of cat. no. 120 are known. Although his miniatures reflect some knowledge of atmospheric Flemish manuscript painting of the third quarter of the fifteenth century, his compositions are for the most part simplified interpretations of such models, his figural style is somewhat wooden, and his physiognomies formulaic and lacking refinement. All of these qualities are manifest in the schematic Last Judgment (f. 87v), in which the three angels sounding their trumpets, matching the three bodies rising from their tombs, appear simply as unmodulated strokes of red pigment. The manuscript's decoration and illustration are products of a regional school of illumination, most likely located in Brabant, probably in Antwerp.[6]

James H. Marrow

1 See Van Wijk 1940, Van Dijk 1990, Marrow 2007, and Korteweg 2013.

2 See Marrow 2007, 286–87 and 293, appendix 4, treating (in addition to Wellesley MS 27), Brussels, BRB, ms. IV 1270, ff . 22r–61v, and Princeton, Princeton UL, Garrett MS. 59, ff. 27r–61v; for the former, see Deschamps 1997 (with the erroneous information, 217, that the Hours of the Virgin is of the use of Rome) and Deschamps and Mulder 1999, 258–60; for the latter, Skemer et al. 2013, 1:109–12. The third manuscript with this Dutch-language text of the Hours of the Virgin, not known to me in 2007, is Vienna, ÖNB, Cod. 1938, ff. 21r–64r, for which see Petev 2013, 407.

3 Marrow 2007, 287 and 293, appendix 4.

4 Christie's, London, November 29, 1999, 38–40, lot 12, present whereabouts unknown (recalled to my attention by Dominique Vanwijnsberghe, who kindly reminded me that I sent him color slides of this manuscript in 1999).

5 The Office of the Dead in this manuscript is of a unique and un-localized form, however, which may eventually enable us to identify its destination. The responses to the nine lessons in this text are nos. 14, 72, 38, 46, 32, 57, 68, 28, and 138 in the corpus published by Ottosen 1993.

6 Relatively little is known about styles of illumination in Brabant or Antwerp during the third and fourth quarters of the fifteenth century. See Petev 2013 for a group of manuscripts datable to the 1480s and localizable to Antwerp (including Vienna, ÖNB, Cod. 1938, with the same rare Dutch-language text of the Hours of the Virgin as in Wellesley MS 27), which is generally analogous in its decoration to Wellesley MS 27 and includes miniatures that are also much-simplified reinterpretations of refined works of Flemish illumina-

tion. For the decoration and illustration of Brussels, BRB, ms. IV 1270, which also has the same Dutch-language version of the Hours of the Virgin and is markedly unrefined, see Deschamps 1997, 220–23, figs. 1–4.

121. Book of hours, use of Utrecht

Flanders, southern Netherlands, c. 1480–90
Parchment, ff. i (paper) + 129 + i (paper), 197–98 x 143–44 (c. 100–101 x 66–67) mm
Harvard University, Houghton Library, MS Typ 253
Frederick Burmester; sold by Francis Edwards, 1933; deposited by Philip Hofer, 1967, his bequest, 1984.

f. 43r

This is a relatively rare example of a book of hours illuminated and very likely also written in the southern Netherlands (most likely in Flanders), but made for use in the northern Netherlands. The text is the Dutch vernacular compilation and translation produced in the late fourteenth century by Geert Grote, founder of the religious reform movement known as the *Devotio moderna*, rather than the Latin-language version of the book of hours that predominated in the southern Netherlands.[1] The Dutch text contains a number of conspicuous errors of transcription, which might indicate that the manuscript was written as well as illuminated in the southern Netherlands—for example, if it were written by a scribe accustomed to copying the Latin text of books of hours rather than the Dutch-language version found in this book.[2] The sequence of the texts matches that found in many books of hours in Geert Grote's translation (calendar, Hours of the Virgin, Hours of the Eternal Wisdom, Long Hours of the Cross, Long Hours of the Holy Spirit, Seven Penitential Psalms, and Office of the Dead), but the volume lacks other of the customary texts that might have personalized it for its original owner, such as prayers to Mary or Jesus, the saints, or for communion, to name some of those most commonly found in manuscripts of this type. Despite the lack of such signs of personalization, there is strong evidence to conclude that the book was made for use by someone resident in or around the city of Haarlem in the province of North Holland: the calendar contains a selection of entries belonging to a distinct sub-group of manuscripts localized to Haarlem and its vicinity, and the panel-stamped binding also belongs to a known sub-group of examples from the same city.[3]

In its present state, the manuscript is incomplete. As recently as 1959, the manuscript's last private owner, Philip Hofer, removed six leaves from the volume, including the historiated initial commencing the Hours of the Holy Spirit, and presented them to Alan Chester Valentine; they were subsequently donated by his widow to the Morgan Library & Museum in New York, where they bear the signature M.959.[4] At an uncertain date well before then, the manuscript lost its original complement of full-page miniatures: slice-marks and stubs indicate that the book lacks full-page miniatures that originally would have prefaced each of the six major texts following the calendar.[5]

Even in its incomplete state, the cycle of illustration is noteworthy. Three of the six surviving historiated initials (two in the Harvard volume and New York, PLM, MS M.959, f. 6r) are of subjects from the Old Testament that functioned as pre-figurations of the subjects of the now-missing full-page miniatures with which they were paired. The historiated initial of the Sacrifice of Isaac that introduces the Long Hours of the Cross (f. 59r) is a conventional pre-figuration of the Crucifixion, which is the presumed subject of the full-page miniature excised from the manuscript before this leaf. These two subjects are juxtaposed in the block book edition of the *Biblia pauperum*, produced in the Netherlands in the 1460s, and indeed, the pose of Abraham in this initial may well echo that of the same figure in the block book, although other elements of the composition differ.[6] The initial commencing matins of the Office of the Virgin, which presumably faced a full-page depiction of the Annunciation, portrays Eve tempted by the Serpent (f. 15r).[7] The depiction echoes, without copying, some features of the distinctive panel painting of the same subject by Hugo van der Goes in Vienna, particularly in the action of Eve reaching to pluck a fruit from the Tree of Paradise and the representation of the serpent with the lower body of a salamander, with webbed feet and a tail, and the head of a woman.[8] It departs from Hugo's panel in portraying the entire upper portion of the figure of the temptress in female form, rather than just the head, and in relegating Adam to the right middle ground. That repositioning of the figure of Adam, unknown to me in other examples in Netherlandish art, changes the focus of the representation from a relatively conventional illustration of the Fall of Man to what is now a pointed depiction of the Temptation of Eve.

The illustrations in this volume belong to at least two stylistic groups, distinguishable, among other features, by their schemes of border decoration. The first, which appears on leaves with marginal decoration of gold, or gold and colored panel borders with trompe l'œil decoration of painted or gold foliage and flowers, some also including birds and butterflies, and on one leaf partly clothed monkeys, has been said to resemble work by the Vienna Master of Mary of Burgundy, one of the creators and finest practitioners of the highly illusionistic and expressive style of painting introduced into Flemish manuscript illumination c. 1470.[9] Among elements that recall works by the Vienna Master and may reflect knowledge of his style are the small figures and the thin and sketchy painting of the miniatures, evident especially in the initial of Souls in Purgatory (f. 103r), where figures in the fiery hell-scape seem on the verge of dematerializing both physically and coloristically. In other initials in this group, however, such as the Sacrifice of Isaac (f. 59r), the facial types of the figures differ from the distinctive physiognomies found in works by the Vienna Master of Mary of Burgundy, recalling instead works by Lieven van Lathem, an illuminator with whom the Vienna Master collaborated on several important commissions.[10] The position of Isaac in that historiated initial, kneeling on the ground while the sacrificial ram appears at the right background on an altar-like stone set into a natural hillock in the landscape,

has a close counterpart in a marginal depiction of the Sacrifice of Isaac in one of Lieven van Lathem's documented and finest works, the Prayer Book of Charles the Bold in the J. Paul Getty Museum.[11] Another link with that manuscript may be seen in the many two- to five-line initials in the Harvard manuscript which are decorated with eagles or lions rampant or passant; analogous figures, although not by the same hand, some also in the *ton-sur-ton* technique of matte gold on burnished gold grounds as in the Harvard volume, appear in many of the small decorated initials of the Getty prayer book.[12] Whoever the painter (or these painters) may be, they seem to have taken inspiration from work by both the Vienna Master of Mary of Burgundy and Lieven van Lathem.

The two leaves with marginal decoration consisting of complex gold architectural façades which are inhabited by angels and extend in depth in their lower portions to incorporate narrow ground planes (the leaf with a historiated initial of God the Father enthroned accompanied by music-making angels, and with a depiction of children playing knucklebones on gravestones in the lower margin, f. 43r, and the leaf with a historiated initial of Moses receiving the Tablet of the Law in the fragment removed from after f. 71r [PML M.959, f. 6r]), belong to a different stylistic group.[13] The physiognomic types and the somber and almost mask-like expression of the figures on these leaves recall works by the illuminators known as the Master of the First Prayer Book of Maximilian and one of the painters he influenced, the Master of the Prayer Books.[14]

The likeliest place of origin for works in the disparate painting styles found in this book would seem to have been Bruges or some other city in Flanders, and the probable date of origin of the manuscript would seem to be somewhere in the period c. 1480–90. Further progress in identifying the miniaturists who collaborated in the illumination of this manuscript and discovering possible clues about the identity of its Dutch patron may emerge if the full-page miniatures excised from the codex survive and can be identified.

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1 See Van Wijk 1940, to be supplemented by Marrow 2007 and Korteweg 2013.

2 Examples include "Dan aenbeghin" instead of "Van aenbeghin" at the beginning of the capitulum at prime of the Virgin (f. 28v), "N allen dinghen" instead of "In allen dinghen" in vespers of the Virgin (f. 37v), and "Sekeer ons god" instead of "Bekeer ons god" at the beginning of compline of the Virgin (f. 39v). For comparable errors in a Latin book of hours of c. 1480 that, like this one, was written for a Dutch patron but produced in the southern Netherlands, see Marrow 1991, 62–63.

3 For the sub-group of manuscripts with calendars of this type, characterized by entries in red of such saints as Agatha (February 5), Gertrude (March 17), Aelbert (= Adalbert, venerated especially in and around Egmont, June 25, with Lebuin), Margaret (July 13), Bavo (with or without Remigius, October 1), and Clement (November 23), see M. Hülsmann 2004, 104. For the Lamb of God panel stamp of the binding and associated tools, see Verheyden 1952–54, 232–36 (his type III C), and M. Hülsmann 2004, 117–18 (her Type IIIb.2) and 124, no. 13 (citing the present manuscript) and 135, fig. 11 (virtually identical binding type on the upper cover of a manuscript in Amsterdam, UB, ms. V H 7).

4 Leaves removed after f. 71r containing the end of the Long Hours of the Cross and the beginning of the Hours of the Holy Spirit; see Pierpont Morgan Library 1974, 15; Pierpont Morgan Library 1976, 41, and Wieck 1996, 247–48, 253n67.

5 The missing full-page miniatures were formerly located before f. 15r (beginning of the Hours of the Virgin, presumably with a depiction of the Annunciation), f. 43r (beginning of the Hours of the Eternal Wisdom, subject uncertain), f. 59r (beginning of the Long Hours of the Cross, presumably with a depiction of the Crucifixion), f. 81r (beginning of the Seven Penitential Psalms, possibly with a depiction of King David in Penitence), before f. 103r (beginning of the Office of the Dead, possibly with a depiction of the Raising of Lazarus), and before the incomplete beginning of the Hours of the Holy Spirit on f. 62r (presumably a depiction of Pentecost), that is, before f. 6r in the fragment of six leaves in the Morgan Library & Museum, MS M.959.

6 F 'c.' in editions of the block book; London, BM, 1845,0809.26.

7 The juxtaposition of the Annunciation with the Temptation of Eve, also found in the Netherlandish block book of the *Biblia pauperum* (London, BM, 1845,0809.13), has deep roots in Christian learning and iconography, based among other things on the inversion between *Ave* (the first word of the angelic salutation at the Annunciation, which begins *Ave Maria gratia plena*) and Eva. For the tradition, see Guldan 1966.

8 Vienna, Kunsthistorisches Museum, GG 5822a. For this imagery of the serpent in Hugo's panel, see Koch 1965.

9 Wieck 1983b, 48. For the Vienna Master of Mary of Burgundy, see Kren and McKendrick 2003, 122–27 and cat. nos. 17–22.

10 For Lieven van Lathem, see Kren and McKendrick 2003, 239, cat. nos. 16, 17, 19, 20, and 58–60, and de Schryver 2008.

11 Ms. 37, f. 106r, for which see de Schryver 2008, 200.

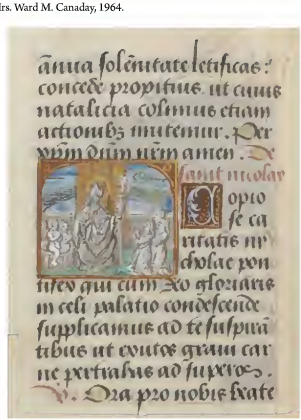
12 E.g., ff. 12v, 14r, 17v, 19v, 29r, 30v, 40r, 40v, 43v, etc. in the Getty prayer book.

13 For another example of a decorated margin consisting of a similar gold architectural framework, in this case with a depiction in the lower portion of children playing tops (rather than knucklebones) on gravestones, see a leaf in the Da Costa Hours (New York, PLM, MS M.399, f. 167r), a manuscript illuminated c. 1515 by Simon Bening of Bruges and a painter from the circle of the Master of the Prayer Books of around 1500 (Willemsen 1998, fig. 101, and for the manuscript Kren and McKendrick 2003, 450–51, cat. no. 140, and G. Clark 2010).

14 For the Master of the First Prayer Book of Maximilian, see Kren and McKendrick 2003, 190–91, cat. nos. 41–43 and 85–86, and Goehring 2008. For the Master of the Prayer Books, Kren and McKendrick 2003, 394, cat. nos. 118–22. I am grateful to Bodo Brinkmann, Margaret Goehring, Lieve de Kesel, and Thomas Kren for kindly sharing observations and opinions about the styles of the miniatures in the Harvard hours.

122. Book of hours
Antoine Rolin Master (illuminator)

Valenciennes or Mons, Hainault, c. 1490–1500
Parchment, ff. 219, 138 x 110 (73 x 51–52) mm
Harvard University, Houghton Library, MS Lat 275[1]
Sabina Sopheja Behren, Magdeburg, 1624; Adriana Raphael Salem; gift of Mr. and Mrs. Ward M. Canaday, 1964.



f. 150v

The suffrage to Guislenus (ff. 151v–52v), bishop of Cambrai and founder of the abbey of Sts. Peter and Paul at Saint-Ghislain, near Mons, suggests a destination in the Hainault for this codex.[2] An origin there is confirmed by the miniatures, which are in the style of the Antoine Rolin Master, as Anne-Marie Legaré first recognized in 1991. Named after a *Livre des Échecs amoureux* in Paris (BnF, ms. fr. 9197) made for Antoine Rolin (d. 1497), *grand bailli* of the Hainault, and his wife Marie d'Ailly (d. 1498), the Antoine Rolin Master is thought to have been active between about 1490 and 1520 in Valenciennes, Mons, or both.[3]

As many of the Houghton illuminations have been overpainted, Legaré's ascription of the miniatures to the circle of the artist is entirely understandable. Writing six years later, Bodo Brinkmann nonetheless saw no reason not to attribute them to the master himself.[4] Examination of two of the unretouched illuminations, the ones that introduce the suffrages to Sts. Nicholas and Hubert (ff. 150v–51r), suggests that Brinkmann is right.

All of the small Houghton miniatures are painted in near-grisaille. Here painterly touches of pale gray over darker gray describe figures and stuffs; stretches of pale green render verdure; varying shades of blue describe skies; silver leaf, much of it now oxidized, is used to depict striated clouds; and touches of matte gold render halos and the cloth of honor behind Nicholas. Although most contemporary representations of the saint show him with just the three boys he saved from the pickling tub, here we also see the three girls Nicholas rescued from prostitution. This very unusual combination also appears in four other renditions of the saint by the Antoine Rolin Master.[5]

Near-monochrome and full polychromy are employed in the Houghton hours as well: the large depiction of John on Patmos, for example, is executed entirely in pale brown and matte gold while the surrounding strewn-flower border is rendered in full color (f. 14v). That and the other trompe-l'œil borders in the manuscript suggest a date between about 1490 and 1500 for the Houghton hours.

Gregory T. Clark

1 Bond and Faye 1962, 245; Wieck 1983b, 112, figs. 29–30; Legaré, Guichard Tesson, and Roy 1991, 94; Cheng 2006.

2 Although Legaré stated in 1992 (220, no. 27) that the Houghton calendar is for Cambrai, no red-letter Cambrai saints (Vincent Madelgarus on July 14, Guislenus on October 10, for example) are present and the regional saints who are included are broadly northeastern French in origin.

3 For the most recent overview of the Antoine Rolin Master's career, see Scot McKendrick's essay on the artist in Kren and McKendrick 2003, 407–8.

4 Brinkmann (1997, 1:219–20) also provides the most complete published list to date of manuscripts by the Antoine Rolin Master. Whereas Legaré (1992, 217–20) orders her manuscripts alphabetically, Brinkmann orders his in approximate chronological order.

5 The four are in Munich, BSB, Clm 23240 (Legaré 1992, no. 13), f. 138v (five-line miniature, in grisaille); Baltimore, Walters Art Mus., Ms. W.431 (Legaré 1992, no. 6), f. 110v (marginal lozenge, in grisaille); New York, PLM, MS M.1053 (Legaré 1992, no. 15), f. 192v (five-line miniature, polychromed); and Ramsen (CH), Tenschert and König 1991, cat. no. 28; Brinkmann 1997, 1:220, f. 148r (marginal lozenge, in grisaille).

123. Prayer book
Masters of Wouter Grauwert (illuminators)

Utrecht, the Netherlands, c. 1445–55
Parchment, ff. vii + 140, 113–14 x 79–80 (c. 68–69 x 44–45) mm
Boston Public Library, MS q Med. 162 (formerly Ms. 1587)
Muriel Agnes Fry, 1921; sold with her father, Lewis Salisbury Fry's collection, Sotheby's, London, May 16, 1955, lot 97; purchased by BPL in 1957 from Maggs.

f. 185v (detail)

This is an exceedingly rare example of a richly decorated and illustrated Latin prayer book from the northern Netherlands, where books of hours, more than 90 percent of which were in the Dutch translation of Geert Grote, dominated the production of illustrated books of private devotion.[1] That fact alone implies that this manuscript was an exceptional commission.

The contents of the volume are relatively conventional in their overall structure, consisting of blocks of prayers directed primarily to Christ (particularly in his Passion) and those connected with the Mass and the Eucharist (ff. 1–126), to Mary (ff. 127–225), and to saints (ff. 226–40). The selection of the texts is nonetheless noteworthy because of the inclusion of rhymed devotional texts on Christ's Life and Passion by two English authors active during the thirteenth century, the *Philomena* of John Peckham, archbishop of Canterbury from 1279–92 (ff. 67r–75r, attributed here, as was not uncommon in late medieval manuscripts, to St. Bonaventure), and the likewise named *Philomena* of John of Hoveden, a Franciscan friar who died in 1275 (ff. 104r–21r, here in an excerpted version); these texts are rarely found in fifteenth-century works from the northern Netherlands. A good many of the prayers in the volume derive from liturgical texts, including hymns and sequences (some of these also in verse), and the volume includes prayers to be recited before, during and after Mass (including one said by priests), all of which suggests that the owner of this book belonged to or moved in the circles of an ecclesiastical community. Although we have no knowledge of the identity of the original owner of the manuscript, the patron must have been affiliated with or have been under the spiritual guidance of Carthusians. This can be surmised by the inclusion of a nine-part prayer on the sacrament, in which the first letters of each part spell out the word "Carthusia" (ff. 54v–61v) as well as of prayers to St. Hugh of Grenoble and St. Hugh of Lincoln (ff. 230v–31r), both of whom were specially venerated by Carthusians.

The evidence for localizing the production of this manuscript to the northern Netherlands, and specifically to Utrecht, derives from its decoration and illustration rather than its contents. They are in the distinctive style of either a collaborator or a close follower of the best-known and most accomplished illuminator in the tradition of Dutch manuscript illumination, the Master of Catherine of Cleves; indeed, this painter may have contributed border decoration to some of the text pages in the Cleves Hours.[2] Five other illuminated manuscripts can be attributed to this painter: a Latin bible in two volumes with colophons stating that it was written in 1443 and 1445 by Jacob Teuer for Wouter Grauwert, dean of the Chapter of Sint Salvator in Utrecht from 1429–56;[3] one volume of a Dutch vernacular history bible dated 1443;[4] portions of a Latin missal for Utrecht use in Toledo, Spain;[5] and Dutch-language books of hours in Rostock[6] and Utrecht.[7] Because of the ample documentation of the first of the above-named manuscripts, we propose to name this illuminator the Master of Wouter Grauwert (or "masters," as more than one painter may have worked in this style and there are also qualitative differences among the works in the group).[8] The bible of Wouter Grauwert also provides a localization of the œuvre to Utrecht and a provisional date for some of the known works in the mid-1440s.

Elements that link works by this hand to some of the decorated text leaves in the Hours of Catherine of Cleves, as well as to one another, include their distinctive border decoration, particularly the illuminator's predilection for painted foliage curled or wrapped around ball- or globe-like cores (most in gold or orange-red), or around protruding spadix-like forms; analogous decorative motifs appear on many of the text leaves of the Hours of the Virgin and the Long Hours of the Cross in the Cleves Hours and are a virtual hallmark of works by the Masters of Wouter Grauwert. There are additional close links between the Boston prayer book and the bible of Wouter Grauwert, such as the shared use of some figural motifs, including marginal grotesques.[9]

The historiated initial of a man in an ermine-lined blue cloak kneeling in prayer before a prie-dieu on f. 185v merits special attention. As this initial introduces the text of selections from John of Hoveden's *Philomena*, the kneeling figure might conceivably represent the author, John of Hoveden. But John of Hoveden was a Franciscan friar, so ought not to be represented in the garb of a wealthy figure. Depictions of this type, moreover, recall conventional representations of the patrons of illuminated manuscripts in prayer, suggesting instead that this figure might portray the person who commissioned the manuscript.[10] The original owner would in any case have been a well-off and a highly educated person, and likely a member of the urban patriciate, comparable socially and presumably also in spiritual and ecclesiastical standing to Wouter Grauwert, the patron of the bible for whom the painter is named.

James H. Marrow

1 For Grote's Dutch-language translation of the book of hours, see Van Wijk 1940, Marrow 2007, and Korteweg 2013 (the last two with additional bibliography). No illustrated Latin prayer books are included in the corpus of illuminated manuscripts from the northern Netherlands published by Byvanck and Hoogewerff 1922–26, nor in A. Byvanck 1937. For a Latin prayer book with small column miniatures attributed to Utrecht and dated c. 1440 in Darmstadt, UB, Hs. 1961, see Achten, Eizenhöfer, and Knaus 1972, 33–37, cat. no. 2 (although the style of this manuscript and features of its few Dutch texts suggest that it should be localized to the Dutch-German border region, rather than to Utrecht).

2 For the Hours of Catherine of Cleves (New York, PLM, MSS M.917 and M.945), see the facsimile, *Hours of Catherine of Cleves* 2009–10, and Dückers and Priem 2009. In earlier literature, the presumed assistant or collaborator who contributed the border decoration on some text leaves in the Hours of Catherine of Cleves was named Master Azor (Calkins 1979, 30–31 and 43–46) or the Master of The Hague 69 B 10 after the manuscript cited below, note 4 (see the essay by Anne Korteweg in Dückers and Priem 2009, 59 and 62).

3 Private collection, Switzerland (formerly Wardington Manor, collection of Lord Wardington), for which see Wüstefeld and Morcos 2015, 321, 324–27, cat. no. 61.

4 The Hague, KB, Ms. 69 B 10, for which see Defoer, Korteweg, and Wüstefeld 1990, 143–45, no. 43, pl. 43, figs. 72–74; Calkins 1979, 30–31, 43–46 and passim; and Dückers and Priem 2009, 172–73, cat. no. 16.

5 Toledo, Bibl. Cap., MS. 52.12, for which see Janini and González 1977, 206–7, cat. no. 202. This little-known manuscript, which has apparently not yet been reproduced, was illuminated by two painters, the second hand being one of the Masters of the Zwolle Bible (see cat. nos. 22 and 127 in this volume). Leaves with miniatures and border decoration by the Masters of Wouter Grauwert are ff. 5r, 15r, 106r, 231r, and 242v; those by one of the Masters of the Zwolle Bible are ff. 127r, 256r, 332v (full-page Crucifixion prefacing the canon of the Mass), and 333r. Considering the collaboration of these two illuminators, the Toledo missal may be a relatively late work by the Masters of Wouter Grauwert, dating perhaps from c. 1460–70.

6 Rostock, UB, Mss. Theol. 24, for which see A. Byvanck 1937, 83, 154, pl. 66, and Heydeck 2001, 167–71. Byvanck unfortunately reproduces only two inserted full-page miniatures from the Rostock hours rather than any of the illuminated text pages which contain the painter's more familiar and characteristic decorative motifs; for a reproduction of one of those text leaves, see Lievens 1963, fig. 14 (the peacock in the right margin of this leaf is a close cousin of that on f. 138r of the Boston prayer book, and the eagle-like bird on f. 165r in the Rostock hours is a reversed version of that on f. 45r in the Boston volume).

7 Utrecht, RMCC, BMH h165, for which see Wüstefeld 1993, 139–40; Wüstefeld 2006, 588–89, fig. 1, and 599, no. 18; and Dückers and Priem 2009, 174–75, cat. no. 17.

8 Questions remain about the precise number of works attributable to the Masters of Wouter Grauwert and of the number of painters who worked in the style and collaborated in the illumination of works ascribed to them. A good many of these questions are focused on the illumination of the history bible in The Hague, Ms. 69 B 10 (note 4, above) and their possible participation in the decoration and illustration of other history bibles, including examples in Amsterdam, Rijksmuseum, KOG Ms. 1, and London, BL, Add. MS. 15410, which also includes some miniatures attributed to the Master of Catherine of Cleves. See, *inter alia*, the discussions in Calkins 1979, 30 and 39–46, and Dückers and Priem 2009, 172–73, cat. no. 16.

9 The historiated initial of a fool emerging in half length from a flower bud playing two pipes in the Boston prayer book (f. 148r), for example, has a close counterpart in vol. 1, f. 115r of the bible of Wouter Grauwert, and the hybrid figure of a cardinal with the lower body of a four-footed animal who regards himself in a mirror at the lower left corner of the marginal decoration on f. 104r of the Boston prayer book is closely related to the like figure in a painted initial of the bible of Wouter Grauwert, vol. 1, f. 368v.

10 As noted by Carmichael 1980, 43, 112, figs. 41–44 (comparisons with four depictions of Jean, duc de Berry in prayer from the *Petites Heures de Jean de Berry*, Paris, BnF, ms. lat. 18014, ff. 106r, 121v, 145v, and 176v).

124. Book of hours, use of Utrecht

Delft, the Netherlands, c. 1460–80
Parchment, ff. iii (i = paper with modern notes about ownership, pasted to the inside cover; ii–iii are a parchment bifolio) + 134 + iii, 165–67 x 123 (c. 92–93 x 58–60) mm
Boston Public Library, MS q Med. 86 (formerly Ms. 1513)
Jean de Meyer of Ghent (Camile Vyt catalogue, November 1869, no. 57); William Loring Andrews; Cortland Bishop (probably de Ricci [1935–40], 1:1659, no. 25, later sold by American Art/Anderson with the Bishop collection on April 25, 1938, lot 1410); purchased by BPL in December 1939 from Gabriel Wells.

The calendar of this manuscript, with entries in red of the two major patron saints of Delft (Hippolytus and Ursula and the 11,000 Virgins), indicate that this book was produced for use in Delft. The distinctive decoration of the volume, with intricate red and blue and pen-flourish initials and marginal decoration is also a hallmark of manuscript production in Delft from the 1440s into the 1480s.[1] The decoration in this manuscript belongs to two subgroups of work in this manner,

named the "scallop style" for examples where the pen-flourish decoration is asymmetrical and curvilinear in profile, and the "block group" for examples, usually later in date, where the decoration is organized into rectilinear panels in the margins.[2] Most of the marginal decoration in this manuscript is in the "block style," which suggests a date in the period c. 1460–80. St. Francis is cited in red in the calendar and is second among the confessors in the litany of saints, implying that the manuscript was made for use in a Franciscan institution in Delft, most likely one of the female houses of the Third Order of St. Francis there. In the present state of our knowledge, however, it is not possible to assign the production of this manuscript to a particular house in Delft.[3]

f. 80r

Textual elements also confirm an assignment of the manuscript to Delft. These include the sequence of the texts, in which the Hours of the Eternal Wisdom appears first, followed by the Long Hours of the Cross and of the Holy Spirit, with the text of the Hours of the Virgin following only thereafter. The manuscript may well be incomplete, as it lacks a text of the Office of the Dead, found in virtually all books of hours, and sets of prayers, such as those for communion, to Mary, Christ, and saints, which in a great many Delft books of hours are considerable in number. The remaining portions nonetheless include other texts prominent in books of hours from Delft, such as moralizing line fillers and dicta attributed to saints (ff. 55v, 79v, 114v). Although most of the texts are in the well-known translation ascribed to Geert Grote, the glossed version of the Seven Penitential Psalms (ff. 115r–25v) is not, and differs from variants of that text published hereto.[4]

The illustration of the manuscript consists of historiated initials at the beginning of the five major texts, as well as thirty-eight small painted depictions of birds, other animals, objects, or figures in the outer margins, thirty-five of which are accompanied by scrolls with inscriptions, many of them rhymed, in blue script. Marginal figures of this type are among the foremost characteristics of manuscript decoration from Delft from the 1440s through the 1480s, particularly in manuscripts made in and for use in convents there.[5] The execution of the historiated initials and marginal figures in this group of manuscripts differs considerably in refinement, suggesting that artists of varying ability worked in this manner. The proportions of the figures in the historiated initials in this volume are awkward and the drawing is somewhat stiff, which accords with a hypothesis that they were produced by monastic decorators, perhaps nuns, rather than secular illuminators.

The depictions of figures, objects, birds, and other animals in the margins of the book are in many cases more skillfully executed. This may indicate that different painters produced the marginal depictions. But it also makes clear the major role such figures have in the illustration and the edifying function of books of this type from Delft. Such figures appear on most of the richly decorated pages in the book, particularly at the divisions and subdivisions of major texts. In addition to adding to the visual interest of these pages, they provide visual and textual glosses for the user, as most are accompanied by speech scrolls which variously expand upon the themes of the texts they accompany and furnish the reader with short injunctions intended to help readers reform their lives. Examples of thematically overt marginal subjects include a depiction of the blindfolded head of Christ at prime of the Cross (f. 43r) accompanied by a scroll stating "I am bound in this way because of your sins," or that of an angel at vespers of the Hours of the Virgin (f. 106r) with a scroll that proclaims "The mother of mercy should be trusted in eternity." Other marginal inscriptions offer more general injunctions, such as "In all your sorrow, do not forget God" (f. 95r) or "The Lord sees all things" (f. 103v). Exceptionally, on the leaf that introduces the Hours of the Virgin (f. 80r), the figure of the angel Gabriel in the margin combines with that of the Virgin Annunciate in the historiated initial to portray the Annunciation across different zones of the page. The marginal figures focus attention, stimulate the faculty of memory, and guide readers to some of the kinds of edifying and moralizing reflections urged upon the faithful by proponents of the Modern Devotion. According to that view, the reading of religious texts ought to have both devotional and instructional purposes.[6] In manuscripts illustrated in this manner, the texts of the book of hours provide familiar devotional matter, while the marginal figures and speech scrolls furnish readers with cues for instruction and spiritual reformation.

James H. Marrow

1 Korteweg 1992, 56–66, cat. nos. 29–33.
2 Ibid.
3 By far the best-known manuscripts assignable to a particular convent in Delft in this period are those identified by inscriptions, some of them accompanying marginal illustrations, stating that the works were written and illuminated at the convent of Canonesses Regular of St. Agnes; see most recently Rudy 2013. Manuscripts were also produced at the convents of St. Anna (Canonesses Regular), St. Barbara (Tertiaries), and St. Ursula (Tertiaries) in Delft, if not also elsewhere in the city; see Venner and Chavannes-Mazel 1979, 1:134–38, 2: figs. 240–51; Korteweg 1992, 56–66, cat. nos. 29–33; and Rudy 2008.
4 For the published version ascribed to Geert Grote, see Van Wijk 1940, 139–45. For variant versions, Wesseling 1993.
5 Rudy 2008.
6 Wesseling 1993, 111 and 113, the latter citing the characterization of the Modern Devotion as a movement whose goal was "the search for a new meditation technique for the working classes, directed toward the reformation of the soul and the rejuvenation of the spirit as the basis for renewal of the communal life, whether within or outside monastic walls" (Van Engen 1988, 2, from the preface by Heiko A. Oberman).

125. Book of hours, use of Utrecht
Masters of Gijsbrecht van Brederode (illuminators)

Possibly Hoorn (script and decoration of text pages), and Utrecht (inserted miniatures), North Holland, c. 1460–75
Parchment, ff. iii (modern paper) + 227 + iii (modern paper), 167–68 x 117 (c. 90–92 x 54–56) mm
Boston College, John J. Burns Library, MS.1986.093
Prince of Liechtenstein; acquired 1957–59 from Lauriat's, Boston by Richard G. O'Brien who gave it to Boston College in 1965.

f. 91v

The text and miniatures of this volume were produced independently of one another, and in different locales. The text pages are decorated with refined and elaborate pen-flourishes of the so-called mask group, which has been associated thus far with manuscripts written and presumably also decorated in Amsterdam or other locales in North Holland.[1] Although found primarily in unillustrated codices, another example of this pen-flourish style occurs in an illustrated book of hours in the New York Public Library.[2]

The four inserted full-page miniatures are by the one of the Masters of Gijsbrecht van Brederode, several of whose works (including the eponymous Hours of Gijsbrecht van Brederode) were made for patrons from Utrecht;[3] a fifth miniature, presumably of Pentecost, appears to have inserted before the beginning of the Hours of the Holy Spirit on f. 118r, but is lacking from the manuscript. As the dimensions of the miniatures closely match that of justification on text pages, the miniatures were perhaps ordered specially for the manuscript, rather than having been purchased after the fact on the open market. Features familiar from other works by the Masters of Gijsbrecht van Brederode include the curling acanthus, dotted along the central axis, which is found in the margins of the miniatures;[4] some of the color combinations found in this foliage, especially milky blue and green contrasted with pink; and thick, burnished gold backgrounds of some miniatures, which is a *retardataire* element in a work of the third quarter of the century.[5]

The miniatures are relatively unelaborated. The Annunciation (f. 13v) recalls compositional and coloristic features of a historiated initial in the smallest of the artist's known works, a Latin book of hours in Utrecht.[6] The Ascension (f. 91v) , which is compositionally more elaborate than the other miniatures in this book, shares some features with a woodcut designed by the so-called Second Gouda Woodcutter, which first appeared in books published in the early 1480s.[7] Unusual features common to the two representations include the indentations in the foreground edge of the landscape and the blocky front edge of the hill from which Christ ascends. Although other differences between the compositions preclude their being directly affiliated, they may descend from a common model.

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1 See Korteweg 1992, 84–95, now superseded by Hülsmann, who assigns the text pages of this manuscript to a subgroup of works she localizes provisionally to a monastery of the Third Order of St. Francis at Sint-Pietersdal in Hoorn (H. Hülsmann 2009, 150, 152 and fig. 60), founded in 1457 by three brothers from the Sint-Paulusconvent in Amsterdam; in 1461 this monastery joined the stricter order of the Brothers of the Cross (Kruisheren), who followed the stricter monastic rule of St. Augustine. In addition to their styles of pen-flourish decoration, Hülsmann links the manuscripts in this group through a set of seventeen entries in their calendars, which she terms a "West Frisian" group (H. Hülsmann 2009, 145–46 and 150).
2 Spencer MS. 152 (Alexander, Marrow, and Sandler 2005, 305–8, cat. no. 68), illustrated with inserted miniatures by the Master of the Boston City of God, now identified as Antonis Rogiersz. uten Broec, whose work is found primarily in books made in or for use in Utrecht in the 1460s. For the eponymous manuscript by the Master of the Boston City of God, see cat. no. 92.
3 For the Masters of Gijsbrecht van Brederode, see Defoer, Korteweg, and Wüstefeld 1990, 198–99, cat. nos. 61, 65 (the eponymous hours made for Gijsbrecht van Brederode, dean of Utrecht Cathedral, in Liège, BU, Ms. Wittert 13), and 66–69.
4 See comparable examples in books of hours in Utrecht, RMCC, ABM 12b (Defoer, Korteweg, and Wüstefeld 1990, cat. no. 67) and some of the inserted full-page miniatures in Weimar, HAAB, Cod. Oct. 83 (Byvanck and Hoogewerff 1922–26, cat. no. 77, pl. 10A-C; Rothe 1968, pl. 107; and the description of the manuscript in the relatively recent catalogue, Bushey 2004, 404–9).
5 Other manuscripts with miniatures by the Masters of Gijsbrecht van Brednode with comparable burnished gold backgrounds include books of hours in the Cleveland Museum of Art (1998.124; Defoer, Korteweg, and Wüstefeld 1990, cat. no. 66) and Liège (Ms. Wittert 34; Defoer, Korteweg, and Wüstefeld 1990, no. 68, miniatures on ff. 13r, 95r).
6 Utrecht, RMCC, ABM 12b (Defoer, Korteweg, and Wüstefeld 1990, cat. no. 67), f. 13r (W. de Vreese 1923, 208, fig. 8).
7 Indestege 1952, pl. 133, which is a reversed version of an engraving by Israhel van Meckenem, Lehrs 1908–34, 9:132–33, no. 116.

126. Book of hours, use of the Windesheim Congregation (Hours of the Virgin) and use of Utrecht (Office of the Dead)
Master of Hugo Jansz. van Woerden (illuminator)

North Holland (script, decoration, and binding) and Leiden (miniatures), the Netherlands, c. 1490
Parchment, ff. i (conjoint of the pastedown) + 111 (ff. 1–52 [52bis], 53–110), 159–60 x 111 (c. 84–85 x 57–58) mm
Tufts University, Tisch Library, Special Collections, Ms. 9
Gift of Walter F. Welch Jr.

f. 15r

This book of hours is written in Latin rather than the Dutch vernacular, which is found in more than 90 percent of books of hours made in and for use in the northern Netherlands. The sequence of the texts is unusual, commencing after the calendar with the Seven Penitential Psalms and litany and placing the Hours of the Virgin after such texts as the Hours of the Cross and the Office of the Dead, instead of before them, as in the great majority of *horae* from the northern Netherlands.[1] This could indicate that the original or the intended order of the gatherings was disturbed before the manuscript received its present binding. A rubric at the end of a gathering on f. 31v, which announces a Prayer of St. Bernard to Mary, supports this hypothesis, as it does not link up with the text of the Long Hours of the Cross which commences on f. 32r.

The volume contains a considerable number of Latin prayers, suggesting that it was specially commissioned for a well-educated patron. The litany of saints is particularly unusual, incorporating prayers after each of the classes of saints in its lists of names, beginning with the members of the Trinity, Mary and the angels, and continuing through the patriarchs and prophets, apostles, martyrs, confessors and virgins. Thus far, we have not been able to identify any other manuscript containing a litany with comparable or identical prayers.[2] One wonders what model the compilers of this manuscript used for this text, the more so as saints cited in the litany do not correlate with those found in the overwhelming majority of manuscripts from the northern Netherlands. Examples include the citations of St. Silvester first among the Confessors (Martin or Augustine are customary in most Dutch litanies), and Felicitas first among the Virgins (Mary Magdalene or Agnes are customarily cited first among the virgins in Dutch litanies), and the inclusion of such female saints as Blandina and Gertrude, and a concluding quartet of Sara, Anna, Elizabeth, and Susanna, cited as exemplary women from the Old and the New Testament. None of these elements suggest a localization or destination for the litany of saints, but they might conceivably indicate that the manuscript as made for a member of a convent of socially elevated women.

The pen-flourish decoration of the manuscript points to its having been written in North Holland, and the binding contains a panel stamp of the Savior in a mandorla and roundel, accompanied by surrounding small stamps found primarily in manuscripts from Haarlem and its surroundings, also in North Holland.[3] In contrast, the three historiated initials (out of a probable original set of four: the leaf that originally commenced the text of the Hours of the Virgin has been excised from the book), can be attributed to one of the Masters of Hugo Jansz. van Woerden, who worked primarily in Leiden.[4] The historiated initial of David in Penitence (f. 15r), for example, has a close counterpart in a comparable initial (although in reversed orientation) in one of the finest works in this style, the former Dyson Perrins Hours now in the Liberna Collection.[5] But all other elements of the *facture* of the volume (script style, pen-flourishes, painted border decoration) differ from comparable features in manuscripts illustrated by the Masters of Hugo Jansz. van Woerden, suggesting that one or more of these painters was commissioned to contribute historiated initials to a manuscript written elsewhere than in Leiden.

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1 The localization of the manuscript to the northern Netherlands is indicated in the first instance by the calendar, which is that of the diocese of Utrecht, by the use of the Hours of the Virgin, which is that of the Windesheim Congregation, and the use of the Office of the Dead, which is that of Utrecht. For these indications of liturgical or para-liturgical uses, see Korteweg 2013.

2 Among colleagues I consulted in an unsuccessful effort to identify other examples of these or comparable prayers in a litany of saints, I thank François Avril, Gregory Clark, Margriet Hülsmann, Anne Korteweg, Dominique Vanwijnsberghe, and Roger Wieck.

3 As suggested to me by Margriet Hülsmann, the pen-flourish decoration in the manuscript can be compared with that in a book of hours localized to North Holland in The Hague, KB, Ms. 76 G 15, for which see Korteweg 1992, 11, cat. no. 92. Other manuscripts that Margriet Hülsmann suggests as examples containing pen-flourish decoration in the same or related styles include a missal, written for the new church in Sloterdijk to the west of Amsterdam in Copenhagen, KB, Ms. Thott 148 2°, a choir breviary in Haarlem, StB, Ms. 184 C 3 (since 2009 kept in the City Archives), and books of hours in Brussels, BRB, ms. IV 675; Paris, BnF, ms. Néerlandais 108; and formerly Amsterdam, BPH, MSS. 12 and 163 (Ritman Collection; now the property of The Hague, KB). For other manuscripts with bindings of the panel stamp Weale R. 292 and identical small stamps in the borders of a rosette surrounded by four smaller rosettes of four petals, alternating with four so-called Haarlem "little moons," Margriet Hülsmann kindly refers (in personal correspondence) to volumes in 's-Heerenbergh, Huis Bergh, ms. 6; Leeuwarden, Tresoar, PBF 692 hs; The Hague, KB, Ms. 70 H 31; and Utrecht, RMCC, OKM h 2, and BMH Warm h 92A3.

4 For the Masters of Hugo Jansz. van Woerden, see Defoer, Korteweg, and Wüstefeld 1990, 286–88, 295–97, cat. nos. 104–5, and Van der Vlist 2008, 78–81.

5 Ms. 1, f. 41r, now on deposit at Mettingen (Germany), Draiflessen Collection, for which manuscript see Defoer, Korteweg, and Wüstefeld 1990, cat. no. 104, and Van der Vlist 2008, 78–81. See a black and white illustration of the historiated initial of David in Penitence in this manuscript in part 3 of the catalogue of the Dyson Perrins sale at Sotheby's, London (November 29, 1960, lot 139, pl. 40) and a color reproduction in *Beauty of Precision* 2012, 116–17 (entry), plate on 117. For a related version from a somewhat later manuscript, when the style of the Masters of Hugo Jansz. van Woerden begins to evolve into that of the Masters of the Suffrages, see the book of hours in Liège, BU, Ms. Wittert 33, f. 65r (Brassinne 1923, pl. 6). The historiated initial of Souls in Purgatory (f. 48r) can be compared with that in a book of hours by the Masters of Hugo Jansz. van Woeden in Cambridge, UK, UL, MS Add.4097, f. 125r. The historiated initial with a depiction of the Sudarium with the Face of Jesus (f. 32r) appears to be the work of a different painter.

127. Book of hours, use of Utrecht
Masters of the Zwolle Bible (illuminators)

Probably Zwolle, eastern Netherlands, c. 1475–80
Parchment, ff. ii (paper) + 155 + ii (paper), 165–67 x 124 (c. 88–90 x 63–65) mm
Boston Public Library, MS q Med. 172 (formerly Ms. 1597)
Beresford-Hope sale, Sotheby's, London, March 23, 1882, lot 23; purchased by BPL in 1957 from Nijhoff.

ff. 110r–11v

This manuscript is an example of regional book illumination in the northern Netherlands during the third or the early last quarter of the fifteenth century as well as of the use of printed models by miniaturists. The book can be localized on stylistic grounds to Zwolle in the eastern Netherlands. The painter of the miniatures and their accompanying painted border decoration is one of the Masters of the Zwolle Bible, so named because of their contributions to a monumental, six-volume bible from the collegiate church at Utrecht that was written between 1464 and 1476 at the community of the Brethren of the Common Life at Zwolle (the *Domus Fratrum seu Clericorum*).[1]

In its layout, most of its contents, and many features of its decoration and illustration, this volume belongs to a group of more than sixty other manuscripts, predominantly books of hours, produced apparently for the open market, rather than on commission. Known collectively as the "Sarijs manuscripts" after a scribal error that appears in many of the calendars of the group ("Sarijs" written incorrectly in place of "Marijs" on January 19), they may have been written by students of the Brethren of the Common Life at Zwolle who lived at the so-called *Domus parva*.[2] This volume, however, must have been specially commissioned. Its calendar is unlike those in any of the other Sarijs manuscripts, lacking the usual scribal error of "Sarijs" on January 19, and it includes an entry in red of St. Jeroen, which indicates that it was made for someone resident in the country of Holland rather than the eastern Netherlands.[3] Its cycle of illustration, moreover, is more extensive and complex than those found in most other books of hours of the Sarijs group, and some of its miniatures are more refined than those in most works belonging to the group.

The cycle of illumination is noteworthy because of its contents and the dependence of several of its best miniatures on compositional models provided by woodcuts and engravings. In addition to a conventional historiated initial of King David in Penitence, for example, the leaf commencing the Seven Penitential Psalms and litany (f. 111r) includes framed marginal miniatures of Sts. Barbara and Mary Magdalene, which must have been included at the behest of the patron. The historiated initial that commences the Hours of the Holy Spirit depicts Moses receiving the Tablets of the Law (f. 89r), one of the Old Testament prefigurations of Pentecost, which was the probable subject of a full-page miniature apparently excised from the manuscript after f. 88v; the figure of Moses receiving the Law in this initial derives from a woodcut illustration of the same subject in the Netherlandish block book of the *Biblia pauperum*, which was one of the major compendia linking events from Salvation history with their Old Testament antecedents.[4]

Other miniatures reflect engraved models. The full-page miniature of the Agony in the Garden of Gethsemane (f. 47v) echoes an engraving of that subject by the Master E. S.[5] That of the Crucifixion (f. 67v) excerpts the gesturing man with a distinctive three-level head-piece at the right of the Cross from an engraving by the Master IAM van Zwolle.[6] The figures of Mary and St. John at the left of the Cross in the same miniature appear again in Crucifixions in two the most refined of the manuscripts of the Sarijs group, there accompanied by a third mourning figure;[7] both probably derive from a common model, very likely a lost engraving which may be echoed in turn in a multi-figured engraved Calvary scene by Israhel van Meckenem.[8]

The dependence on printed models in some of the miniatures of this manuscript can be attributed to a presumed lack of a highly developed tradition of manuscript illustration in a provincial center such as Zwolle. That dependence also underscores the growing importance of prints as repositories of authoritative and refined compositions and figural models for the makers of hand-produced books and the esteem in which such exemplars were held in the Low Countries.

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1 Utrecht, UB, Ms. 31, for which see Van der Horst 1989, 193–223, and Defoer, Korteweg, and Wüstefeld 1990, 244–46, cat. no. 84.
2 Wierda 1995.
3 Wierda 1991, 439n10, first called attention to the distinctive contents of the calendar in the Boston hours.
4 Wierda 1995, 73, 89, fig. 53, and 90. For another manuscript in the Sarijs group with a depiction of the same subject (London, BL, Add. MS. 29887, f. 71r), see A. de Vreese 1959, cols. 317–18 and fig. 10. For the woodcut model from the block book, see Labriola and Smelz 1990, 49.
5 Lehrs 1908–34, 2:88, no. 37. Wierda 1995, 80, figs. 28–29, and for the engraved model, Appuhn 1989, fig. 36.
6 Lehrs 1908–34, 7:186–88, no. 5. Wierda 1995, 76. For the engraving, see Hollstein 1949–2010, 12:259.
7 Cambridge, UK, UL, MS Add.4103, f. 112v (for which see Wierda 1995, 76, fig. 15 and the color reproduction in Binski and Panayotova 2005, 208–9, cat. no. 92), and Basel, Antiquariat Jörn Günther, f. 140v (for which see Wüstefeld and Morcos 2015, 350–55, cat. no. 67, and a color reproduction in

Sotheby's, London, June 21, 1988, 93).

8 Lehrs 1908–34, 9:40, no. 42. Wierda 1995, 75–76; for the somewhat awkward engraving, Hollstein 1954–2014, 24A:18.

128. Book of hours, use of the Windesheim Congregation
Masters of the Dark Eyes ("Robinson Group") and unidentified collaborator (illuminators)

Possibly South Holland, northern Netherlands, c. 1500
Parchment, ff. i + 87 + i, 218–19 x 145–46 (c. 116–17 x 81) mm
Wellesley College, Margaret Clapp Library, Special Collections, MS 29
Sotheby's, London, March 18–19, 1909, lot 285 and June 11, 1923, lot 90; gift of Bertha Mahony Miller in 1959.

f. 14v

The text of this manuscript is in Latin, rather than Dutch, which is atypical for books of hours from the northern Netherlands (the only part of Western Europe where vernacular versions of books of hours were the norm). The Hours of the Virgin is of the use of the Windesheim Congregation, found in a majority of Latin books of hours from the diocese of Utrecht.[1] The calendar of the manuscript confirms the manuscript's destination for the diocese of Utrecht. It is highly unusual, however, in including a Cisiojanus (a versified and highly abbreviated version of the entries of feasts and saints' names of the calendar), written here vertically along the right side of each of the calendar pages.[2] This is one of only three books of hours from the northern Netherlands that includes a Cisiojanus written vertically in this manner.[3]

The cycle of illumination is idiosyncratic. No other book of hours from the northern Netherlands is known in which the text of the Office of the Virgin is prefaced with a full-page illustration of St. Christopher (f. 14v). The cycle of historiated initials in the manuscript is also highly unusual, at least after the depiction of the Madonna and Child "clothed with the sun" that introduces matins of the Virgin (f. 15r). Each of the remaining seven hours of this text, from lauds to compline, commences with a historiated initial of a male or a female saint (several identifiable from the attributes they hold), and that pattern continues at the beginning of the texts of the Short Hours of the Cross (f. 46r) and the first of the prayers in the manuscript (f. 79r), each of which also begins with a historiated initial showing a saint. Considering the number of unusual textual and pictorial elements of the manuscript, it seems apparent that this book of hours was a bespoke commission, rather than a standardized or "ready made" volume.

The miniatures are the work of two painters. The more important of the two in this commission, who furnished the book with the largest and the most prominent of its illustrations, was responsible for the two full-page miniatures (ff. 14v, 78v) and the illustrations commencing matins of the Virgin (f. 15r) and the indulgenced prayer to Mary as the Apocalyptic Woman (f. 86v, the only column miniature in the manuscript). These miniatures are by one of the Masters of the Dark Eyes, so named for their habit of shading the eye-sockets of the faces of figures prominently in many of their works.[4] This painter belongs to one of the sub-groups of works by the Masters of the Dark Eyes, named the "Robinson Group" after a distinctive illustrated prayer book formerly in the collection of Philip R. Robinson (London) and now in a German private collection.[5] Among features characteristic of works belonging to the "Robinson Group" are a certain awkwardness in the proportions and the drawing of figural forms as well as in faces, some of which appear "pinched" with their eyes set unnaturally close to one another. All the remaining historiated initials are by a second painter, whose hand is not otherwise known.[6]

The full-page miniature of Man of Sorrows in the Tomb, with the Arma Christi (f. 78v) is noteworthy because of its location in the manuscript and some of its compositional features. In illuminated manuscripts from the northern Netherlands, depictions of this subject normally introduce such texts as the Hours of the Cross, the Hundred Articles on the Passion, or prayers to the suffering Christ. Here, however, this miniature prefaces the text of the "Verses of St. Gregory" (f. 79r), which in the great majority of Dutch illuminated manuscripts is introduced by a depiction of the Mass of St. Gregory. The composition of the miniature is distinctive in displaying busts of several of the protagonists pictured among the Arma Christi in small windows. Functionally, if not iconographically, this method of display has analogies in a depiction of The Abode of the Blessed in the "Golden Biblia pauperum," a Dutch manuscript of the early fifteenth century, where the blessed are portrayed as bust-length heads of women, all crowned, looking out of the windows of a small house.[7] No other depictions of the Man of Sorrows with the Arma Christi which make use of this compositional device are known.

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1 The Windesheim Congregation was an association of monasteries under the rule of the Regular Canons of St. Augustine that was founded in the northern Netherlands in the late fourteenth century in the wake of the reforming activities of the Dutch cleric, Geert Grote (d. 1384). For the Latin text of the Little Office of the Virgin Mary of the "use of Windesheim," see Marrow 2007, 279–85 and 290, appendix 1, as well as Korteweg 2013. As proven by printed examples of books of hours and breviaries dating from the late fifteenth century, both of which include rubrics identifying the Little Office of the Virgin Mary as being of the use of Windesheim or the use of Utrecht, the use of Windesheim doubled as the de facto use of Utrecht by this time.

2 See summary discussions by Leendertz 1930, and Holtorf 1978, both with additional bibliography.

3 The other two examples are Dutch-language books of hours, one with dates on computistical wheels of 1475 and 1476 and with other notes suggesting that it might have been made for use in 1481, and with pen-flourish decoration characteristic of North Holland, in Utrecht, RMCC, BMH h92A, for which see Lieftinck 1988, 129, cat. no. 756, pl. 592, and the other, dated 1532 and formerly in the collection of J. F. Wierdels in Nijmegen (present whereabouts unknown), for which see the edition by Gailliard and de Vreese 1914. While the latter example is a Dutch-language book of hours with a Dutch Cisiojanus, and Wellesley MS 29 is in Latin with a Latin-language Cisiojanus,

the example in the Museum Catharijneconvent includes a Latin Cisiojanus in a book of hours that is otherwise entirely in Dutch; its Cisiojanus is written vertically at the right side of the rectos of calendar pages and at the left side of its versos. Micha Leeflang of the Museum Catharijneconvent kindly provided me with information about Catharijneconvent, BMH h92A6 and scans of all its calendar pages.

4 Broekhuijsen 2009.

5 Ibid., 18–20 and 194–219, cat. nos. 44–54 (including the eponymous Robinson Prayer Book, Cologne, collection of Renate König, Ms. 28 [cat. no. 53]).

6 The pen-flourish decoration in the manuscript is also difficult to identify or localize with precision. In personal correspondence, however, Anne Korteweg has suggested analogies with manuscripts localized to South Holland, pointing to the "radish-like" terminals of some of the pen work (compare sketches in Korteweg 1992, 68–69).

7 London, BL, King's MS. 5, f. 30r, for which see *Biblia pauperum* 1993, facsimile volume, f. 30.

129. Book of hours, use of Metz

Metz, France, c. 1350 (additions, c. 1425–50)
Parchment, ff. ii + xii (calendar) + 142 + iii, 137 x 100 (87 x 63) mm
Boston Public Library, MS q Med. 105 (formerly Ms. 1533)
Purchased by BPL from the estate of Gabrielle Wells in 1947.

f. 9r

Devotional manuscripts from Metz, whether books of hours or devotional treatises, are known for their unconventional, highly inventive iconography.[1] Even in their treatment of conventional themes, they are highly expressive, a far cry from the more elegant, restrained idiom cultivated at the court in Paris. In short, despite their inclusion of French vernacular texts, they are more German in character, reflecting Metz's position within the archdiocese of Trier, itself part of the Holy Roman Empire.

The half-page miniature prefacing a prayer of supplication to the Virgin offers an excellent example of this regional particularity (f. 9r). The Virgin is shown in the guise of the Apocalyptic Woman (Ap 12:1–2: "And a great sign appeared in heaven: A woman clothed with the sun, and the moon under her feet, and on her head a crown of twelve stars: And being with child, she cried travailing in birth, and was in pain to be delivered"). In lieu of the aureole of twelve stars described in Revelation, a gigantic golden sunburst, with orange tongues of flame appearing between the rays of light, explodes behind the Virgin's head. In contrast to what is customary in images of Mary as the Apocalyptic Woman, she is shown sitting, not standing, a pose that identifies her simultaneously as the Madonna of Humility and a combination that originated in Italian art of the Trecento.[2] The combination of attributes underscores Christ's dual nature, both human and divine. Mary's portrayal as the *Virgo lactans* (nursing Virgin), holding up her exposed breast to nurse the Christ child, provides an additional motif underscoring the infant's humanity. The Annunciation in the bas-de page further reinforces the incarnational theme and points ahead to the Hours of the Virgin, which immediately follows in the manuscript. Last but not least, the kneeling woman in the right margin, who is placed over the liminal marker of the bar border, but who just barely touches the frame of the miniature with her clasped hands, gently transgresses the holy space at the center as she offers up her devotions in imitation of the Virgin. That the manuscript was made for a woman is further indicated by the female forms in the *Confiteor* (f. 20r).[3]

Along with the accompanying prayers, four full-page miniatures (f. 1v: Annunciation [with the words "Ecce ancilla domini" inscribed in the Virgin's open book]; f. 2v: Gnadenstuhl Trinity; f. 4v: Crucifixion; f. 6v: John the Baptist and John the Evangelist) were added, despite their old-fashioned appearance, during the second quarter of the fifteenth century. Their bright colors, broad, painterly manner, and doll-like figures with pert faces marked by button eyes mark them as anticipations of the work of the Metz-based illuminator Henri d'Orquevaulx, whose best-known work is a copy of Livy's *Décades* in the translation of Pierre Bersuire (Basel, Jörn Günther), richly illuminated in 1440 for Jean III de Vy, for whom he also illuminated a book of hours.[4] In the fourth, the Baptist, dressed in a hair shirt, holds the Agnus Dei, whereas the Evangelist holds both his Gospel, atop of which perches his attribute, the eagle, and a palm of martyrdom (despite the witness of John 21:23: "his saying therefore went abroad among the brethren, that that disciple should not die. And Jesus did not say to him: He should not die"). The calendar (ff. i–xii), written in a hand distinct from that of the added prayers, also represents a separate early fifteenth-century addition.

The original decoration of the hours has been attributed to the workshop of the illuminator of a book of hours in Oxford (Bodleian Library, MS. Douce 39), also of Metz use, dated c. 1350. Other manuscripts belonging to the group include books of hours at Yale University (Beinecke Library, MS 657) and the Hours of Jean Royère (last recorded as Paris, private collection). The manuscript in Oxford was made for a married couple; the husband is depicted once, kneeling in front of St. George (f. 14v), the wife three times (ff. 52r, 80r, and 100r: Nativity, Last Judgment, Mass of the Dead). Like the hours in Oxford, that in Boston testifies to the spread of richly illustrated books of hours, sometimes supplemented by prayers in the vernacular, to a well-to-do lay public, above all, to aristocratic ladies.

Jeffrey F. Hamburger

1 Colin-Roset 1989; Mark 1991, 664–68; Hemzik 1995.

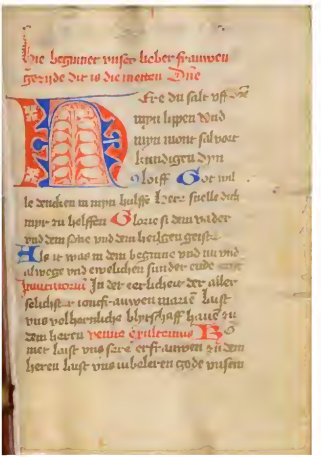
2 Williamson 2009.

3 The *Obsecro te* (ff. 154r–57r), copied from another manuscript, fails to adopt female forms.

4 Avril 1989, Hans-Collas 2000, and P-E. Wagner 2007, with a list of books of hours from Metz, including that from Boston. For the Livy, see Wüstefeld and Morcos 2015, 184–89, cat. no. 36. Also added on stiffer parchment and probably a modern restoration are ff. 73bis–75r.

130. Geert Groote, Getijdenboek

Region of Cologne (?), Lower Rhine, Germany, 1400–50
Parchment, ff. 150, 144 x 99 (99 x 64) mm
Boston Athenæum, Mss. .S27
Given to the Boston Athenæum by "Rev'd Joseph Towne, November 13, 1837" (bookplate).



f. 1r

Not all books of hours were illustrated. This tiny manuscript offers an example of the vernacular book of hours (*Getijdenboek*) of Geert Groote (1340–84), the founder of the quasi-monastic association known as the Brethren of the Common Life.[1] In contrast to France and Flanders, hours in the vernacular were the rule in the northern Netherlands. As many as three dozen copies in German translations are known.[2] Following Groote's death, the group took on institutional form as the Windesheim Congregation. Together with Florens Radewyns (c. 1350–1400), Grote sparked the religious movement known as the *Devotio Moderna* (Modern Devotion). Responding to the needs of burgeoning lay piety, Grote's hours enjoyed huge success, with as many as several thousand copies extant. The original version, in Middle Netherlandish, was translated into Lower German and Ripuarian (a dialect spoken in the region around Cologne and the language of this previously undocumented example). Groote's book of hours was not the first translation of the Little Office of the Virgin Mary into a Germanic vernacular; it was preceded by an independent translation that originated in southeastern Germany, most likely in the diocese of Passau.[3] The term translation is problematic in so far as neither Grote's hours nor its southern German equivalent was based on a single model of identifiable liturgical use.[4] In addition to the Hours of the Virgin (ff. 1r–39r), the manuscript contains collects and hymns (ff. 39r–41v), the Penitential Psalms (ff. 42r–51v), followed by the litany and petitions (ff. 51v–63r). There follow the Office of the Dead (ff. 63r–95v), the Hours of the Cross (ff. 95v–117r), and the Hours of Holy Wisdom (ff. 117r–37v). Like many German examples, the manuscript in Boston is without illustrations. Its decoration is limited to puzzle initials comprised of interlocking red and blue elements with patterns and floral motifs reserved against blank parchment (f. 1r). The manuscript, written in a formal book hand with some cursive elements (*hybrida*), was copied by the anonymous woman who concluded the manuscript with a petition in blue ink reading "Ach, sprich eyn aue maria vur mych gebrechliche schriberynne, dat ich werde eyn selige lyderynne. Vmb Ihesus willen ("Alas, say an 'Ave Maria' for me, an infirm scribe [gendered feminine], so that I may become a holy sufferer. For Jesus's sake"). The manuscript retains in its original binding of brown leather over chamfered boards decorated front and back with tooling in the form of a rectangle bisected by diagonals all made up by triple lines. Nail holes indicate that there were bosses at the corners of the back cover and a pair of missing clasps.

Jeffrey F. Hamburger

1 Gorissen 1968.
2 De Bruin 1978 and 2000–04.
3 Cermann 2005. For books of hours in Germany, see Hamburger 2013a.
4 Cermann 2005, König 1989.

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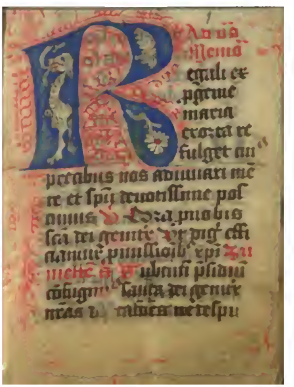
131. Dominican prayer book

Germany, 1400–1500
Parchment, ff. vi (paper) + 290 + v (paper), 102 x 76 (80 x 55) mm
Northeastern University, Snell Library, Archives & Special Collections, s.n.



f. 1r

This small book of prayers contains many of the components of a book of hours: suffrages to various saints, the Little Office of the Virgin, the Office of the Dead, the Penitential Psalms with a litany of the saints, plus additional prayers and devotions like a ferial psalter and a breviary. Written in the fifteenth century,[1] most likely for a German Dominican—among other indications, the saints called on in the litany (Ursula, Kunigunde, etc.) suggest a German origin, and the Offices of the Virgin and of the Dead are of the Dominican rite[2]—the book clearly served as a source of devotion for generations of owners.

Written in a clear Gothic bookhand, the manuscript begins with a blue floriate initial *R* containing a grotesque, which is its only illustration (f. 1r).

The manuscript's other decoration is limited to four red or blue floriated initials, although capital letters alternate in red and blue throughout.[3]

In addition to the choice of the prayers, there are other ways in which the book reveals the piety of those who used it. The outer edges of eight of its folios are marked by vellum tabs, one colored in red, for easy reference. For example, the first tab marks the beginning of prime in the Hours of the Virgin; the second tab the beginning of prime in the breviary; the third, the breviary's terce; the fourth, compline; the fifth, the Office of the Dead, etc. Many of the book's pages are heavily smudged and dirty at the lower edge, some to the extent that the text has been worn off. Several owners of the prayer book added pious interjections and explanations: for example, in the margin of the text of the Athanasian creed, as a gloss on its Trinitarian doctrine, a reader notes: "Ita dominus pater dominus filius dominus spiritus sanctus. Et tum non tres domini sed unus est dominus" ("Thus the Lord, the Father; the Lord, the Son; the Lord, the Holy Spirit. And then he is not three Lords but one Lord").

Patricia DeLeeuw

1 On the religious milieu and piety of the fifteenth century, see especially Van Engen 2008, 281–83.
2 Bonniwell 1944, 145–47.
3 Top margins show evidence of trimming, perhaps to accommodate the book's binding within boards covered with blind-tooled leather and once held by metal clasps. There is modern Arabic pencil foliation in the upper corner of each recto, and German notes on the paper pastedowns on the board covers.

132. Book of hours

Probably London, England, c. 1470
Parchment, ff. 150, 290 x 200 (109 x 67) mm
Harvard University, Houghton Library, MS Richardson 34
Lathum family, sixteenth century; William H. Woodin, his sale (New York, 1941, lot 317); bequest of William K. Richardson, 1951.

THE PAGES IN THIS BOOK OF HOURS BEARING MINIATURES were constructed in an exceptional manner involving three artists. To begin with, an English craftsman fashioned a three-sided bar frame creating a blank miniature space,[1] followed by a second who entered a frame with a curved and scalloped upper edge for each miniature,[2] and then by a third who added a floral border outside of both.[3] The miniaturist was Continental, almost certainly French,[4] as was, most likely, the third artist, responsible for the borders of both the miniatures and the facing texts pages. The miniatures belong to a Passion cycle, but begin with an Annunciation, which would normally introduce an Hours of the Virgin.

The artist of the miniatures, probably from a major workshop in France, was highly trained. His style is somewhat agitated, with figures often in strained postures; even the Virgin of the Annunciation bends backward in an odd *V*-shape. In the Passion, the participants display a variety of emotions, e.g., Pilate is downcast, and Christ, whether in the Carrying of the Cross or the Flagellation, either doleful or in anguish, looking upward for consolation (f. 37v). Exceptional detail also marks this artist's work: every conceivable item of the Instruments of the Passion is depicted with the Man of Sorrows, various types of halberds are detailed (ff. 19v, 41v), and every tapestry, canopy, and horse trapping is patterned. Costumes are elaborate and hats fantastic. There is also occasional humorous detail. For example, a tormentor in the Flagellation stops his "work" to pull up his stocking; and in the funeral service, a pillow is laid on the bench behind an overweight mourner (f. 88r). At times the iconography can be unexpected: a chalice and host in the Betrayal scene, Mary's outstretched arms in the Crucifixion, and David repenting in an interior rather than in an outdoor setting. The scenes are enclosed with a frame of stonework pillars and frequently show a deep landscape.

f. 37v

The border work by the other Continental artist is competent, repetitive, and characterized by the presence of well-drawn colored birds, blue or red cinquefoils, small strawberries, yellow and blue acanthus in corners, and occasionally grotesques, all supported by pen and ink vines with small gold motifs.[5] The English border artist inserted large branches of roses and pinks in one border made by the Continental artist (f. 13r); otherwise his work was restricted to making impressive six-line floral initials at divisions of the hours, champ initials at sub-sections,[6] miniature frames, and a single spray border (f. 94r). His work, nevertheless, serves as evidence for the dating and for the basic production of the manuscript in England.[7]

A shield—*azure* three fleurs-de-lis *or*—below the first miniature (f. 12v) implies that the commissioning patron was French and supports the view that the artist also was French.[8] Other indications of original ownership—what appear to be *N*, *S*, *A*, *P*, around a crowned, bleeding heart bearing what might be the imperial eagle, but which remain unidentified—adorn the horse trappings in the Crucifixion scene.

Kathleen L. Scott

1 Without an upper frame.
2 Not a framing style used in England. A space between the miniature and the bar frame shows that they were not contiguous and likely not made at the same time. The English bar frame was probably meant only as an indication for the placement of the miniature.
3 Motifs in these borders are inserted around the upper part of the miniature frame, indicating that the borders were made after the miniature and the bar frame.
4 The versos of all of the miniatures, apart from two (ff. 19r and 131r), are unruled blanks, suggesting that the miniature leaves could have been insertions and that on two pages the ruling and text were added on the blanks after the miniature page was inserted.
5 The grotesques are hybrids: f. 12v, animal/young man in contemporary pleated jerkin and tall hat, with bow and arrows (bird on mound opposite);

f. 45v, animal/noble woman praying below the Crucifixion scene; and f. 52r, animal/man in cowl, holding and reading open book. Re: the last image, see f. 12v with statue of bearded man in cowl, holding and reading open book.

6 These well made champ initials have sprays with gold and green-tinted motifs; they occur at psalms (apart from those on a full border page), hymns, prayers, antiphones, lections, and *memorie sanctorum*.

7 English saints in the calendar include Thomas of Canterbury and translation (ff. 3v, 6v), Thomas of Hereford (f. 5v), John of Beverley (f. 3r), and Erkenwald and translation (ff. 2v, 6r), and further establish the provenance of the manuscript. The one-line flourished initials are English, and the script appears to be as well.

8 The combination of artists and division of labor would suggest that the original French owner was living in England and had brought one or two artists from abroad to finish the manuscript to his taste.

133. Book of hours, use of Rome
Sienese School (illuminator)

Tuscany, Italy, c. 1450–75
Parchment, ff. iv + 291 + iii, 134 x 112 (63 x 45) mm
Museum of Fine Arts, Boston, 1979.494, gift of Miss Aimee and Miss Rosamond Lamb

f. 14r

This book of hours is typical of the more modest manuscripts of private devotion commissioned in Tuscany for both religious and secular patrons.[1] Unlike its more elaborate Northern counterparts, historiated initials are confined to the openings of the five major sections: Hours of the Virgin (f. 14r); Hours of the Passion (f. 134r); Hours of the Cross (f. 175r); Office of the Dead (f. 188r); Penitential Psalms (f. 259r).[2] Textual and stylistic evidence suggest that the writing and decoration of the volume were carried out in two separate phases. The inclusion in the calendar of the feast of St. Bernardino of Siena, canonized in 1450, and the notable absence of the feast of St. Catherine of Siena, canonized in 1461, provide the likely parameters for the writing of the text,[3] whereas the style of the illuminations points to a date for its decoration between the early 1460s and mid-1470s.

The volume's decoration, until now assigned unconvincingly to Liberale da Verona or his workshop,[4] should be considered the product of two distinct illuminators, both reflecting a provincial adaptation of some of the main trends in Renaissance manuscript production in Siena. While the formal vocabulary of the first artist, responsible for the Annunciation introducing the Hours of the Virgin (f. 14r) as well as the miniatures on ff. 175r and 259r, appears indebted to the advanced Renaissance models of Francesco di Giorgio,[5] the coarser execution and formal inconsistencies suggest a modest imitator possibly active outside Siena, rather than a hand in the latter's workshop. This illuminator, whose vibrant palette and winding tendrils recall the production of Pellegrino di Mariano in the early 1470s, may also have painted the foliated borders and decorative initials throughout the text. A second illuminator, whose style reveals a close dependence on the late Gothic idiom of Sano di Pietro, executed the Man of Sorrows introducing the Hours of the Passion (f. 134r) and the miniature for the Office of the Dead (f. 188r).

In the absence of a coat of arms, a clue to the ownership of this book of hours may be garnered by the rubricated feasts in the calendar. None of these refer specifically to Sienese saints, except for St. Cerbonius, patron of Massa Marittima, possibly confirming the manuscript's production in the province of Siena.[6] The importance accorded to the Feasts of the Dedication of the Basilica of the Holy Savior (St. John Lateran) (November 9) and the Dedication of the Basilica of Sts. Peter and Paul (November 1), as well as the emphasis on papal saints in the litany, could be indicative of the patron's affiliation with the Roman Curia.[7]

Pia Palladino

1 The rubricated instructions added in the Tuscan vernacular at the end and beginning of various sections (ff. 18v, 51r, 104v, 112r, 225r) suggest, perhaps, a less educated audience than that of more expensive commissions.

2 As in the case of the Brandeis hours (cat. no. 134) the incipit "Officium passionis domini nostri ihesu christi quem composuit dominus iohannes papa vigesimo secundo…" (f. 175r) appears to conflate the attribution of the "Office" of the Passion (ascribed to St. Bonaventure) with that of the Hours of the Cross, traditionally attributed to Pope John XXII—a confusion not infrequently found in late medieval manuscripts. See Stocks 1998, 113.

3 This would be an extraordinary omission for a manuscript commissioned in Siena or its territory, especially in light of the inclusion of St. Bernardino. Equally omitted is the Feast of Transfiguration (August 6), instituted in 1457, although this may not be as exceptional an absence. See Brandeis hours (cat. no. 134).

4 Lisa Fagin Davis, MFA curatorial files, 2003 and 2014.

5 Laurence Kanter, in a note in the Museum's files dated August 2, 2002, suggested an attribution to Liberale or "maybe Francesco di Giorgio" for ff. 14r and 134r (Annunciation and Man of Sorrows), while considering the remaining illuminations as the product of a second hand, working in the studio style of Sano di Pietro or Pellegrino di Mariano.

6 Other local saints accorded special importance are St. Reparata, patron of Florence, and the Umbrian St. Firmina of Amelia, who also had a special following in Arezzo (Licciardello 2005, 527–28). The feasts of the specifically Tuscan saints, Ansanus (patron of Siena), Donatus, (patron of Arezzo), and Zenobius (patron of Florence) are not rubricated.

7 The litany includes no less than fourteen popes.

134. Book of hours
Attrib. Venturino d'Andrea da Milano Mercati (illuminator)

Siena, Italy, c. 1470–80
Parchment, ff. i (paper) + 1 + 201 + 1 + i (paper), 97 x 70 (50 x 38) mm
Brandeis University, Robert D. Farber University Archives & Special Collections, Manus. 3

f. 195r

The delightful previously unpublished book of hours at Brandeis University was originally owned by a member of the noble Venturi family of Siena, evidenced by their coat of arms (f. 13r).[1] Its decoration demonstrates the movement of miniaturists in fifteenth-century Italy. Sienese patron saints are named in the calendar, but the illumination is northern Italian and should be attributed to Venturino Mercati, a Lombard artist active in Siena.

Feasts highlighted in red in the Venturi hours' calendar include numerous female[2] and Augustinian saints,[3] and the four early patron saints of Siena are named: Sts. Ansanus, Victor, Crescentius, and Savinus. The Venturi burial chapel was in Sant'Agostino, Siena, which helps to explain the Augustinian emphasis.[4]

The borders in the Venturi hours consist of isolated red and blue flowers and large red berries surrounded by scrolling penwork and gold dots. This compositional scheme originated in Ferrara with the Bible of Borso d'Este (Modena, Bibl. Est. Univ., mss. Lat. 422 and 423),[5] then spread throughout north Italy in the 1460s. In the Venturi hours, the half-length figures of the Madonna and Child (f. 13r) and David in prayer (f. 106v) present common subjects; the more unusual Christ as the Man of Sorrows (f. 195r) initiates the Hours of the Passion. His half-length body is nude, posed frontally with his hands crossed at his waist. Blood flows from his side and hands; behind his head is the cross. Recent scholarship has postulated that the subject became popular in north Italy due to its prominent position in the high altar of San Marco, Venice.[6]

Pia Palladino has astutely identified a "twin" to the Venturi hours, a manuscript now in the Fitzwilliam Museum, Cambridge, UK (MS McClean 68).[7] The size, layout, and style of its decorative borders, figures, and painted initials closely resemble the Venturi hours. Two coats of arms of Sienese families are depicted, and Sienese and Augustinian saints are named in the calendar.[8] The Fitzwilliam manuscript is attributed to the Lombard miniaturist Venturino Mercati, documented in Siena and Montepulciano from 1472 to 1479.[9] The Venturi hours may also be attributed to Venturino, although the figures are more simply rendered and not set in landscapes, as are the subjects in the Fitzwilliam Hours.

Lilian Armstrong

1 Gigli 1716, pl. 14.
2 Seven Marian feasts are in written red: Purification, February 2 (f. 2r); Annunciation, March 25 (f. 3v); Visitation, July 2 (f. 7r); Virgin of the Snows, August 5 (f. 8r); Assumption, August 15 (f. 8r); Birth of the Virgin, September 8 (f. 9r); Conception of the Virgin, December 8 (f. 12r).
3 St. Monica, mother of St. Augustine (May 4), St. Augustine (August 28), the Dedication of the Basilica of San Salvator (St. John Lateran, November 9), and St. Nicholas of Tolentino (September 10, canonized 1446).
4 Spreti 1932, 6:862.
5 Toniolo and Marone 1997.
6 Puglisi and Barcham 2011 and 2013.
7 Morgan, Panayotova, and Reynolds 2011, 2:95–97, no. 249. I am extremely grateful to Pia Palladino for her generous assistance.
8 Palladino has identified the families as: Spannocchi/Piccolomini and Nini/Trecerchi.
9 Gnaccolini 2004c.

cat. no. 103, f. 155r

mater dei. Jete sa
lue maria. A qui
dieu son filz mari a

La Bestia dell'Apocalisse

5. Love & Death: The Art of Devotion

Devotional imagery presents a paradox. In theory, as opposed to the liturgy—an essentially public form of worship that embraces outward ritual of all kinds, including corporate ceremonies of commemoration and thanksgiving—devotion, it is assumed, tends toward interiority. Whereas worship defines the group, devotion characterizes the pious or even saintly individual. To judge, however, from the devotional imagery of the later Middle Ages, interiority required profuse outward expression. Devotional imagery was designed not simply to buttress, but also to shape the spectator's devotional experience. Exemplar and experience were closely related: interiority was stamped in the mold of imaginative images which in turn responded to ever more elaborate devotional routines. No period in the history of Christianity proved so fecund when it came to the generation of new genres of imagery or so prolific simply in terms of the sheer volume of images produced. On the one hand, the late Middle Ages produced exquisite, highly personalized works of art. On the other, it witnessed the origins of modern mass production, and not simply in the realm of printing. The over-production of images provides an essential part of the background to the Protestant Reformation, which in turn led to the destruction of images on an unprecedented scale.

The lives of Christ, in particular his Passion (cat. nos. 117, 137, 151), and of his mother, the Virgin Mary, together with images of saints, dominated the devotional imagination. Hagiographic imagery, in particular, could inject elements of both epic and romance into religious themes. For example, in an Italian devotional book (cat. no. 136) comprised entirely of pictures, which were intended to serve as prompts to meditation independent of any text, a dashing St. George, the embodiment of equestrian valor, saves a praying princess (perhaps a figure with which the book's owner could have identified) from a dragon with a sinuous neck identified by a later inscription as the "beast of the Apocalypse." Images of Christ, it might be assumed, appealed to men, and those of Mary to women. The assignment of gender roles, however, was hardly so straightforward. In its vulnerability, Christ's body was feminized; as the exemplary embodiment of devotion, Mary, in whose body Christ took on flesh, was characterized as a priest. Devotional imagery was not always narrative in character. Non-narrative images, such as the Man of Sorrows (cat. nos. 128, 133, 228), the Arma Christi (insignia of the Passion, especially the wounds of Christ) (cat. nos. 139, 140), the Holy Name (cat. no. 141), the Madonna of Humility (cat. no. 129), or Mary as an exemplar of devotion (cat. no. 103), provided focal points for prolonged meditation on the meaning and personal import of the history of salvation.

Late medieval devotional imagery can strike the modern viewer as baroque, even bizarre, in its obsessive focus on material, corporeal manifestations of piety, in particular, on the body of Christ. By virtue, however, of the Incarnation (the doctrine according to which God took on flesh in the person of the suffering Christ), the material provided a portal to the divine.

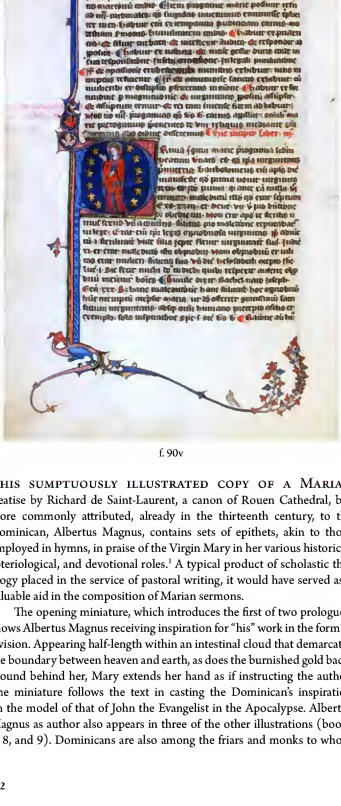
Jeffrey F. Hamburger

cat. no. 136, f. 26v

135. Richard de Saint-Laurent, *De laudibus beatae mariae Virginis*

Méliacin Master (illuminator)

Paris, France, c. 1275–1325
Parchment, ff. 503 + 2, 305 x 206 (203 x 122) mm
Wellesley College, Margaret Clapp Library, Special Collections, MS 19
Sold in 1877 by Cesare Tartagi, Florentine bookdealer; bought by Margaret Rood; inherited by Caroline Hazard; donated by her to Wellesley College in 1936.



f. 90v

This sumptuously illustrated copy of a Marian treatise by Richard de Saint-Laurent, a canon of Rouen Cathedral, but more commonly attributed, already in the thirteenth century, to the Dominican, Albertus Magnus, contains sets of epithets, akin to those employed in hymns, in praise of the Virgin Mary in her various historical, soteriological, and devotional roles.[1] A typical product of scholastic theology placed in the service of pastoral writing, it would have served as a valuable aid in the composition of Marian sermons.

The opening miniature, which introduces the first of two prologues, shows Albertus Magnus receiving inspiration for "his" work in the form of a vision. Appearing half-length within an intestinal cloud that demarcates the boundary between heaven and earth, as does the burnished gold background behind her, Mary extends her hand as if instructing the author. The miniature follows the text in casting the Dominican's inspiration on the model of that of John the Evangelist in the Apocalypse. Albertus Magnus as author also appears in three of the other illustrations (books 4, 8, and 9). Dominicans are also among the friars and monks to whom Mary, the patron saint of the Dominican order, appears in the miniature introducing book 9. Book 1 (f. 2v) depicts the Annunciation, Visitation, and Christ appearing to the apostles following his Resurrection; the three scenes correspond to the three salutations outlined in the adjacent text. Book 2 opens with a miniature showing Mary presenting the Christ child to two groups of men and women headed by an academic and a king (f. 36v). There follow a series of allegories of the Virgin: Twelve Privileges of Mary, shown surrounded by twelve gold stars (book 3, f. 90v); Mary surrounded by fourteen crowned female heads representing the fourteen Beatitudes (book 4, f. 102r, a particularly striking image for which E. Trevor has suggested a parallel in an image of the Jesse Tree in a manuscript of Brunetto Latini's *Trésor*, Paris, BnF, ms. fr. 567[2]); two groups of kneeling monks in brown or black cloaks over white robes before the Virgin in a cloud bordered by gold stars (book 5, f. 161v); Mary nursing the Christ child surrounded by epithets in gold capitals (book 6, f. 192r); Mary as sky, firmament, sun, moon, and stars (book 7, f. 216r); Mary as earth, from which man is formed (book 8, f. 239r); Mary as water, looking out from heaven and gesturing toward an overflowing fountain that rejoins a large and a small spring in a pool (book 9, f. 251v); Mary as tower, wall, and Noah's ark, shown sitting in a cusped barbed quatrefoil heaven between a throne and a chest (book 10, f. 264r); and Mary as the *Civitas dei* sitting on a crenellated upper wall above the closed door of a castle, from which two knights peep out; on top of the castle are (unidentified) coats of arms (book 11, f. 319r). Book 12 was illustrated by a later artist, perhaps by Cristoforo Cortese; it depicts Mary as the enclosed garden with a bust of her inside a wicker fence, with trees beyond, set against a gold frame with pen-work and colored flowers (book 12, f. 358r).

The twelve original initials may be attributed to the Méliacin Master, so-called for his work on the *Roman de Méliacin* (Paris, BnF, ms. fr. 1633), who worked in Paris in the last two decades of the thirteenth century. His repertoire of bright colors, particularly a very deep blue offset with gold, fine diaper backgrounds, initials with interlace bars, maroon and blue with fine white scrollwork in spandrels, gold fillet borders with a green outer line, accompanied by curvilinear borders supporting animals and birds, makes this a vibrant set of illustrations, whose imaginative iconography often resorts to a form of word illustration to introduce the text's allegories of the Virgin. Jeffrey Hamburger has compared some of these images with the visionary illustrations in the Rothschild Canticles,[3] made in Flanders at the end of the thirteenth century.[4] Certain compositional elements find some antecedents in Parisian painting. For example, the cusped and barbed quatrefoil used for heaven in the illustration to book 10 (f. 264r), recalls the Crucifixion and Christ in Majesty pages of the breviary-missal of Châlons-sur-Marne (Paris, B. Arsenal, ms. 595), which Nordenfalk compared to the book of hours, Copenhagen, Kongelige Bibliotek, Ms. Thott 534 4°.[5] In general, Wellesley MS 19 adds another dimension to the range of illustration undertaken, each time with originality, by the Méliacin Master.

The inclusion of an initial by an Italian artist at the end of the volume suggests it was in Italy in the late Middle Ages; notes in an eighteenth-century hand on the front paper flysheet indicate it had reached Italy by then; it was rebound in Florence in the nineteenth century.

Jeffrey F. Hamburger & Alison Stones

1 Borgnet 1898. For the history of the text, see Châtillon 1946; Kolping 1958; Beumer 1959; Mossman 2010, 295.
2 Trevor 1969.
3 New Haven, Beinecke Library, MS 404.
4 Hamburger 1990, 60, 98, 263n275; figs. 118, 173.
5 Olsen and Nordenfalk 1952, 40–41, no. 50. On the Copenhagen manuscript see now Vidas 2014 suggesting the book of hours was made for Marguerite d'Artois, Countess of Evreux (1285–1311).

136. Devotional picture book
Master of 1411 (illuminator)

Bologna, Italy, c. 1390–1410
Parchment, ff. i + 26 + i, 135 x 93 (101 x 70) mm
Boston Public Library, MS q Med. 85 (formerly Ms. 1512)
Franz Trau, sold in Vienna, 1905 by Gilhofer & Ranschburg to Victor Goldschmidt, Heidelberg; offered by L'Art Ancien, cat. 261 (1941), no. 20; acquired by BPL from H. P. Kraus, March 1941.

f. 25r

This devotional picture book offers an extraordinary example of a genre that, while never common, especially in Italy, became more popular from the late thirteenth century.[1] Composed of forty-eight full-page illuminations with scenes from the life of Christ, preceded by episodes from the life of the Virgin (Conception and Nativity) and followed by images of saints (John the Baptist and George, ff. 25v–26r), it originally contained at least ten additional miniatures.[2]

The full-page illuminations comprise a very long cycle of the life of Christ, centered not on his Childhood or Passion, but rather on his Ministry and Miracles: the unusually wide choice of subject matter derives from the Gospel readings for the Mass (pericopes) for the liturgical year (from after Epiphany to the week days after Easter).[3] No text was foreseen for this small volume, which was intended for private devotion. Shortly after its production, the images were simply labeled with captions, written under, above, or inside the miniatures in Gothic letters in red ink.[4] At a much later date, probably in the seventeenth century, further captions in brown ink were added in a very cursory hand; at the same time the originally empty margins were filled with decorations in pen and ink.[5] Picture books such as this encouraged prolonged meditation on the events of the life of Christ independent of the directives of prayer. The miniatures represent both a direct appeal to the imagination of the viewer and a set of meditational materials designed to structure and channel his or her devotional response.

The extensive cycle was illuminated with precious pigments and ample use of gold by at least two illuminators. The author of most of the images has been identified with the Master of 1411,[6] an illuminator active in Bologna in the first decades of the fifteenth century, who takes his name from the Matricola dei Drappieri of 1411, in which he painted the famous image of the market at Porta Ravegnana.[7] This anonymous artist, who was trained in late fourteenth-century Bologna, where Niccolò di Giacomo was the leading artist,[8] still employs Giottesque prototypes, although he shows a decidedly more late Gothic style in some of his work.[9]

The first illuminations in the book, however, from the Encounter at the Golden Door to the Flight into Egypt (ff. 2r–4r), can be assigned to a different artist,[10] perhaps influenced by the Lombard and Venetian connections which were so strong in early fifteenth-century Bologna.[11] It is possible to recognize the same illuminator in another manuscript, a Treatise on the Vices and Virtues (Vatican City, BAV, ms. Ross. 242),[12] illustrated with a wide cycle of images and produced for a devotional use similar to that intended for the picture book. This further discovery shows that the demand for devotional books in early fifteenth-century Bologna was very rich and varied.

Francesca Manzari

1 Italian devotional picture books are exceedingly rare: another example is the Angevin Picture Bible (Paris, BnF, ms. fr. 9561), illuminated for a member of the Anjou court in Naples in the mid-fourteenth century, but very different in size, number, and quality of its illuminations: Besseyre and Christe 2011. The author of the first systematic study of the Boston picture book has also compared it to the *Evangelica Historia* (Milan, Bibl. Ambros., ms. L 58 sup: Maekawa 2012, 64–65), a manuscript that, on the contrary, contains a Gospel narrative, illustrated with an extensive cycle of images: Degenhart and Schmitt 1979. On illustrated Gospel narratives produced in Italy: Manzari 2014a.

2 The gatherings have been altered and some leaves have been lost; it can also be presumed that the two surviving saints were part of a larger collection. For a detailed description see the entry on BeyondWords2016.org by Lisa Fagin Davis.

3 Maekawa 2012, 63.

4 These did not always correctly interpret the subject matter: Maekawa 2012, 59. The manuscript's leaves are not numbered, and have conventionally been counted including the first blank leaf.

5 Except for the border around the first image, f. 2r, where the geometric border, in brown preparation with traces of gold leaf, seems to be original. The full-page miniatures are frequently within original geometrical frames, for example ff. 2v–4v. The borders have been trimmed on the occasion of the rebinding of the book.

6 Medica 2010–11, 20n13; Medica 2012, 30; Maekawa 2012, 68n12; Medica 2014, 50. Massimo Medica suggests a date early in the fifteenth century, close to another of the illuminations attributed to the artist, the image in the *Libro delle Sentenze della Società dei Fabbri* (Rome, Bibl. del Senato, Statuti ms. 41), dated 1404: Silvia Battistini in Medica 1999, 150; Medica 2014, 50.

7 On this artist: Medica 1999, 70–79; Medica 2004a; Medica 2014, 48–51. Medica judges the full-page illumination introducing the *Matricola dei Drappieri del 1411* (Bologna, Mus. Civ. Med., ms. 641) earlier than the manuscript itself, suggesting a date the very beginning of the century. This artist, to whom illuminations in liturgical books have also been attributed (Modena, Bibl. Est. Univ., mss. Lat. 1015 and Lat. 1017), worked into the third decade of the century, for example in the miniatures added in 1426 to the *Statuti della Società dei Drappieri del 1411* (Bologna, Mus. Civ. Med., ms. 640), and in law books dated in the same stage (Siena, Bibl. Com. degli Intronati, mss. H.IV.9, H.IV.10, H.IV.11): Medica 2014, 50. To this artist Jason Stoessel has recently assigned the illuminated letters in a famous polyphonic music manuscript (Modena, Bibl. Est. Univ., ms. Lat. 568 [α M. 5.24]): Stoessel 2014.

8 Pasut 2004a.

9 For example in the frontispiece of the beautiful Valerius Maximus illuminated for a member of the Bolognini family (Bologna, Mus. Civ. Med., ms. 2279): Medica 2014, 48; on this manuscript see Guernelli 2007–08.

10 Perhaps also the author of the Baptism of Christ (f. 5v), of the Temptation (f. 9r) and of the Healing of the Canaanite woman (f. 10r); in some images the two seem to collaborate (for example in the Slaughter of the Innocents, f. 4v).
11 Guernelli 2007–08, 32–33.
12 The manuscript had been correctly placed in early fifteenth-century Bologna: Fachechi 2014, 396–402.

137. Passion de Nr. Sr. Jesus Christ

Flanders, c. 1465–75
Parchment, ff. 23, 210 x 150 (106 x 81) mm
Boston Public Library, MS q Med. 129 (formerly Ms. 1551)
Acquired by BPL in 1954 from Maggs.

f. 13r

This is the only illustrated copy of a French verse retelling of Passion episodes indebted to ps.-Bonaventure's *Meditationes Vitae Christi*, a staple of Franciscan devotion.[1] Its gray palette, confident Burgundian script, and the lack of border decoration echo a style favored by the Duke of Burgundy, Philip the Good.

Although the saint is not credited here, another copy of the poem is one of a group of "Devotions ordonnez par frere Bonaventure" in a manuscript made for a Burgundian nobleman, Louis de Gruuthuse of Bruges.[2] The poem consists of eighty six-line stanzas (*sixains*), organized under the canonical hours of the day,[3] inviting the reader to meditate on episodes in the Passion of Christ from his Arrest to his Entombment. For example, the stanza under the miniature for the hour of sext (f. 13r), which shows Christ kicked and pulled along by soldiers, and bent under the weight of the cross, urges: "Consider and think on the harsh, cruel, and unjust sentence—and for what offense?—on the all-merciful, your true and just God."

The oblong half-page miniatures depict subjects that normally accompany the Hours of the Passion in books of hours. All of the miniatures are executed in shades of gray (grisaille), a color choice reflective of the somber events of the Passion and perhaps the gray-brown of the Franciscan habit. This particular grisaille is a variation popular in later fifteenth-century Flanders, with shell-gold details, touches of blue, and figures in natural color. Manuscripts with grisaille miniatures on similarly borderless pages were made for Philip the Good of Burgundy starting c. 1455 and the format was taken up by Willem Vrelant of Bruges among other miniaturists.[4] The unknown miniaturist painted the initials "AF" as a signature on the first leaf of this manuscript, on Malchus's breastplate in the Betrayal. The same initials appear in the floor tiles of an Alexander manuscript made for Philip and attributed to several hands including Vrelant.[5] Several painters with the initials "AF" appear in guild records, but none can convincingly be linked to our manuscript.[6] The script is similar to the Burgundian bastard employed in the Dutuit Alexander manuscript.[7]

Elizabeth J. Moodey

1 The other two copies are in Paris (BnF, ms. fr. 190) and Chantilly (Mus. Condé, ms. 141).
2 Paris, BnF, ms. fr. 190, f. iv.
3 The divisions are supplied in the other copies.
4 C. Reynolds 2006a, 13.
5 Paris, Petit Palais, Dutuit ms. 456, f. 12v. Crossley-Holland 1991, 153–54. Mély 1910, 182–83 noted the Dutuit initials in the floor tiles. The miniature signed "AF" is probably by the hand known as the Master of the Vraie Cronicque descoce; for this artist see Bousmanne and Delcourt 2011, 256–58. The Boston miniatures are more freely painted, but that may be a function of their smaller scale and grisaille technique.
6 Anthonin Fieret, Antoine des Fontaines, and Alexandre Fraet are discussed by Crossley-Holland 1991, 153–55, who favors the last.
7 Ibid., 35.

138. Passio Domini nostri Ihesu Christi

Florence, Italy, c. 1450–1500
Parchment, ff. 34, 225 x 149 (142 x 84) mm
Tufts University, Tisch Library, Special Collections, Ms. 7
Acquired by Ellen Terry in 1889; lot 16 in an unidentified sale; donated to Tufts University Library by Walter Frederick Welch Jr. in 1965.

f. 9v (detail)

This is the only known example of an illuminated manuscript from the library of the British actress Ellen Terry (1847–1928).[1] According to her characteristic pencil inscription on its front pastedown, the celebrity acquired the book in Paris in August 1889.[2] She was then at the height of her career following her acclaimed performance as Lady Macbeth, which was memorialized in a dramatic painting by John Singer Sargent.[3] The artist was a mutual friend of Terry and Isabella Stew-

art Gardner whose museum was visited by the actress in the early years after its inauguration. Terry's recollection in her memoir of the rare books at Fenway Court and the medieval art in the Gothic room provide clues for her interest in this manuscript.[4]

The manuscript reflects the centrality to Catholic belief of the Passion of Christ and his ordeal as a focus of lay piety in the late Middle Ages and Renaissance.[5] Its principal text comprises extracts from all four Gospels that narrate the Passion, from the plot to kill Jesus to his entombment (see cat. no. 52).[6] These are followed by further passages from the New Testament focused on Jesus's command to the apostles to preach salvation throughout the world and on the Second Coming,[7] and King Solomon's warning on the folly of ungodliness from the Old Testament book of Wisdom.[8] Returning to the Passion, the manuscript concludes with the Marian hymn *Stabat mater*, an emotionally intense and moving meditation on the suffering of Jesus's mother during his crucifixion. This set of Passion devotions was likely a layperson's prayer book for Holy Week since its texts constitute the readings for the Mass during the week leading up to Easter.[9] As such it expanded on the private, spiritual apparatus provided by the Gospel lessons in books of hours, which touched on major Christocentric events apart from the Passion.[10]

Written and decorated in the Florentine humanist style during the second half of the Quattrocento, the manuscript is encased in a contemporary blind-stamped binding. Each Gospel account of the Passion opens with a title of alternating lines of chrysographic and blue capital letters, and a large white vine-stem initial, of which the best preserved is for St. Mark's Gospel, illustrated here (f. 9v). The subsequent texts are marked by titles of blue capital letters and a gilded initial on a multicolored ground embellished with white filigree. The book probably once possessed a devotional image (now lost), such as a full-page miniature of the Crucifixion, Lamentation, or Pietà, to further arouse compassion for Christ's suffering and aid mental reenactment of the events.[11] Ellen Terry amassed a large working library of research material for her roles.[12] Perhaps she was drawn to this manuscript for its association with the theatricality of medieval Corpus Christi processions and Passion plays.

Anne-Marie Eze

1 The manuscript was not included in any of the four sales of her property at Christie's in 1928, and no other books of this sort are listed in the sale catalogues. I am grateful for the assistance of Kay Sutton and Yvonne Lewis.
2 For Terry's mark of ownership, see Bowyer 1977, 1.
3 Painted 1889. London, Tate Britain, N02053.
4 Terry 1908, 314–15.
5 For this development, see Marrow 1979, 25–26 and Derbes 1996, 16–24.
6 Mt 26:1–27:66; Mc 14:1–16:3; Lc 22:1–23:53; Io 18:1–19:42.
7 Mc 16:14–20; Io 14:27–15:16; Lc 12:35–40; and Mc 13:33–37.
8 Sap 5:1–5.
9 Wieck 1988, 158–59.
10 Wieck 1997, 39–40. The Passion of John did not become a standard feature of private prayer books until the advent of printing.
11 See Swanson 1998, for the different typologies of Passion imagery.
12 Bowyer 1977.

139. Book of hours, use of Sarum

Probably London, England, c. 1440–50; (addition) England, c. 1490
Parchment; ff. i + 192, 235 x 155 (ff. 1–6: 166 x 103) (ff. 7–190: 142–45 x 87–88) mm
Harvard University, Houghton Library, MS Typ 193
Elizabeth Horne; parish church of Sarsden, 1541; Bateman of Middleton Hall (Sotheby's, London, November 10, 1952); Bernard Halliday; deposited by Philip Hofer, 1967; his bequest, 1984.

f. 184v

This Hours of the Virgin is notable for having its sole illustration at the psalter of St. Jerome, with sections of the hours itself marked only by three-sided borders. Two full borders show that more hierarchical importance was given not only to the Jerome psalter but to the Seven Penitential Psalms.[1] Forty or fifty years later three popular poems, "O Vernecle," "I Thank þe lorde," and the Arma Christi were appended to the hours.[2] Missing a substantial portion of the text and probably thirteen miniatures, the Arma poem nevertheless survives here with ten miniatures.

The Jerome psalter has the usual scene of the saint in cardinal's dress, seated and writing at an open book. The style places it in a London shop by an artist whose figures and borders resemble the more elaborate work in London, British Library, Royal MS. 2 B.I, a psalter; the scene may ultimately derive from the influential Continental artist, Hermann Scheerre.[3]

Of the twenty Arma Christi manuscripts surviving, only two are *not* illustrated,[4] and at least half are in a roll format.[5] Although as its editor has said, the Arma Christi poem has "never been praised,"[6] it has been a consistent source of devotional imagery.[7] The miniatures here begin with a finely rendered head of Christ (f. 183r), known as the Vernicle cloth, traditionally believed to have been held up to Christ by St. Veronica[8] (whose name means "True Image") and imprinted with his image. This scene may have been made by a different artist from the Arma pictures. The subsequent miniatures are inset:[9] Knife of the Circumcision, Pelican in its Piety (f. 183v);[10] Coins paid to Judas (f. 184r); Lantern of the Betrayal,[11] crossed sword and a particularly vicious looking club (f. 184v); Ladder indicating the Descent from the Cross, "forceps" (tongs) to extract the nails from Christ's body (f. 185r); Jew spitting in Christ's face, Christ bearing the Cross (f. 185v); and the Empty Tomb (f. 186r). Some of the individual pictures, such as the Vernicle cloth, the Pelican, and the Lantern, have unusual aspects suggestive of a foreign model. The identity of the devout owner who added the poem and its images to the hours is not known.

Kathleen L. Scott

1 This hours is a demonstration that "sometimes book designers manipulated the decorative hierarchy to de-emphasize the Hours of the Virgin" to the advantage of accompanying texts (Orr 2009, 173). The lower part of the border on f. 38r (prime) was apparently damaged or cut out; and at some later time the parchment was replaced and a spray with leaves added by a different border artist.
2 Boffey and Edwards 2005, 2577, 1370, 3305.8. I am indebted to Ann Eljen-

holm Nichols for her help with the added portion of the manuscript. For her critical edition of the poem, see Nichols 2014.

3 Oxford, Bodleian Library, MS. Laud Misc. 658, "Three Kings of Cologne, is another possible attribution to the border hand. For Scheerre see Scott 1996, 1:86–88 and Morgan 2004.

4 Nichols 2009, 141–42.

5 Like MS Tyr 193, the Arma Christi in Oxford, Queen's Coll., MS. 207 is also an addition to a book of hours (ff. 165v–74v).

6 Nichols 2009, 142.

7 For further discussion of the images accompanying the poem, see Nichols 2009.

8 The cloth is stretched from its four corners as if tacked to the surface of the supporting initial, an iconography not known in English representations, in which the cloth is usually held by St. Veronica or her hands, or hung, draped, from two corners of the cloth, e.g., New Haven, Beinecke Library, MS 410, Indulgence roll; and Warminster, Longleat House, MS 30, Vernicle poem.

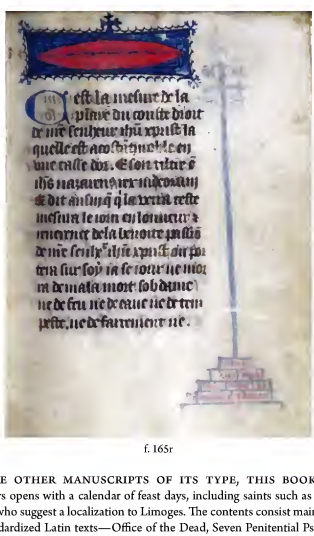
9 "Inset" miniatures are ruled into the top or sides of the text space, often without a border; in MS Tyr 193 they are inserted into the text from the left side and, as Voigts points out, the scribe was thereby forced to write the lines of verse as prose (1985, 69).

10 This image is unusual in showing the Pelican and its young in a woven basket that rests on a three-legged stand, both on a grassy mound.

11 The lantern is depicted with a rope handle and an opening for raising the lid but without light within, all uncommon features.

140. Book of hours

Limoges (?), France, fifteenth or sixteenth century
Parchment, ff. i + 168 + i , 198 x 140 (98 x 65) mm
Boston Athenæum, Mss. .S29
Given to the BA by Obadiah Rich (d. 1850), one of the institution's founders.[1]



f. 165r

Like other manuscripts of its type, this book of hours opens with a calendar of feast days, including saints such as Martial who suggest a localization to Limoges. The contents consist mainly of standardized Latin texts—Office of the Dead, Seven Penitential Psalms, litany and suffrages, Hours of the Cross, Gospel lessons, and a group of accessory prayers, although now in a somewhat fragmented state and atypical order.[2] Several folios with half- or full-page illuminations were likely removed from this book of hours in the nineteenth century and sold as affordable "specimens" of medieval and Renaissance painting.[3] Yet two images at the rear of the manuscript were left in place, apparently due to their lack of aesthetic appeal. Their devotional appeal, however, was enormous: these paintings were once among the most profound and powerful of late medieval images.[4] On f. 165r, the red, mouth-like form framed in blue represents the "measure of the side wound," that is, the precise dimensions of the gash made by the holy lance.[5] On f. 165v, the blue cross atop a stepped platform references more than the Crucifixion; it is also a unit of measure that when multiplied fifteen times equals Christ's height (in this case, just under six feet).[6]

According to the accompanying text, these sacred measurements originated in Constantinople and were transported to Charlemagne—the measure of the side wound enclosed in a gold box and the measure of Christ's height delivered by the archangel Gabriel.[7] Although they initially served as *palladia* (that is, protective images) for the emperor on the battlefield, the text promises a more general apotropaic efficacy. By gazing at the wound while thinking of the Passion or by simply carrying it on one's body, the devotee, it is claimed, will be safeguarded against a "bad death" (dying suddenly without last rites) as well as from a range of natural and man-made dangers: "fire," "water," "storm," and "sword." Moreover, the measure of the wound protects pregnant women during childbirth. This particular function reinforced metaphoric interpretations of the side wound as female genitalia and site of ecstatic union with the divine.[8]

David S. Areford

1 The manuscript includes a bookplate on the inside front cover that records Rich's gift. For Rich, see Cushing and Dearinger 2007, 117.

2 For the textual and visual contents of the book of hours, see Wieck 1988 and 1997.

3 Hindman et al. 2001, esp. 47–101.

4 For a similar French text that also accompanies images of the measure of Christ's side wound and the measure of Christ's height (Princeton, UL, MS. 138.44), see Skemer 2006, 247–50, fig. 10; and the description of TM 15 at http://www.textmanuscripts.com/medieval/medical-talisman-childbirth-60311?referenceNumber=tm%2015&p=6.

5 For the visual tradition of the measure of the side wound in manuscript illumination and printmaking, see Areford 2010, 228–67. Here, the dimensions are 60.325 x 12.7 mm. For other medieval measurements of sacred bodies and objects, see Areford 2010, 263n51.

6 This computation of Christ's height depends on the measurement of the cross without the stepped base (120.65 mm). For more on the measure of Christ's height, see ibid., 245–46.

7 Ibid., 244.

8 See the work of Flora May Lewis, Karma Lochrie, Martha Easton, and Madeline Caviness, as cited in Areford 2012, 76–78, 87nn13–15.

141. Prayer book

Probably Amsterdam, North Holland, the Netherlands, c. 1480
Parchment, ff. ii (paper) + 195 + ii (paper), 146–47 x 110 (c. 90–93 x 64–65) mm
Brandeis University, Robert D. Farber University Archives & Special Collections, Manus. 7
Robert Chambers; gift of Philip D. Sang.

Elaborate pen-flourish decoration is one of the distinguishing features of fifteenth-century Dutch manuscript illumination.[1] The distinctive pen-flourish decoration in the corpus of this book, with dense patterns of what have been referred to as "pearl and thorn" forms along the left side of the text column and bounding some of the decoration in the upper and lower margins (sometimes termed thorn and

stitch forms) permit the manuscript to be localized to North Holland.[2] Quasi-botanical forms such as those enclosed in circular patterns and set off by colored fields at the left side in the upper and lower margins are also typical of this style, which has been localized to Amsterdam.[3] The pen-flourish decoration appears somewhat irregular and unsteady compared to the finest specimens of the group, suggesting that it was carried out by an elderly craftsperson or, as seems likely, by a relatively unschooled decorator imitating better works in the style. This is also one of the reasons for dating this manuscript among the late works in this style, c. 1480.[4]

f. 2v

Sometime probably shortly after the manuscript was written and decorated, it was supplied with an added frontispiece, f. 2v. Rather than an illustration of a religious figure or event, this added leaf is a devotional image of the holy names IHESUS and MARIA above and below a stylized portrayal of the Five Wounds of Christ (each in gold), the central depiction of the Heart of Jesus surrounded by the Crown of Thorns and a rhymed inscription in red letters (with the first letter in blue): "Och denct al om den doornen croen die ihesus droecht marien soen" ("Think about the crown of thorns, borne by Jesus, Mary's son"). The subject matter of the added leaf is apt for a manuscript composed primarily of prayers directed to Jesus and Mary, a majority of which concern Christ's Passion and sufferings. The text it prefaces is a Dutch version of the Hours of the Compassion of Mary (one of two comparable texts in the manuscript, see also f. 108r), and the volume also contains prayers on the names of Jesus and Mary (f. 107v), Christ's five wounds (ff. 73v, 95r and 179r), the Heart of Jesus (f. 77r), and the Crown of Thorns (f. 98v).

The subject matter of the devotional frontispiece has numerous counterparts in contemporary Dutch manuscripts. The central portion, consisting of the five wounds, with the heart of Jesus enclosed in the crown of thorns and surrounded by an identical Dutch inscription appears at the head of a Dutch vernacular prayer roll ascribed to North Holland and dated c. 1480–1500 in The Hague.[5] Examples also exist of the five wounds enclosed within the crown of thorns (sometimes also set into a stylized clock face), and accompanied, above and below, just as in the Brandeis manuscript, by the holy names IHESUS and MARIA.[6] Two such examples, with the letters of the names IHESUS and MARIA also subdivided into upper and lower portions in alternating gold and blue sections—an effect that underscores the mystery and vibrancy of the holy names—can be attributed to the same painter who executed the frontispiece in the Brandeis manuscript.[7] Other works by the same painter, recognizable by the design of the frames and the form and layout of the border decoration, appear a Dutch vernacular book of hours in Enschede.[8]

All of the works in question are characterized as "parchment paintings" in a recently published book by Kathryn Rudy that sets out to distinguish a class of works that differs from traditional miniatures.[9] According to Rudy, works of this genre consist primarily of non-figural or single-figure depictions of non-narrative subject matter, many apparently by amateur rather than professional illustrators, that were initially fashioned for devotional use outside of manuscripts, and were in many cases gifts to and from pious women; only subsequently were some bound into manuscripts, helping to account for their survival. A distinctive design feature of such works is their bilateral symmetry, consisting of identical patterns of border decoration at both sides of the depiction. These differ from the decoration of traditional single-leaf miniatures conceived as illustrations for manuscripts, which were designed with wider margins for the outer side and thinner and frequently also less elaborate margins for the inner side which would face an opposing text page. The frontispiece of the Brandeis prayer book belongs to this class of images. It may have been a gift to the owner of the manuscript (which would help to explain the conspicuous differences in layout and style it displays compared to the text pages) and owe its survival to her decision to bind it into the book. All the distinctive elements of this book ally it with works of contemporary Dutch manuscript production: the language and contents of its texts, the pen-flourish decoration of its text pages, and the design and subject matter of its added frontispiece.

James H. Marrow

1 Gumbert 1990 and Korteweg 1992.
2 Korteweg 1992, 84–95, esp. 88, sketch 51, and cat. nos. 64–66. Fullest and best treatment in the important doctoral dissertation of H. Hülsmann 2009.
3 See note 2.
4 I thank Margriet Hülsmann for guidance on these and related matters (personal correspondence).
5 The Hague, KB, Ms. 74 G 20. See Rudy 2015b, fig. 130.
6 Rudy 2015b, fig. 125.
7 Brussels, BRB, ms. 21371, f. 15v (Rudy 2015b, fig. 122), and Baltimore, Walters Art Mus., Ms. W.834, f. 2v (Rudy 2015b, fig. 124), both inserted into manuscripts written and decorated in Delft, c. 1470–80.
8 Rijksmus. Twenthe, 386; see Van 't Hull-Vermaas 1975, 10, cat. no. 2, fig. 2 and Rudy 2015b, figs. 111–12. According to Rudy, 131–34, this manuscript was made in South Holland (possibly Leiden); the Brandeis frontispiece may also have the same origin (Delft is also a possibility, as in the case of the two manuscripts cited in note 7).
9 Rudy 2015b.

6. Public Worship

In contrast to the quieter tone of the Divine Office (recited from a breviary), public worship in a large church or cathedral was dramatic and performative. The act of transubstantiation was, after all, among the central mysteries of the faith. Such mysteries were presented to the faithful in the context of liturgy and song. To suit the needs of both priest and singer, Masses were recorded in two main types of books: missals, for the use of the celebrant, and graduals, for the use of the choir.

A missal contains the prayers, readings, antiphonal psalms, and verses that together, in the hands of the priest, consecrate the bread and wine, transforming them into the body and blood of Christ. The standard arrangement of a medieval missal is: perpetual calendar (with Christ's birthday fixed at December 25, but with Easter, his resurrection, typically not shown in these calendars, ranging between March 21 and April 25); temporale (the movable feasts whose dates are set relative to Easter, beginning with Advent [four weeks before Christmas]); the canon of the missal, i.e., the consecration prayers and actions (the *ordo missae*); the sanctorale (Masses in honor of the saints, in calendrical order, from the feast of Andrew [November 30] through, usually, the feast of Catherine of Alexandria [November 25]). As with a liturgical calendar, the sanctorale section of a missal or gradual can tell us much about the saints of interest to the original user of the book, hints which can in turn point us toward the place and date of origin of the manuscript. For example, cat. no. 145 is a leaf of a missal made for the use of Augsburg, while the liturgy preserved in cat. no. 74 (a fragmentary missal) points toward an origin in Beauvais.

Graduals preserve the sung portions of the Mass (introits, psalms, responsories, versicles, offertories, and communions), also divided into the temporale and sanctorale. As public worship in grand churches and cathedrals became more common toward the end of the Middle Ages, graduals grew in size to meet the demands of a larger choir singing in a larger space; these giant books (such as cat. no. 225, used at the great church of San Sisto in Piacenza) can be read by a large group of singers all at once and from some distance. Missals, for the use of one person at a time, retain their smaller format.

Also in small format are breviaries (cat. nos. 160–62), that contain similar materials to those in a missal, but that lack references to sacraments (such as the consecration of the bread and wine); the breviaries, instead, offer liturgical complexity in their arrangement of services for the eight canonical hours of the day: matins, lauds, prime, terce, sext, none, vespers, compline (as opposed to a missal's single service per day, with the striking exception of Christmas Day that offers three Masses). In all breviaries, the goal is to recite the book of psalms during the course of the week, although arranged differently in different religious communities; the sung portions of the Divine Office are contained in antiphonals (or antiphonaries; cat. nos. 153–56).

Because of their size and visibility, choir books (psalters as well as graduals) were often heavily and ornately illuminated and could be the result of expensive commissions by wealthy patrons, churches, or abbeys. The size and quality of their historiated initials made them prime targets for early modern "book-tearers," who cut out the initials for individual sale (cat. nos. 157–58) or to make decorative collages (such as cat. no. 77).

Sometimes, a particular service required a different kind of book. Those that demand the actions of a bishop are included in a pontifical (such as cat. no. 143): confirmation, ordination, and consecration of a church (as well as subsidiary texts, such as blessings of oils). An ordinarius (or ordinal, in English) outlines the life and liturgy of a specific house or church, and while this necessarily includes discussion of liturgical practices, it may also include directions on other parts of a community's life: e.g., the dormitory, the great silence, the chapter meeting, meals. One such example is cat. no. 152. A confraternity book (cat. no. 144), presents liturgical and governance practices governing the organization of lay groups, but the activities may include matters that are not, strictly speaking, liturgical: self-discipline through whipping; acts of piety toward others; burials; and aid to survivors.

Consuelo W. Dutschke

cat. no. 144, f. 6v

142. Collective indulgence

Papal Curia, Avignon, France, May 6, 1336
Parchment, originally with 14 + 1 seals laced to the lower edge, with only traces of thread remaining, 560 x 660 mm
Harvard University, Houghton Library, MS Typ 237
Abbey of St. Michael, Mondsee; Albert Figdor, Vienna; sold by Gilhofer & Ranschburg, Lucerne, 1932; bequest of Philip Hofer, 1984.

Indulgences represent a crossroad between the physical (especially economic) world and an (alleged) metaphysical reality. On the one hand believers were threatened with eternal damnation and money was pressed from the population to fund crusades and the papacy, on the other, salvation was offered to sinners through their local parishes and other religious institutions. The collective indulgence shown here clearly belongs to the second category. Since c. 1284 groups of bishops issued indulgences collectively so as to increase the impact of a single grant. The practice started in Rome, reached a first peak during the Jubilee Holy Year 1300 and continued in Avignon before ending in 1364. The principal "good deeds" required to gain indulgence/pardon were the attendance of church services, confession, supporting local church building and maintenance as well as simple things such as kneeling to pray an *Ave Maria* when the bells rang in the evening. The decoration of the present charter is a typical product of a workshop active between 1323 and c. 1350;[1] it was issued for the Benedictine abbey of St. Michael at Mondsee in Upper Austria, which was established in 748 and dissolved in 1786–87. Standard engrossments were decorated only with a historiated initial; the example presented here stands for a more elaborate type with a three-sided border that includes images of the patron, the archangel Michael and Sts. John the Baptist and Wolfgang (the latter referring to a major place of pilgrimage administered by the monks). The initial shows an Annunciation with Mary and the archangel Gabriel (without an angel's attributes) to her right. Another charter, issued only a few days later, is preserved in Linz (LA, Bestand Mondsee, Urk. 6). In the later example the modeling of the drapery of the Baptist is more developed. Either it was painted by a more gifted artist or such charters could be ordered with decoration of varying refinement. The indulgence is painted in broad panels of bright colors, predominantly red and purple, which would have helped draw the attention of churchgoers by rendering it legible at a distance.[2]

Martin Roland

1 Roland and Zajic 2013, 305–37.
2 See Bartz, Gneiss, and Roland 2016 for extensive online descriptions and analysis of both of the mentioned collective indulgences (with bibliography).

143. Ordo dedicationis ecclesiae et altaris

Parchment, ff. ii (paper) + 73 + iii (paper), 270 x 170 (182–84 x 109–15) mm
Paris, France, c. 1515–30
Harvard University, Houghton Library, MS Typ 28
Arms of a bishop of the Potier de La Morandière family; Henry Drury (his sale 1827, lot 3858); bought by Clarke, Earl of Brownlow (his sale 1929); Belton House (his sale, Sotheby's, London, April 15, 1929, lot 745); bought by Philip Hofer from Maggs and presented in 1942.

The *Ordo for the Dedication of a Church and an Altar* by a bishop is the second significant part of a pontifical, which was often bound separately in order to be used more conveniently during the ritual. This example opens with a full-page coat of arms and a facing frontispiece miniature. It was made for a bishop whose arms (of which only the crosier turned left behind a large shield is still visible) have been overpainted with those of the family of Potier de La Morandière; either for René or Augustin Poitier, who from 1596 to 1650 were successively bishops of Beauvais.[1] However, the text model and decoration of the manuscript, which combines a humanistic script with elements from Flemish and Italian models, as well as the style of the opening miniature, coincide with Parisian taste of the 1520s and point to its origin in the capital.[2]

f. 1r

The text describes the order of ceremonies for dedication rites and provides the accompanying psalms and prayers: exorcisms and lustrations (prayers of purification), the ceremonial entrance and litany, the inscribing of the Greek and Roman alphabets in cruciform fashion on the floor of the church, exorcisms and the blessings of the salt, water, ashes and wine, as well as the aspersion (that is, sprinkling with holy water) of the altar and the dedication crosses, in addition to the dedication of the altar itself with the insertion of relics, and finally the Mass, followed by regulations for the dedication of the cornerstone and of the cemetery.

The opening miniature concentrates the entire rite in a formulaic fashion in the choir of a church, where a bishop carries out an unspecified rite using a pontifical (f. 1r). The dedicatory crosses are gathered on the columns below statues of the apostles. While the illuminator is conservative in his limited palette and the conception of figure and space, the architectural details and ornamentation in the form of antique spoliated columns with ionic capitals, choir stalls decorated with harpies, and an altar bearing a Renaissance retable with free-standing sculpture display a keen interest in Antiquity and the Renaissance. The artist's graphic approach to illumination with a generous use of painted gold draws on the style of Jean Pichore (d. 1521), which was developed in Paris c. 1500, without, however, attaining its quality. He belongs among Pichore's successors along with a group of artists around the Parisian illuminator and publisher, Étienne Colaud.[3]

The Parisian origin of the manuscript is confirmed by textual evidence. An unusual rubric concerning the burning of incense on the altar employs a Parisian formula (f. 33r).[4] Moreover, it belongs to a group of pontificals whose textual ties to Paris and closely related decoration corroborate their common origin in the city. One is another *Ordo dedicationis* (London, BL, Add. MS. 17088) with almost identical text and layout and a miniature by an illuminator from the same circle and the second is a pontifical with Offices for Paris (London, BL, Add. MS. 39635), containing a miniature by Pichore and a frontispiece from an apparently younger artist. The latter manuscript, which also has a Poitier coat of arms replacing that of the first owner, presumably has the same provenance as MS Typ 28. All three manuscripts are written in a humanistic script known as antiqua. Although antiqua was previously employed for secular texts printed for the University of Paris since 1470[5] and appears in books of hours by 1500,[6] in a liturgical manuscript, its use seems unlikely before c. 1520.[7] While the manuscript was certainly made in Paris, it may have been commissioned for another destination. Apart from important saints for Paris, Genevieve, Denis, Eustache, Germain, Gervase, and Protase, all of which also had wider significance, the litany particularly stresses Pope Clement I, who was not particularly venerated there.[8]

Caroline Zöhl

1 René Poitier (1596–1616) identified in Sotheby's, London, April 15, 1929, lot 745; or Augustin Poitier (1617–50). Examples for pontifical coats of arms with crosiers behind the shield can be found in the pontifical for the Parisian bishops Etienne and François Poncher (1505–19 and 1519–32), Paris, BnF, ms. lat. 956 (f. 1r) and 957 (f. 1r), Leroquais 1937, 2:52–60.

2 Wieck 1983b, 120, dates the manuscript c. 1525.

3 For a list of attributions to Collaud, see Cousseau 2011, 34–35.

4 See Leroquais 1937, 1:110, who cites Paris, BnF, mss. lat. 956 (f. 132v), lat. 961 (f. 143v), and lat. 1241 (f. 43); Leroquais 1937, 2:52–57, 69–76, 145; and Kay 2007, no. 166 (MS Typ 28), no. 329 (London, BL, Add. MS. 17088), and no. 344 (London, BL, Add. MS. 39635).

5 ISTC ib00260500, ib00269000, im00039000, is00053000.

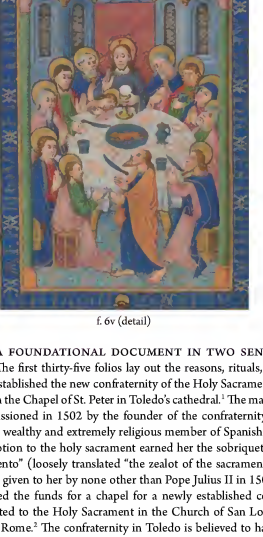
6 Thielman Kerver, 1500 (ISTC ih00405050); Tenschert, Nettekoven, and Zöhl 2014–15, 5: no. 29.1.

7 The *Pontificale Romanum* published 1511 in Lyon was printed in a bastarda (Baudrier 1895–1921, 1:267).

8 Clement is named twice among the popes in the litany (Leroquais 1937, 1:108–9). His head relic was claimed by Cluny Abbey, he had a church in Nantes and was also especially venerated in Amiens, Autun, Reims, and Rouen (Grotefend 1891–98).

144. Institucion de la regla y hermandad dela Cofadria del Sanctissimo Sacramento

Toledo, Spain, 1502–1630
Parchment, ff. 1–35 (1502), ff. 36r–46r (1540), f. 46v (1553), f. 47r (1630), 245 x 183 (170 x 111) mm
Harvard University, Houghton Library, MS Typ 184
Teresa Enríquez; sold by Maggs,1938; bequest of Philip Hofer, 1984.



f. 6v (detail)

This is a foundational document in two senses of the word. The first thirty-five folios lay out the reasons, rituals, and the rules that established the new confraternity of the Holy Sacrament of the Eucharist in the Chapel of St. Peter in Toledo's cathedral.[1] The manuscript was commissioned in 1502 by the founder of the confraternity, Teresa Enríquez, a wealthy and extremely religious member of Spanish nobility whose devotion to the holy sacrament earned her the sobriquet "la loca del sacramento" (loosely translated "the zealot of the sacrament"). This epithet was given to her by none other than Pope Julius II in 1508 when she provided the funds for a chapel for a newly established confraternity dedicated to the Holy Sacrament in the Church of San Lorenzo in Damaso in Rome.[2] The confraternity in Toledo is believed to have been the first of its kind in Spain. Its membership is stipulated (f. 11r) to be no more than eighty men and twenty women. Although the Blessed Sacrament confraternities had their origins in the twelfth century, these were normally dedicated to purchasing liturgical objects for and embellishing the chapel where the Holy Eucharist was celebrated.[3] This manuscript is therefore also foundational as it establishes the transition from the medieval confraternities of the Holy Sacrament to the early modern ones that proliferated throughout Europe after 1502, especially after the Protestant Reformation.

The manuscript opens with three illuminated folios, all of which were executed by a Spanish artist in what has been called the "Hispano-Flemish style," characterized by Roger Wieck as employing "a more somber range of colors than his Northern colleagues and [who] also did not share their concerns with the clear portrayal of spatial relations."[4] The text of first thirty-five folios is written in a Gothic rotunda hand primarily in black ink

and red ink is used for title page and chapter headings. Delicate blue and red penwork decorations appear alongside the chapter headings. The first illumination (f. 5v) occupies the title page, which announces that these are the rules of the confraternity, the place of its establishment, and the date. The text is followed by a miniature in the bottom third of the folio showing the arms of the confraternity (the five wounds of Christ) on a silver colored field within a garland held by two angels who are shown against a gold leaf background. The coat of arms of Teresa Enríquez appears below each angel. The Latin text in the banderoles announces the veneration of the holy sacrament.

There follows (f. 6v, see above and opening page to this chapter) a full-page miniature of the Last Supper, in which the apostles and Christ sit at the table covered with a tablecloth. Loaves of bread and cups of wine lie on the table or are being consumed. Christ raises his right hand in benediction; in his left hand he holds a chalice with a wafer that is embossed with his body on the cross flanked by the two thieves, thereby transforming the image into an Institution of the Eucharist. The Latin text written in gold in the blue border reads "hoc est corpus meum" ("for this is my body"), then "hic est enim Calix Sanguinis mei, novi et eterni te[stamenti]" ("for this is the Chalice of my Blood of the new and everlasting covenant"), both critical phrases spoken in the Mass marking the moment of consecration, the first being said over the host, the second, over the wine. The miniature not only depicts the organizing devotion of the confraternity, it also visually emblematizes its obligations: caring for the poor, which was symbolically performed by once a year gathering twelve poor citizens and one poor priest to feed them, give them alms, and to wash their feet in remembrance of the Last Supper.

The final illumination depicts a cross within a golden border that includes two shields, one with the wounds of Christ, the other with the keys of St. Peter. The Spanish text supplies the oath taken by members declaring their devotion to God almighty and Holy Mother of God as well as the holy sacrament celebrated in the Chapel of St. Peter. The text refers directly to the cross that members of the confraternity were to hold in their right hands every day.

Tom Cummins

1 The text is as follows: "Institucion de la Regla y hermandad de la cofadria del sanctissimo sacramento constituyda enla capilla de señor sant pedro dela sancta yglesia de toledo. Por la muy magnifica señora doña theresa enriquez. En el año del nacimiento de nro saluador ihu x de mill & quinientos & dos anos."

2 After founding the confraternity in the cathedral in 1502, to which this manuscript refers, Teresa Enríquez gave funds for the confraternity of the holy sacrament in Rome, begun in 1501 by four parishioners and one priest in the church of San Lorenzo in Damaso. A very humble and poor confraternity, Teresa Enríquez endowed it first in 1506 with a white damask canopy with a gold border, a gift predicated on the condition that it be used for the last rites of the members of the confraternity. Teresa's gift recalls Queen Isabella's gift, which in our document (f. 19) is said to be the founding reason for the confraternity in Toledo. In 1506 Teresa also gave the funds to build a chapel with its ornaments for San Lorenzo in Damaso; see Fernández Fernández 2001, 49–52.

3 See Murphy 1999, 51–52.

4 Wieck 1983b, 100, no. 49.

145. Leaf from the missal of Johannes von Giltlingen

Conrad Wagner (illuminator)

Augsburg, Benedictine abbey of Sts. Ulrich and Afra, Germany, 1484–85
Parchment, 1 leaf, 346–47 x 258–63 (c. 237 x 174) mm
Harvard University, Houghton Library, MS Typ 288
Bequest of Philip Hofer, 1984.

This richly and ornately decorated leaf comes from one of the most important liturgical commissions produced in Augsburg during the 1480s, a missal made for Johannes von Giltlingen, abbot of the imperial monastery of Sts. Ulrich and Afra in that city from 1482 to 1496.[1] The manuscript is documented in the *Catalogus Abbatum monasterii SS. Udalrici et Afrae Augustensis*, a chronicle of the monastery composed from 1493–97 by one of Johannes von Giltlingen's contemporaries, Frater Wilhelm Wittwer.[2] There Frater Wittwer identifies the artist, his co-frater Conrad Wagner, praises his exceptional skills as an illuminator, illustrator, and binder of the monastery's manuscripts, and records the works illuminated by Wagner. These include a missal belonging to the abbey, completed in 1480, a gradual finished in 1490, and "several other books, to wit, Breviaries, Diurnals, and the Missal of Johannes von Giltlingen."[3] Frater Wittwer's information is corroborated by inscriptions on one of the extant leaves of the last-named missal, which record the name of the patron, Johannes von Giltlingen, and the initials of its artist, Conrad Wagner.[4]

A glance at the present leaf suggests something of the opulence and the decorative intricacy of the manuscript from which it was excised, one of the most sumptuous works of book illumination produced anywhere in southern Germany during the late fifteenth century. The two text columns are surrounded on all sides by a tooled gold panel border decorated with complexly interwoven strapwork and foliage in cameo-green, which is inhabited by painted birds and, at the lower right corner, an archer portrayed in dorsal view. The lavish ornamentation of this page is at once a function of the munificence of the art-loving patron of the missal, Abbot Johannes von Giltlingen, and of the importance accorded to the page that introduces the Mass for St. Ulrich. The coat of arms prominently displayed in the upper margin of the page (azure, a band argent between four lions, or) is that associated with St. Ulrich, a sign of distinction which has an analogy in the extant leaf from the same manuscript that introduces the Mass of St. Afra, and that includes the coat of arms associated with that saint in its upper right corner.[5]

The missal from which this leaf was excised must have been dismembered before 1852, the year in which ten illuminated leaves from the same

book were donated to the Germanisches Nationalmuseum by its founder, Hans Freiherr von und zu Aufsess.[6] Those leaves were all that was known from the manuscript until 1984, when I published two other previously unknown illuminated leaves from the same book then in American private collections, containing, respectively, the Masses for Easter and Pentecost.[7] Since then six other leaves from the same manuscript have been identified and published: one with the Mass for Epiphany Sunday in the Victoria & Albert Museum;[8] another with the Mass for the feast of the Visitation that appeared in an auction at Sotheby's in 1994 and is now in the private collection of Jörn Günther;[9] three with the Masses of Corpus Christi, St. Benedict (recto), and the Annunciation (verso), and the beginning of the Common of Saints from the collection of George Arthur Plimpton now at Columbia University;[10] and the Houghton leaf.

With the discovery of the leaves now at Harvard and Columbia University, it has been possible to revise previous estimates of the date of the original commission and narrow it to the years 1484–85; to reconstruct the original contents, format and structure of the manuscript; and to suggest that, at a minimum, an additional five richly decorated and illustrated leaves must be missing from the full complement found in the volume prior to its dismemberment.[11] Considering the pace at which decorated and illustrated leaves from the commission have been recognized in recent decades, one hopes that some of these presumed missing leaves will also be located.

James H. Marrow

1 For Sts. Ulrich and Afra, see Hartig 1923, Hemmerle 1970, 45–50, and Weitlauff 2011; for Johannes von Gültlingen, Precht-Nußbaum 2011, 404–6; for the manuscript, Marrow 1984, supplemented and superseded by Marrow 2010.
2 Steichele 1860, with relevant parts excerpted by Steingräber 1956, 46–47.
3 Steichele 1860, 302, 353, 394; Steingräber 1956, 46.
4 Nuremberg, Germ. NMus., Mm 1, for which see Marrow 2010, 132, 136, fig. 6.
5 For the coat of arms of St. Ulrich and the leaf with the depiction and coat of arms of St. Afra (Nuremberg, Germ. NMus., Mm 7), Marrow 2010, 127–28n6.
6 Nuremberg, Germ. NMus., Mm 1–10; Bredt 1903, 75–76, nos. 102–11, pl. 12.
7 For the miniatures with the Mass for Easter Sunday (now in a European private collection) and the Mass for Pentecost (now in a German private collection), see Marrow 1984 and 2010, 128n8.
8 London, V&A, 274:2 (MS 424); Marrow 2010, 128–29n9.
9 Stalden, Switzerland, Collection Dr. Jörn Günther (formerly, Sotheby's, London, June 21, 1994, lot 52); Marrow 2010, 128–29n10.
10 New York, Columbia UL, Plimpton MS 36:1–3; Marrow 2010, 129–36.
11 Marrow 2010, 132–41.

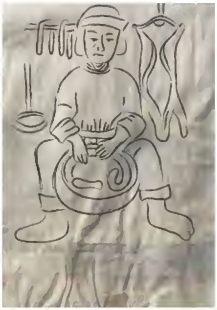
146. Magdeburg Missal
Simon Koch ("Mentzer") (printer)

Magdeburg, Germany, 1486
Parchment and paper, f°, ff. ii + 318 +ii, 395 x 275 mm[1]
Harvard University, Houghton Library, Typ Inc 2756
Charles Louis de Bourbon, Duke of Parma;[2] lot no. 98, his sale, Hôtel Drouot, Paris, May 30, 1932; Lathrop C. Harper, booksellers, New York; Philip Hofer, acquired from Harper in December 1932, his bequest, 1984.

The canon, i.e., the portion of the ceremony containing the prayers of consecration that constitutes the core of every Mass, regardless of the day on which it is celebrated, had, since as early as the late eighth century, been illustrated with a depiction of the Crucifixion. In addition to the image's suitability as a pictorial complement to a ritual that recapitulated Christ's sacrifice on the Cross, the Crucifixion was suggested by the form of the letter *T* which marks the opening words of the consecration prayer, "Te igitur…," "To you, therefore, most merciful Father, we make humble prayer and petition through Jesus Christ, your Son, our Lord." In the Magdeburg Missal, however, as in many later medieval examples, the narrative/liturgical image has been separated from the letter. Painted in green on a red ground, the initial *T* opens the text on the facing page, which is printed in an especially large Gothic type for the sake of legibility, but also to underscore the paramount importance of the text.

f. 4v

In this copy the ten unsigned leaves of the canon are printed on parchment because of their frequent use in every Mass. The Crucifixion scene on f. 4v of the canon is an original painting, not the woodcut recorded by Schramm as standard for this edition.[3] Elegantly painted with unusual care and precision, it indicates that this particular copy of the Missal was intended to be unusually luxurious. Against a deep blue ground enlivened by swirling white filigree decoration, Christ hangs on the Cross, his body ashen in color compared to the ruddier tones of the mourners Mary and John the Evangelist, who clasp their hands in conventional gestures of grief. The blood that runs from the crown of thorns and, still more dramatically, from the wound in Christ's side, as well as his feet, accentuates the identification of the wine in the chalice, which would have stood on the altar alongside the Missal, with the blood of the savior. The cross reserved and outlined in a red circle below the miniature serves as an osculatory, an image for the celebrant to kiss in lieu of the painted image above. Osculatories were intended to protect the Missal's decoration from unnecessary wear caused by contact with the celebrant's lips. In this case, however, neither the osculatory nor the image shows any trace of use.



f. 4r (sketch of impression)

On f. 4r of this book, impressed in blind as a bearer for the fourteen lines of text at the top, is a woodcut representing (as far as can be made out from the faintness of the impression) a butcher making sausages; no such cut is recorded by Schramm. Why or how the impression was made in this particular place is open to speculation.

Jeffrey F. Hamburger & William P. Stoneman

1 ISTC im00672000, MEI 02013736, Walsh 976 and pl. 13.
2 Bohatta 1909–10, 1:214–15 (no. 143).
3 Schramm 1920–43, 12:8, 12 and pl. 54 (no. 376).

147. Leaf from a gradual
Circle of the Maestro della Bibbia di Gerona (illuminators)

Bologna, Italy, c. 1275
Parchment, 1 leaf, 518 x 361 (380 x 258) mm
Boston Public Library, MS pb Med. 170 (formerly Ms. 1595)
Acquired in 1954 from La Bibliofilia, Milan; Josiah H. Benton Fund.

The gradual gathers the texts of the proper of the Mass: those chants specific, i.e., proper, to individual feast days throughout the liturgical year. On this leaf, the chant in question, for the feast of the Epiphany, is introduced by the rubric, *In epiphania domini officium*. The use of the term *officium* for the introit provides a sure indication that the leaf comes from a manuscript made for a community of Dominicans.[1] The gradual's function as a choir book to be placed on a lectern and used by a *schola cantorum* determines many of its salient formal features, among them the large and legible rotunda script, the meticulous notation, and, not least, its imposing size.[2] Rubrics at the top of the page provide shorthand cues or cross-references to other folios in the manuscript that would have contained the proper chants sung at dawn on Christmas Day. These texts are offered as alternatives if a Sunday falls within the octave, that is, the week, following Christmas.[3]

(detail)

The floriate initial *E* of the chant for the *officium* is historiated with the Adoration of the Magi, the event commemorated on the feast of the Epiphany. Against a vibrant blue background, three nimbed figures occupy the left side of the initial. The Virgin, who by virtue of her importance is by far the largest in size, sits on a bench covered with a white cloth, which lends it the character of an altar on which the Christ child is presented to the kneeling Magi. The Christ child stands, a relatively novel motif in the art of the later thirteenth century which emphasizes his divinity and regal status. Joseph looks on from behind. The initial, which displays strong Byzantinizing traits, has been attributed to the circle of the Master of the Bible of Girona (Girona Cathedral, MS. C.520), one of the leading illuminators of the later thirteenth century in Bologna whose work can be found bibles, liturgical, and legal manuscripts.[4]

Patricia DeLeeuw

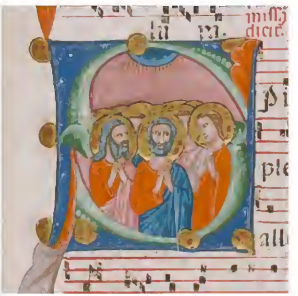
1 Bonniwell 1944, 92.
2 Palazzo, 1993, 86–102.
3 Roll 1995, 236–38.
4 On the style and possible identity of the miniaturist, see the description of another leaf from the same gradual in Medica 2016.

148. Gradual, monastic or parish use
Workshop of Pacino di Bonaguida (illuminator)

Florence, Italy, 1300–20
Parchment, ff. i + 175 + i, 357 x 262 (260 x 168) mm
Museum of Fine Arts, Boston, 01.6454, bequest of Mrs. Arthur Croft—the Gardner Brewer Collection
Probably by descent from Gardner Brewer, Boston, to his daughter, Caroline Abigail Brewer (Mrs. Arthur) Croft.

The present gradual, a choir book containing the sung portions of the Mass, joins about thirty liturgical manuscripts thought to have been produced by the workshop of Pacino di Bonaguida (*fl.* c. 1303–c. 1347) and that were made for every major religious order, including the Augustinians, Franciscans, Dominicans, Carmelites, Cistercians, Vallombrosans, Benedictines, as well as for private individuals and collegiate churches in Florence, Fiesole, Prato, Pistoia, Impruneta, and environs.[1] For almost a century, scholars of art and music have compiled a significant corpus of objects associated with Pacino, an artist whose identity is known from one signed altarpiece and from two archival documents.[2] Stylistic analysis and recent technical examination have formed

the basis for attributing works of art on panel, parchment, and in glass to the Florentine artist, who is believed to have been the head of a well-organized workshop.[3] In relation to manuscript illumination, this notion overshadows the intricacies of production and collaboration during the first half of the Trecento, since numerous individuals often contributed to large-scale book projects. Two hands, for example, have been identified in the gradual under consideration (1st: ff. 2r, 22r, 114r; 2nd: 15v, 129r, 133r, 161r).[4]



f. 133r (detail)

The Boston gradual is related stylistically to a significant group of choir books, all believed to have been produced by several artists in Pacino's shop, under the master's supervision, beginning around 1305 and completed by the mid-1320s.[5] The narrative scenes set within historiated initials represent standardized compositions that were repeatedly used by this shop but which over time became more ambitious and masterfully painted, as in the exceptional Laudario of Sant'Agnese, containing hymns of praise commissioned by a confraternity that met at Santa Maria del Carmine in Florence (about 1340s).[6] The Man of Sorrows on f. 161r follows the model of the mosaic icon (late thirteenth–early fourteenth century) at Santa Croce in Gerusalemme in Rome and was treated by Pacino's shop on other occasions.[7] The miniature shown here (f. 133r) depicts the moment of Pentecost, when the Holy Spirit descended upon the apostles several weeks after the Crucifixion, as recorded in the second chapter of the Acts of the Apostles. Only three of the apostles are clearly visible; the others are largely hidden except for protruding portions of their halos. Rubrics throughout the manuscript referring to "brothers" and "deacons" may indicate a monastic use,[8] or possibly suggest that the manuscript was commissioned by a parish church under monastic oversight. By comparison, a contemporaneous gradual illuminated by the same shop (containing nearly identical rubrications and litany of saints) was made for the church of San Giorgio a Ruballa, a parish whose patronage was partially transferred from the Pilastri family to the Cistercian monks of the Badia a Settimo in the early Trecento. Moreover, the arrangement of nine staves per page is typical of choir books made for parish use at the time.[9]

Bryan C. Keene

1 For the most recent publications and bibliographies on Pacino di Bonaguida, see Sciacca 2012; Keene 2012, 1–7, 93–97, 326–33; Keene 2016. For a complete assessment of the liturgical manuscripts produced by the shop associated with Pacino, see Keene, forthcoming 2017a and Keene and Turner 2013. For the MFA gradual, see Alidori Battaglia 2009; Offner and Boskovits 1987, 11, 17, 65, 216, 556.

2 The polyptych with *The Crucifixion and Saints Nicholas, Bartholomew, Florentius, and Luke* (Florence, Galleria dell'Accademia, 1890 n. 8568) bears the inscription: "SYMON [P]R[ES]B[I]TER FLOR[ENTI] FEC[IT] PI[N]GI H[OC] OP[US] A PACINO BONAGUIDE AN]N]O D[OMI]NI MCCCX[...]." The partial date is traditionally read as between 1315–20. The two archival documents are in the Archivio di Stato di Firenze: *Archivio dei contratti di Firenze: rogiti di ser Gianni ricevuti, protocollo dal 1298 al 1328* and *Archivio delle arte: matricole dell'arte de' medici, speciali e merciai, Cod. VIII*. See Sciacca 2012, 285–303 (and additional bibliography). For a reconsideration of the polyptych's date, see Keene, forthcoming 2017a.

3 See Szafran and Turner 2012; Schmidt Patterson, Phenix, and Trentelman 2012; Burns 2012.

4 Alidori Battaglia 2009; Ciardi Dupré Dal Poggetto 1984; Offner 1927, 13–14.

5 Alidori Battaglia 2009.

6 Keene 2016.

7 H. Evans 2004, nos. 221–22; Keene, forthcoming 2017a.

8 Notes kindly provided to me by Lisa Fagin Davis. A misreading of Sts. Augustine and Zenobius in the litany of saints—as "Augustinus Çenobi"—has led to the confusion that this manuscript was possibly made for Augustinian use. An artist from Pacino's shop provided illuminations for a laudario (Florence, BN, ms. B.R. 18) and choir book (Florence, Mus. di S. Marco, ms. 629) at the Augustinian church of Santo Spirito in Florence, and painted a diptych now thought to have been made for patrons dedicated to that order. See Keene 2016.

9 See Keene, forthcoming 2017b.

149. Leaf from a gradual, Dominican use
Pacino di Bonaguida (illuminator)

Florence, Italy, c. 1335–40
Parchment, 1 leaf, 526 x 379 (c. 375 x 225) mm
Harvard University, Houghton Library, MS Typ 1004 (formerly 90M-16)
Gift of Robert Lehman to the Fogg Art Museum (1943.1868); transferred, 1990.

(detail)

The chant displayed on this large-scale choir book leaf begins with an enlarged foliate initial containing the half-length figure of St. Paul identifiable by his attributes: a sword and a book. Exuberant multicolored vine-scroll issues from the letters and fills the margins of the page. It also supports the diminutive figure of a nun dressed in the black-and-white habit of the Dominican order who kneels in prayer and gazes upon St. Paul. The illumination of this leaf has been attributed to Pacino di Bonaguida (*fl.* c. 1303–c. 1347), the Florentine illuminator and panel painter who headed a prolific workshop responsible for the majority of illuminated manuscript commissions in the first half of the fourteenth century in that city.[1] The Houghton leaf has been dated to the later part

of Pacino's career, given its similarity to the illuminated antiphonals commissioned from the artist for the church of Santa Maria dell'Impruneta.[2]

The Houghton leaf presents a sequence sung during the Mass for the feast of the Conversion of St. Paul (January 25): "Duo chori modulantes sint sonori nuntiantes verba sapienti[a]e" ("Two choirs singing loudly proclaiming words of wisdom"). This chant is unusual and may be closely tied to the patrons' particular devotional needs.[3] The Conversion of St. Paul is one of a series of leaves extracted from a disbound gradual. Other known sister leaves include an initial *L*: Heraclius adoring the Cross (private collection),[4] and an initial *R*: St. Helena adoring the Cross (Jörn Günther, Basel).[5] Like the Houghton leaf, each of these examples displays a kneeling Dominican nun placed in the left margin just outside the main initial, which suggests that the original choir book was commissioned by a convent of that order. Illuminated liturgical manuscripts were frequently broken up in the nineteenth century and the leaves and miniatures sold individually, as was the fate of Pacino's most ambitious manuscript commission, the Laudario of Sant'Angese.[6]

Christine Sciacca

1 Sciacca 2012, 285.
2 Palladino 2003, 38. On the Impruneta choir books, see Sciacca 2012, 326–33, no. 55, entry by Bryan C. Keene.
3 I thank Susan Boynton for confirming the type of chant present here and its place outside the common repertory for this feast.
4 Platts 2012; Jörn Günther 2006, no. 18.
5 Jörn Günther 2013, no. 34; Jörn Günther 2006, no. 16.
6 Sciacca 2012, 219–235.

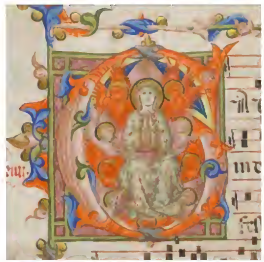
150. Gradual
Lippo Vanni and workshop (illuminators)

Siena, Italy, c. 1360
Parchment, ff. 346, 530 x 350 (342–50 x 220–25) mm
Harvard University, Houghton Library, MS Typ 79
Bought by Walter Van Rensselaer Berry in New York, 1897; Berry donation to Fogg Museum (1928.117); deposited, 1953.

This gradual contains the chants sung by the choir during the cycle of Masses for the entire liturgical year. It is divided into three principal sections: the temporale (ff. 1r–210r, from the first Sunday of Advent to the twenty-fourth Sunday after Pentecost), the Proper of Saints (ff. 211r–43r, from the feast of St. Andrew the apostle to the feast of Pope St. Clement I) and the Common of Saints (ff. 243v–308r). The manuscript is richly illuminated with forty-three historiated initials and numerous initials decorated with red and blue filigree penwork.[1] Instructions to the illuminator for the iconography of images to be inserted are penned in tiny script in the margins of some pages (e.g., f. 234v). The illuminations were first published in 1924 by Bernard Berenson, who attributed them to Lippo Vanni and dated them to around 1345, in the early phase of the artist's career.[2] More recent studies have assigned the gradual to a later period, not before 1360–70, and debated the presence of assistants alongside the master.[3]

Documented from 1344 to 1375, the painter and illuminator Lippo Vanni was one of the preeminent artists in Siena in the third quarter of the fourteenth century. In 1356 he was placed first in the list of the city's painters, the *Breve dell'Arte de' Pittori Senesi*. His only dated (1358) and signed work is the triptych made for the Dominican convent of Santa Aurea in Rome (now Rome, convent of Santi Domenico e Sisto, seat of the Pontifical University "San Tommaso d'Aquino"). Lippo's prestige is evident from the important civic commissions which he received from the Sienese government after 1350 for the decoration of the city's Palazzo Pubblico.[4]

He debuted as an illuminator around 1340. The primary chronological reference point for his activity in this domain is the Gradual 98-4 now in the Museo dell'Opera del Duomo in Siena, for which he was paid on May 7, 1345 by the hospital of Santa Maria della Scala.[5] Lippo probably trained with the Sienese brothers Pietro and Ambrogio Lorenzetti. Ambrogio seems to have played an especially influential role in directing Lippo toward experimenting with narrative animation, and jewel-like and soft pictorial effects.[6]



f. 234v (detail)

The historiated initials in MS Typ 79 demonstrate a technique unusual for fourteenth-century Sienese illumination: the paint is fluid, almost liquid, and was applied with quick, energetic strokes.[7] Similar painterly freedom is at work in the lively and dynamic scenes, encountered in graduals illuminated by Lippo for the church of San Lorenzo, Florence (c. 1360–70), possibly just a few years after the production of the Harvard manuscript.[8] Lippo's direct engagement in the project to create MS Typ 79 illuminations has yet to be confirmed. As Henk van Os already suggested, the intervention of his assistants could be recognized in some initials of lesser quality.[9]

The Harvard gradual has the greatest number of illuminations of any manuscript decorated by Lippo and his workshop. The largest initials were reserved for the frontispiece (the first Sunday in Advent) and the major Christological feasts, which are framed by elegant acanthus leaves that extend along the margins of the pages.[10] The illumination related to the feast of the Assumption of the Virgin (August 15, *Gaudeamus omnes*, f. 234v) is also marked by a large initial. The iconography is typical of depictions of the subject in Siena. In 1260 the Virgin was declared the patron of the city, hence her Assumption had a strong civic as well as religious significance. The iconography was fixed in 1287–88 by Duccio di Buoninsegna in the great circular window of the Duomo (dedicated to the Assumption of the Virgin), where Mary appeared, seated frontally in a mandorla surrounded by angels. In Lippo's illumination, the subject appears renewed: the frontal Virgin is surrounded by seraphim, who have substituted the mandorla with the angels.[11] The scene as depicted in MS Typ 79 lacks any narrative aspects; omitted is the figure of St. Thomas, who received the Virgin's girdle beside her empty tomb, which Lippo included in the image of the Assumption in the aforementioned graduals in the Museo dell'Opera del Duomo in Siena and for the Florentine church of San Lorenzo.[12]

The early provenance of the Harvard gradual is unknown. In the temporale (above all during the period of Lent), images of King David recur with particular frequency (ff. 1r, 29r, 31r, 63r, 242r). In the Proper of Saints, two initials are dedicated to St. Paul (ff. 212r and 230r), who was the focus of intensified devotion in Siena following the city's victory of the Battle of the Val di Chiana in October 1363.[13] Two illuminations adorn the feast of St. John the Baptist (ff. 226v and 227v), who is the patron saint of Florence, a city for which Lippo was active as an illuminator. However, the presence of the Baptist in the sanctorale is not sufficient evidence to hypothesize that the manuscript was made for a Florentine church.[14]

Ada Labriola

1 The gradual preserves the original foliation in Roman numerals, written in red ink in the left margin of the verso of leaves. There are historiated yet no decorated initials.
2 Berenson 1924 and 1930. Berenson saw the gradual in Paris in the collection of Walter Van Rensselaer Berry. See Wieck 1983b, 60, no. 29.
3 Valerie Wainwright (1988, 31–35) believed all of the illuminations in the gradual to be the work of assistants active in Lippo's workshop c. 1360–70, and proposed the creation of a new anonymous personality, the so-called Berry Master. The presence of assistants was also affirmed by Cristina De Benedictis (2002, 139 and 324), who attributed only the design for the miniatures to Lippo. Gaudenz Freuler (2004a, 396) attributed some of the illuminations to a follower of Lippo, the "Maestro delle Rivelazioni di Santa Brigida di Siena." Supporters of the illuminations as authentic works by Lippo's hand are Giulietta Chelazzi Dini (1982, 255, 257, and 260) and Carlo Volpe (1995, 158), who date the gradual to the 1340s.
4 Chelazzi Dini 1982; Dale 1984; De Benedictis 2002, 128–40, 319–31; Freuler 2004a.
5 Chelazzi Dini 1982, 271–75, cat. no. 101; De Benedictis 2002, 132–33. Lippo painted only the first five illuminations in Gradual 98-4, which was completed in the fifteenth century.
6 The theory of Lippo's artistic formation in the workshop of Simone Martini, in the late 1320s, has been recently rehabilitated by Joseph Polzer (2012, 177–92).
7 Chelazzi Dini 1996, 738.
8 The three graduals of San Lorenzo are now divided between Florence (Arch. Cap. di S. Lorenzo, mss. E and F) and New Haven (Beinecke Library, MS 549). Their decoration was initially entrusted to the Florentine illuminator Pacino di Bonaguida c. 1340–45. The volume in New Haven was first published recently by Pia Palladino, in Sciacca 2012, 136–39, cat. no. 31.
9 Van Os 1967–68, 118, 124–27, 130, 133n29; Van Os 1974, 75, 81, 86, 88. Examples of "lesser quality" initials are the Appearance of God to Two Men (f. 5v), Ascension (f. 165v), Sts. Philip and James (f. 223v), Sts. Peter and Paul (f. 230r), a Prelate Saint (f. 287v), and Three Virgin Saints (f. 289v).
10 King David presents his Soul to God (f. 1r); Christ (f. 41r); the Resurrection (f. 143v); Ascension (f. 165v); Pentecost (f. 170v); and Assumption of the Virgin (f. 234v).
11 Van Os 1969, 157–68, esp. 167; V. Schmidt 1991, 658. The seraphim (rather than angels) already appeared in the Assumption painted by Pietro Lorenzetti in the polyptych of Arezzo (parish of Santa Maria), commissioned in 1320. The Virgin is, however, still enclosed in a mandorla. See Volpe 1995, 121–25, cat. no. 97.
12 Respectively, f. 22r (De Benedictis 2002, 328, fig. 310) and f. 44v. The latter illumination can be viewed on the library's website.
13 Fattorini 2013. The apostle appears in the illumination for the feast of his conversion on January 25 (a half-bust of St. Paul, f. 212r) and the feast of Sts. Peter and Paul on June 29 (Sts. Peter and Paul, f. 230r). The description of the illuminations in MS Typ 79 written by Sharon Dale (1984, 156–64, cat. no. 20) contains a number of mistakes. Dale erroneously identifies St. Paul with the half-length bust of Christ (f. 4r) and St. Thomas the apostle (f. 22r). The names of the four protector saints of Siena (Ansano, Savino, Crescenzio, and Vittore) do not appear in the rubrics for the sanctorale.
14 Eve of the Baptist's birth, on June 23 (the Appearance of the Angel to Zacharias, f. 226v) and his feast, on June 24 (St. John the Baptist, f. 227v). In MS Typ 79 other saints particularly worshiped in Florence—such as St. Zenobius—are not mentioned in the sanctorale.

151. Dominican processional

Bologna, Italy, c. 1350–1400
Parchment, ff. i + 113 + i, 157 x 120 (110 x 80) mm
Boston Public Library, MS q Med. 135 (formerly Ms. 1559)
Sold Sotheby's, London, July 28, 1901, lot 761 (collection of James Ward and Alexander Howell); Sotheby's, London, December 15, 1924, lot 519 to Stevens; Maggs, cat. 542 (1930), no. 96; cat. 555 (1931), no. 8; cat. 14 (1939), no. 2; cat. 687 (1940), no. 232; cat. 802 (1951), no. 4; purchased in 1954 from Maggs.

Liturgical practice in the Middle Ages varied greatly, a variety reflected in the many types of book that supported its celebration. By the late Middle Ages, the processional, which gathers together chants to be sung during processions on feast days, included directions, or rubrics, and prayers for a variety of celebrations and rites, including prayers commonly found in books of hours.[1]

This richly illustrated processional was made for a community of Dominican nuns, for whom possession of a processional was compulsory. A large number of illuminated Dominican processionals survive, for example, from the royal Dominican convent at Poissy.[2] This particular example includes an office for the consecration of a priest or a nun; hymns and prayers, text and music, for processions on the feasts of the Purification, with prayers for the blessing of candles, Palm Sunday, Holy Thursday, Easter, the Ascension, and the Assumption of the Virgin; the Lamentation of Jeremiah; more prayers for the blessing of candles; deathbed rites; sequences of Jesus's genealogy for the introductions of the Gospels of Matthew and Luke; the Office of the Cross; and a ritual for the reception of a legate. The book breaks off with the first nocturn of matins in the Office of the Dead. Later (fifteenth century?) additions include more death rites on what was originally a blank page and, in a telling indication of its early provenance, within the original Office of the Dead, the insertion of feminine phrases: above "eum" a later scribe has inserted "eam"; above "servo tuo" the insertion "ancilla tua."

f. 28r (detail)

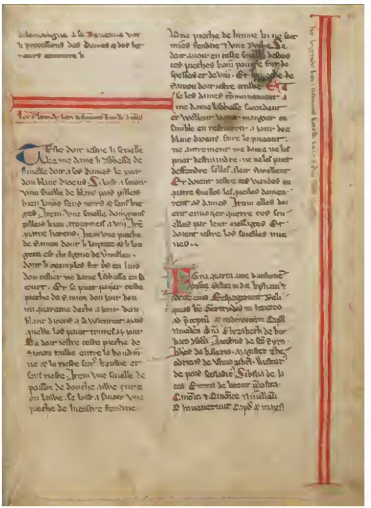
The manuscript is written in a clear Gothic bookhand in black ink with red rubrics and red or blue filigreed initials. Seventeen of the book's twenty-one miniatures show events in the life of Christ and his mother, from the Presentation of Mary in the Temple through the Death and Assumption of Mary. Nine of the miniatures, including the book's largest, half-page, illustration, are found within the Office of the Cross and offer scenes of Christ's Passion for the viewer's mediation. Here, amid hymns celebrating Christ's triumph over death on the Cross, the reader witnesses the culmination of the story: the triumphant Christ, his hand outstretched in blessing, emerges from the rocky tomb floating on a pink cloud and holding aloft a banner bearing a cross that extends beyond the picture's frame while two unheeding Roman soldiers sleep below (f. 28r).

Patricia DeLeeuw

1 For an introduction to the processional and its development, see Palazzo 1993, 236–38; Huglo 2000 and 2004; Gy 1960.
2 Huglo 1990, Naughton 1999–2000.

152. Liber ordinarius of the Abbey of Nivelles

Nivelles, Belgium, c. 1290–1300 or 1346
Parchment, ff. 103, 303 x 225 (230 x 165) mm
Harvard University, Houghton Library, MS Lat 422
Probably written c. 1280 for Elizabeth de Bierbias, abbess of Nivelles (held office from 1292–93); remained in the abbey's library until the secularization in 1798; descended to private owner who sold the manuscript at Sotheby's in 2008.



f. 95r

In 640, Ita, following the death of her husband, Pippin (mayor of the palace for the Merovingian monarch, Dagobert I), founded the abbey of Nivelles, where her daughter Gertrude (d. 659), venerated posthumously as a saint, served as the first abbess. The abbey, one of the most venerable monastic institutions in modern-day Belgium, indeed, all of Europe, rapidly established itself as one of the most celebrated and enduring centers of female monasticism north of the Alps.[1] Originally a double monastery uniting communities of monks and nuns, the abbey later was governed by the abbess alone. The monastery's *Liber ordinarius*, which might have belonged to Elizabeth de Bierbais, abbess from 1272 until her death in 1293, but which, based on the Lambert Table, might date to 1346, provides a set of detailed instructions for the performance of the liturgy throughout the year as well as other texts proper to the abbess's duties (f. 9r: "Liber ordinarius ostendens qualitur legatur et cantetur per totu[m] anni circulum in Eccl[es]ia nivellen[sis]).".[2]

Libri ordinarii provide among the most important sources for the history of the liturgy. They provide a wealth of information not only about the content of the liturgy, but also about how, when and where it was performed. The *Liber ordinarius* from Nivelles, for which until the reemergence of the manuscript now at Harvard it was thought no such source existed, also provides important information on the history of the abbey as well as its governance during the High Middle Ages. Although predominantly in Latin, the manuscript also contains several texts in medieval French, which testify to the mixed literacy at the monastery. These include the statutes of the abbey (ff. 54v–56v) and a section on the food to be distributed to the nuns on Palm Sunday (f. 95r: "jour dou bland dioeus"). Also included is an account of how Elizabeth ordered the exhumation of the abbey's patron saint on July 8, 1293 (f. 95r), shortly before her own death, which some attributed to her having disturbed the saint's body.[3]

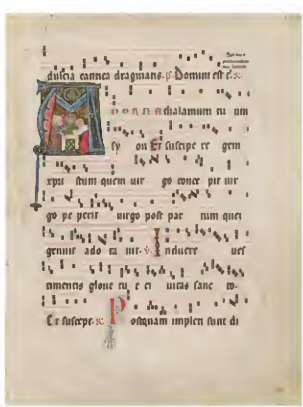
Aside from a few birds and beasts inhabiting the fleuronnée ornament, the manuscript is without figurative decoration. Drawn in the margin alongside the text on the distribution of food, two column-like red bars, one vertical, the other horizontal, serve a very practical purpose: to indicate the length and width of the piece of salmon to be given to the nuns by the abbess during Lent. Such measurement indicators were a common feature on buildings abutting medieval markets, but they also occur in devotional books (cf. cat. no. 140). The manuscript, which was chained and hence available for ready consultation, retains what were probably its original boards, recovered in tooled leather in the fifteenth century.

Jeffrey F. Hamburger

1 See most recently Van Hove et al. 2012.
2 Christopher de Hamel in Sotheby's, London, December. 3, 2008, lot 29.
3 Hanon de Louvet 1952.

153. Antipbonal leaf

"Holy Cross" Dominican nunnery, Regensburg, Germany, c. 1300–30
Parchment, 1 leaf, 492 x 370 (343 x 258) mm
Harvard University, Houghton Library, MS Typ 961[1]
Sold by Raphael Stora, 1956; bequest of Philip Hofer, 1984.



This leaf shows Mary in the initial *A* (dorna), the beginning of the chant for the feast of the Presentation to the Temple (Purification), which consists mostly of allegorical passages in praise of the Virgin. She presents her child to the priest Simeon in the temple. Jewish law prescribes the purification of the mother after childbirth and the

offering of the first born son to God. The Christian feast origins in the miracles that took place at Christ's presentation: the priest Simeon had been told that he would see the messiah during his lifetime and recognized him in Mary's child. Neither Joseph, the stepfather, nor the prophetess Hannah who guided by divine inspiration came to the temple at the right time and confirmed the savior, is represented in this image. This concentration by reduction is often to be found in manuscripts for female devotional or didactic use.

Close to two dozen leaves that come from the same antiphonal as the Harvard leaf are known. On the margin with the martyrdom of St. Andrew (New York, PML, MS M.870.3) is written the name "Gerwich." Although this has often been taken as the signature of the artist, it, like other inscriptions of this kind, commemorates a donor who had given money for the book.

The decoration has several levels: the highest is the historiated initial with its (half-)palmettes and other ornaments, the second are the fleuronnée initials in blue and red, the third are the black and white capitals with fleuronné decoration. The workshop that produced these initials apparently consisted of several painters who used a common model book, which makes Regensburg miniatures of this period easily recognizable. These painters produced not only manuscripts, but also wall and panel paintings. The main manuscripts of this prolific workshop are the lectionary (Oxford, Keble Coll., MS 49) and the *Willehalm* by Wolfram von Eschenbach, dated 1320 (Vienna, ÖNB, Cod. 2670).

Robert Suckale

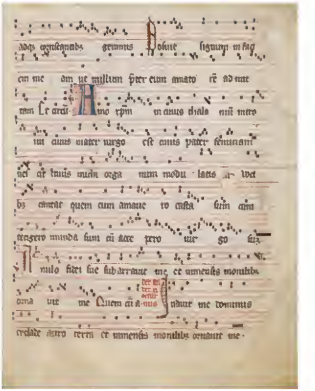
1 Suckale 2004 and 2010.

154. Franciscan antipbonal

Southern (?) Germany, c. 1300–50
Parchment, ff. 119, 300 x 258 (243 x 186) mm
Boston College, John J. Burns Library, MS.1996.097
Purchased from J & J Lubrano Music Antiquarians in Syosset, NY.

This office antiphonal contains Gregorian chants for the sung antiphons and responsories of the sanctorale, the annual calendar of saints' days throughout the entire liturgical year. Chants are given for the Divine Office hours of first and second vespers, matins, lauds, terce, sext, and none.[1] Following dry point guidelines, the two main teams of scribes copied ten four line red-inked staves per folio; the square music notation is copied in black ink, and the Latin liturgical texts in a Gothic liturgical script (textura), are written beneath the chant in black ink. Decorative initials are painted in red and blue in the first twelve folios; thereafter, blue ink is used only rarely, and the red initials are less elaborate.

Although its exact date and provenance are unknown, there can be no doubt that this manuscript was copied by and for the daily use of a church or monastery associated with the Franciscan order.[2] A single rubric in German (f. 7r: "der ander nocturnus") suggests that the manuscript might have been copied by German speakers. A terminus post quem of c. 1300 for the book's copying, and its Franciscan origins, may be deduced from the presence of the rhymed offices of Sts. Francis (by Julian of Speyer, c. 1235) and Clare (an anonymous contrafactum of the Office for St. Francis, c. 1300). The surprising inclusion of the office for the feast of Corpus Christi, promulgated by Urban IV in 1264, provides further confirmation of a date of c. 1300.[3]



f. 7r

The presence of this office is unusual both in Franciscan antiphonals generally and in particular in those that follow the sanctorale cycle, rather than the dominical (Sunday) cycle. Another unusual feature of the manuscript is the single appearance of a brief polyphonic passage, in a collection of otherwise uniformly monophonic music. For the first verse only of the sequence "Celi solem imitantes," a second voice has been notated above the chant bearing voice in note-against-note style (see f. 89v). A second manuscript, comprising nine tones for the "Venite" at matins and a tenth tone, whose music was never copied, is bound at the end of the antiphonal. It was likely copied at about the same date. Fragments of an early manuscript copy of the *Opus libellorum super jure pontificio* by Roffredo Benevento are used as binding materials.[4]

Michael Noone & Graeme Skinner

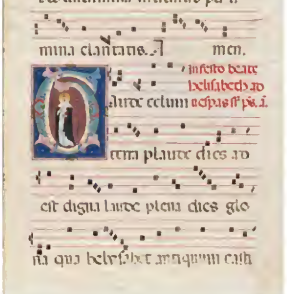
1 Baltzer and Fassler 2000.
2 Felder 1901, Abate 1960, Van Dijk and Walker 1960, and Mitchell 2003.
3 Walters, Corrigan, and Ricketts 2006.
4 The complete manuscript is digitized at burnsantiphoner.bc.edu and indexed at http://cantus.uwaterloo.ca/source/656252.

155. Antipbonal leaf
Master of the Dominican Effigies (illuminator)

Florence, Italy, c. 1335–40
Parchment, 1 leaf, 535 x 390 (383 x 275) mm
Harvard University, Houghton Library, MS Typ 1002 (formerly 90M-16)
Gift of Robert Lehman to the Fogg Art Museum (1943.1866); transferred, 1990.

This leaf is one of three surviving fragments from a Dominican antiphonal. The initial *G* begins the vespers antiphon, "Gaude celum" ("Let Heaven rejoice"), traditionally associated with the feast of Elizabeth of Hungary, the Arpadian princess who became a Franciscan tertiary and was canonized in 1235. The present miniature is unusual, however, in that the figure illustrating the text is not St. Elizabeth, invariably depicted wearing either the brown habit of the Franciscan order or a lay dress, but a crowned Dominican nun.[1] This suggests that the text was

appropriated to celebrate the feast of one of the later "saintly princesses" of Arpadian descent, named after St. Elizabeth, who took on the Dominican habit and became renowned for their devout conduct, but were never officially canonized.[2] Possibly shown here is the Blessed Elizabeth of Hungary (c. 1255–1326), daughter of Stephen V, who was prioress of a Dominican convent in Hungary before being forced into marriage. Widowed in 1290, she left for the Angevin court in Naples, where she became the spiritual leader of the Dominican convent of San Pietro a Castello.[3]



The miniature has been attributed to the so-called Master of the Dominican Effigies, an anonymous fourteenth-century Florentine painter and illuminator named after a panel with Christ and the Virgin Enthroned surrounded by Dominican saints and blessed in the Dominican church of Santa Maria Novella, Florence.[4] One of the foremost artists of his generation, he decorated liturgical volumes for some of the principal churches and monasteries in Florence and its surrounding regions, often in collaboration with another Florentine illuminator, Pacino di Bonaguida. It has recently been proposed that two antiphonal leaves by Pacino in the Cini Collection, Venice, as well as five related gradual fragments by the Master of the Dominican Effigies and Pacino dispersed among various collections (see cat. no. 149) could have been excised from the same choir book series as the present leaf.[5]

The inclusion of a Dominican nun kneeling in prayer in the margins of several of these cuttings suggests that the series was commissioned for a Dominican convent in Florence or its environs. Based on circumstantial evidence, it may be possible to identify this as the convent of San Jacopo di Ripoli in Florence, founded in 1292.[6]

Pia Palladino

1 Palladino 2003, 43. It has recently been objected (Platts 2012, 315n15) that in spite of the Dominican habit, the figure should still be identified as the canonized St. Elizabeth. However, the representation of a saint traditionally associated with one order, in this case the Franciscan, in the habit of another, would to my knowledge be unprecedented. In a thirteenth century antiphonal from the Dominican convent of Santa Maria Novella, in fact, the same text is illustrated by a figure of St. Elizabeth clad in the typical brown robes. See Labriola 2004a, 198, fig. 23.

2 For these saintly princesses following on the example of St. Elizabeth and joining either the Franciscan or the Dominican order, see Klaniczay 2000, 209–43. The appropriation of a well-known text associated with one saint to celebrate another whose office might not have been formalized, is not without precedent. In a comparable example, one finds the same litanies for the Feast of St. Elizabeth used in celebration of the Feast of St. Juliana, with the simple substitution of the name "Iuliana" for "helysabeth." See Dreves 1897, 187.

3 Ponzi 1838, 185–86; Pásztor 1964; Klaniczay 2000, 262; Di Meglio 2013, 58–60. The foundation of the convent of San Pietro a Castello was financed by Elizabeth's sister, Mary of Hungary, wife of Charles II. Another Dominican nun of Arpadian descent was the Blessed Elizabeth of Toss (1292–1338), who never married and spent most of her life in the Dominican convent of Toss, in modern Switzerland. It is unlikely that she would be the saint depicted here, however, given the date of the manuscript and the improbability that her strictly local cult would have spread to Dominican circles in Italy so soon after her death.

4 Palladino 2003, 43; Stoneman 2006, 40–41; Platts 2012, 315.

5 Platts 2012. The Cini leaves by Pacino show, respectively, the Martyrdom of St. Thomas Becket in an initial *S* (Fond. Cini, 2078) and two male saints appearing to a Dominican monk in an initial *S*, with a kneeling Dominican nun in the margin (Fond. Cini, 2079). The five gradual fragments, first grouped together by Boskovits (Offner and Boskovits 1987, S64) and Palladino (2003, 37–38, 42–43) include: three leaves by Pacino divided between the Houghton Library (cat. no. 149, St. Paul in an initial *D*), a private collection (Heraclitus adoring the Cross in an initial *L*), and the art market (Stalden, Switzerland, Jörn Günther Antiquariat, St. Helena embracing the Cross in an initial *R*); a leaf by the Master of the Dominican Effigies in Oberlin, OH (AMAM, 1943.12), St. John the Baptist in an initial *P*; and a fragment by the Master of the Dominican Effigies formerly on the art market (Jörn Günther 2009, Christ's entry into Jerusalem in an initial *D*).

6 Richa 1756, 293–302. From the convent's foundation until 1490 the nuns of San Jacopo di Ripoli were under the oversight of the monks of Santa Maria Novella, who around the mid-1330s appear to have commissioned the Master of the Dominican Effigies and Pacino to illuminate a set of choir books for their own use (Offner and Boskovits, 1987, 559–63, 582–85). It could be speculated that the monks simultaneously arranged for the decoration, by the same artists, of another set of liturgical books for their sister community. A fragmentary fourteenth-century psalter from San Jacopo di Ripoli in Santa Maria Novella (Florence, ASMN, LB.56), *Psalterium chorale monasterii Sancti Iacobi de Ripolis*. See Panella (online) and a fourteenth-century antiphonal formerly in Santa Maria Novella (now Florence, Mus. di S. Marco, ms. S63. Boskovits 1984, 235; Alidori Battaglia 2014, 227) may be surviving volumes from this dispersed series. The psalter presently lacks any illuminations, but the antiphonal contains a miniature showing St. Thomas Aquinas and two Dominican nuns in an initial *F*, which can be attributed to the Maestro Daddesco, another Florentine illuminator known to have collaborated with the Master of the Dominican Effigies (Alidori Battaglia 2014, 226–27). According to records in the Archivio di Santa Maria Novella (ASMN, I.A.36, *Libro dei Consigli C [1780–1838]*, 108), upon their transfer to the Convent of San Piero a Monticelli in the eighteenth century, the nuns of San Jacopo bequeathed their choir books to Santa Maria Novella in exchange for the settlement of an outstanding debt. See Panella (online).

156. Antipbonal cutting
Master of Montepulciano Gradual I (illuminator)

Tuscany, Italy, c. 1350
Parchment, 220 x 207 mm
Museum of Fine Arts, Boston, 17.91, bequest of J. B. How

This miniature, showing the Betrayal of Christ by Judas Iscariot inside an initial *O*, illustrates the second response for the first nocturn at matins on Good Friday: "Omnes amici mei derelinquerunt" ("All my friends have forsaken me").[1] The fragment may be inserted into a large group of stylistically homogeneous leaves and cuttings, divided among various European and American collections, that has been associated with a dispersed antiphonal series for monastic use.[2] The inclusion of Vallombrosan monks in the margins of a leaf in this group, and the pres-

ence of a miniature with the Martyrdom of St. Minias, the first Christian martyr of Florence, have led to the suggestion that the choir books might have been commissioned for the Vallombrosan Church of Santa Trinita in Florence. [3]

The dispersed fragments were first attributed to the so-called Master of the Antiphonary of San Giovanni Fuorcivitas, an anonymous fourteenth-century illuminator responsible for the decoration of a volume, unrelated to the present series, in the church of San Giovanni Fuorcivitas in Pistoia.[4] The same artist was subsequently identified as the author of two graduals possibly executed for the Augustinian Church of Santo Stefano al Ponte in Florence, now in the church of Sant'Agostino in Montepulciano (Mus. Civ., Corali I and H/2).[5]

Most recently, a reconsideration of both the antiphonal fragments and the Montepulciano graduals has led some scholars to question the original attribution to the Master of the Antiphonary of San Giovanni Fuorcivitas, advancing the possibility that these works might be by a different personality.[6] In support of such a conclusion are the exaggerated forms and the pronounced, almost caricatural quality of the facial features, as well as the less sophisticated spatial arrangements and more sober decorative borders that distinguish these miniatures from the San Giovanni Fuorcivitas antiphonal. The stylistic vocabulary of this illuminator, here christened—for the sake of convenience—Master of Montepulciano Gradual I, appears equally indebted to Pisan and Florentine models as represented by the Camposanto frescoes and the late works of the Florentine painter Taddeo Gaddi (d. 1353), suggesting a date for his activity around the middle of the fourteenth-century.[7]

Pia Palladino

1 On the reverse of the miniature—the original leaf's recto—are fragments of the preceding versicle and first response for the first nocturn at matins: "[Diviserunt si]bi vestimenta / [mea. R. Et super v]estem meam mise[runt sortem]."

2 The cutting was first catalogued by de Ricci 1935–40, 1:945, as Nicolò di Giacomo da Bologna, an attribution maintained by Lisa Fagin Davis, who catalogued the object for the MFA in 2014. Laurence Kanter, in a note dated August 2, 2002 in the same file suggested "Florence or Pistoia." In addition to the present miniature, two cuttings recently on the art market (Jörn Günther 2013, Christ calling Peter and Andrew in an initial *D*; Sotheby's, Paris, April 8, 2013, lot 225, St. Paul before flagellants in an initial *E*) may also be added to the series, bringing the total number of surviving fragments to twenty-one. A reconstruction of the lost volumes was first proposed by Labriola 1995, followed by Palladino 2003, 45–48. Further cuttings were added to the group by Labriola (2004b; 2005, 14–26), Freuler (2004b; 2008, 85n9), and Palladino (2012, 322–25). The miniatures were probably divided, originally, between two separate volumes, a temporale (covering the movable feasts for the entire liturgical year) and a sanctorale, as follows. Temporale: Cleveland, Mus. of Art, 1939.677, Christ in Majesty in an initial *A* (First Sunday of Advent); Jörn Günther 2013, Christ calling Peter and Andrew in an initial *D* (Feast of St. Andrew); Prague, NG, K28 040, Stoning of St. Stephen in an initial *S* (Feast of St. Stephen, December 26); London, private collection, St. John the Baptist in an initial *E* (Octave of Christmas); Philadelphia, FLP, Lewis E M 74:2, David kneeling before Christ in an initial *D* (first Sunday after Epiphany); Nuremberg, Germ. NMus., Graphische Sammlung, Mm 225 gr. F. (Bredt 38), God the Father appearing to Noah in an initial *D* (Saturday before Sexagesima Sunday); Philadelphia, FLP, Lewis E M 74:3, Christ appearing to Abraham in an initial *L* (Quinquagesima Sunday); London, private collection, Christ healing the blind in an initial *A* (Wednesday of the fourth Week of Lent [?]); Nuremberg, Germ. NMus., Graphische Sammlung, Mm 245 (Bredt 39), Christ on the Mount of Olives in an initial *I* (Maundy Thursday); Boston, MFA, 17.91 (the present cutting), Betrayal of Christ in an Initial *O* (Good Friday); New Haven, Yale U. Art Gallery, 1954.7.1, Resurrection and Three Marys at the Tomb in an initial *A* (Easter Sunday); Nuremberg, Germ. NMus., Graphische Sammlung, Mm 213 kl. F. (Bredt 40), Priest before altar in an initial *I* (Corpus Domini).
Sanctorale: Nuremberg, Germ. NMus., Graphische Sammlung, Mm 214 kl. F. (Bredt 41), St. Peter enthroned in an Initial *S* (Feast of St. Peter, January 18); private collection, Presentation in the Temple in an initial *A* (Feast of Purification, February 2); London, private collection, Martyrdom of St. Agatha in an initial *D* (Feast of St. Agatha, February 5); Cologne, WRM, M 207, Birth of the Virgin in an initial *S* (Feast of the Birth of the Virgin, September 8); Nuremberg, Germ. NMus., Graphische Sammlung, Mm 246 kl. F (Bredt 39), St. Minias in an initial *I* (Feast of St. Minias, October 25). Commons: Philadelphia, FLP, Lewis E M 26:8, St. John Gualbert (?) in an initial *E* (Common of One Confessor); Philadelphia, FLP, Lewis E M 26:9, Bishop saint in an initial *E* (Common of One Confessor Bishop); Philadelphia, FLP, Lewis E M 26:10, Christ and the Apostles in an initial *E* (Common of the Apostles?); Sotheby's, Paris, April 8, 2013, lot 225, St. Paul before flagellants in an initial *E* (Common of Several Martyrs outside of Paschaltide?). The initials from the commons (the texts for saints not assigned a specific feast in the propers) were most likely not part of a separate volume, but appeared at the end of the sanctorale.

3 A Vallombrosan provenance was advanced by Labriola 2005, 19–20, who identified the fragment with St. Minias in Nuremberg, Mm 246 kl. F (Bredt 39).

4 Labriola 1995. The attribution was accepted by all subsequent authors.

5 Palladino 2003, 48; Labriola 2004b, 549.

6 Labriola 2008, 75n8; Palladino 2012, 325.

7 This artist appears to have been involved in the decoration of secular manuscripts, as well as liturgical ones. His hand may perhaps be identified in an Herbal in Paris, BnF, ms. lat. 6823 (Labriola 2008) and a manuscript of Seneca's *Epistulae* in London, BL, Add. MS. 15434 (Palladino 2012, 325n8).

157. Antiphonal cuttings
Gerolamo da Milano and Lodi Master (illuminators)

Lombardy, Italy, c. 1425 and 1435 (?)
Parchment, 117 x 100 mm (bishop saint); 117 x 113 mm (Virgin); 115 x 112 mm (female martyr)
Harvard University, Houghton Library, MS Typ 983 (formerly 90M-16)
Robert Hoe (his sale, 1912, lot 2361), to Quaritch; gift of W. A. White to the Fogg Art Museum (1916.17–20); transferred, 1990.

These initials are an example of an interesting, if minor, consequence of the invasion of Italy by Napoleon's army in 1796–78. The subsequent suppression and looting of ecclesiastic institutions afforded Luigi Celotti (1759–1843), a Venetian abbot turned art dealer, the opportunity to cut illuminations from numerous liturgical manuscripts, including those of the Sistine Chapel, and export them to England for sale (see cat. no. 77).[1] The introduction to the catalogue of his 1825 sale was written by the artist and art critic, William Young Ottley (1771–

1836), who too became an avid collector. It seems likely these cuttings were among those Ottley had acquired privately, perhaps from Celotti.[2] Celotti's and Ottley's enterprises have been credited with establishing the taste for collecting detached leaves and miniatures.

The cuttings taken by Celotti from the Vatican choir books are readily recognizable, but the original provenances of other illuminations exported from Italy are unrecorded and difficult to identify.[3] The "no 8" noted on the reverses of all three cuttings, and on two other initials at Harvard's Houghton Library, has been taken to show that all five came from the same volume.[4] Yet they are clearly the work of two distinct Lombard illuminators: the bishop saint and the Virgin by an associate of the Master of the *Vitae Imperatorum*, probably the Olivetan Master, now identified as Gerolamo da Milano, and the female martyr by the Master of the Lodi Choir Books.[5] Both artists demonstrate the somewhat static quality of Lombard illumination for much of the fifteenth century, where stylistic characteristics that were innovative in Milan in the previous century were perpetuated by illuminators of subsequent generations. The style of the Lodi Master, characterized by careful shading and lively line, shows an obvious dependence upon Giovannino and Salomone de Grassi, while the simplified modeling and limited, saturated palette of Gerolamo da Milano reveal a debt to the more enduring influence of Tomasino da Vimercate, also known as the Master of the Modena Hours.[6]

The choir books for the church of Santa Maria Maggiore in Lodi, from which the Lodi Master is named, were written between 1419 and 1423. The close similarity of the illumination of those volumes with the female martyr might suggest that it too was produced around those years.[7] Yet Gerolamo da Milano was an artist of the next generation—he took vows as an Olivetan at Baggio outside Milan in 1429 and his datable work shows him to have been active from 1439 until his death in 1449. If he and the Lodi Master worked contemporaneously on these cuttings they seem likely be an early example of his style. Other choir books with close stylistic links to one or other of these initials have been dated to the 1430s.[8] One of these, a gradual for an Olivetan house (New Haven, Beinecke Library, MS 1184) contains illumination by both Gerolamo da Milano and the Master of the Lodi Choir Books.[9] In the case of both that manuscript and the present cuttings the more obvious explanation of the diversity of style would be that the illuminators worked sequentially rather than simultaneously.[10]

The radical trimming of the initials from the page precludes certain identification of even the texts they opened. It has been suggested that the bishop saint may have opened the responsory for the Feast of St. Martin (November 11), *Hic est Martinus, electus Dei Pontifex*.[11] Since she carries no attribute other than the martyr's palm, no convincing identification of the female saint has been offered.[12] The reverse of the Virgin of the Snow, however, is fully legible and the image entirely specific: the fragmentary text and music show that it came from an antiphonal, and the relatively rare subject matter relates to the legend of the foundation of the Basilica of Santa Maria Maggiore in Rome. Following a vision of the Virgin, a miraculous fall of summer snow on the Esquiline Hill marked the site where she wished a church in her honor to be built. This initial almost certainly opened the antiphon for vespers, *Sancta et immaculate Virginitas* for the Feast of the Virgin of the Snow, also called the Foundation of Santa Maria Maggiore (August 5).[13]

Two proposals have been put forward as the original home of these cuttings, but separating them by style. Like all other detached initials attributed to the Lodi Master, the female martyr has been linked to the Lodi Antiphonals, whereas there has been a cautious suggestion that the Virgin of the Snow and the bishop saint came from a duplicate of an antiphonal at Voghera.[14] Neither of these volumes, as they survive, includes examples of both styles. If the three initials do belong together, one must hope that more conclusive evidence for their origin will emerge.

Kay Sutton

1 The principal sale of Celotti's manuscript cuttings, more than two hundred, was at Christie's, London, May 26, 1825.

2 Ottley's sale of more than a thousand cuttings took place at Sotheby's, London, May 11–12, 1938.

3 Eze 2010, 309–10 and 415.

4 Cambridge, Houghton Libary, MS Typ 993 comprises two historiated initials by the same artist as the female martyr: an *A* with Isaiah praying before God the Father, to open the responsory "Aspiciens a longe ecce in deo" for the first Sunday in Advent, and *H* with the Baptism of Christ, to open the responsory "Hodie in Iordane" for Epiphany, both from the temporale volume of an antiphonal. As well as the "no 8," the reverses of all five initials have a penciled note "from the Cathedral of Como." They share this attributed provenance with a large group of cuttings, including others also in the album given by W. A. White to the Fogg in 1916, for example Cambridge, Hougton Library, MS Typ 979, identifiable with a lot in the Ottley sale. The significance of this inscription has been much discussed and has been shown to be spurious: several of the cuttings had a demonstrable origin in Cremona: Melograni 1994, 293, 297n21, and 301n71 and Eze 2010, 154–58. Quite possibly a coincidence, but lot 8 of the Ottley sale comprised five undescribed illuminated initials.

5 Bollati 2004, 412–13 for the Master of the Lodi Choir Books, Melograni 1990 for the Master of the *Vitae Imperatorum*, and Lollini 2004c for the Olivetan Master.

6 Natale and Romano 2015, 156–57, no. II.2–5 and 158–59, no. II.8 for the de Grassi and Natale and Romano 2015, 162–63, no. II.16 and Sutton 1991 for Tomasino da Vimercate.

7 For the Lodi choir books see Novasconi 1976, 250–71, and Marubbi 1998, 161–65.

8 Surviving choir books from the church of S. Lorenzo in Voghera illuminated by the Master of the *Vitae Imperatorum* and associates, apparently including the Olivetan Master, are compellingly close in style and form to the present Virgin of the Snow and bishop saint. The uncommon iconography of the Marian initial is a twin to the damaged initial introducing the Feast of the Virgin of the Snow in the sanctorale volume of Voghera, S. Lorenzo, Antiphonal 2, leading to a suggested relationship of model and copy; Melograni 1992, 121.

9 Bollati 2008.

10 Bollati considered and rejected the possibility that the illumination by the Olivetan Master was a later modification to a complete manuscript. It does seem likely, however, particularly in view of the discrete and somewhat ad

hoc placing of his illumination outside the planned page-layout of the gradual. A gap in execution would best account for the presence in a single book of such different styles by illuminators whose documented work is so divergently dated.

11 Melograni 1992, 121.

12 Both the bishop and female martyr may have been intentionally non-specific and intended for inclusion in the Common of Saints.

13 Originally this feast was specific to Santa Maria Maggiore. During the fourteenth century it was adopted by other Roman churches and became a local votive feast in Lombardy after 1389 when Archbishop Antonio da Saluzzo agreed to the request of Giangaleazzo Visconti, Lord of Milan, that the feast be celebrated in Santa Tecla, the Summer Cathedral, every August 5: Cattaneo 1955, 145–46. The feast would have been included in the sanctorale volume of an antiphonal.

14 For linking the female martyr with the Lodi choir books see Melograni 1995, 5; Marubbi 1998; and Bollati 2008, 39. For the Virgin of the Snow and bishop saint with Voghera see Melograni 1994, 121 and 124–25.

158. Fool with a wreath and club and King David in Deep Waters, cuttings

159. King David in prayer, cutting
Jacopo da Balsemo and workshop (illuminators)

Bergamo, Lombardy, Italy, 1470–90?
Parchment, MS Typ 981: 132 x 142 mm (fool), 150 x 150 mm (David in Deep Waters), MS Typ 987: 138 x 160 mm (David in prayer)
Harvard University, Houghton Library, MSS Typ 981 and 987 (formerly 90M-16)
Robert Hoe (his sale, 1912, lot 2361), to Quaritch; gift of W. A. White to the Fogg Art Museum (1916.14–15, 1916.25); transferred, 1990.

These initials came from a choir psalter, the liturgical book containing the unchanging elements for chanting the Divine Office, where the psalms were shared across the canonical hours for each day so that all 150 were recited during the course of a week. The most customary form for such a ferial psalter was for the psalms to be divided into eight sections, each beginning with the first psalm for matins on Monday through Sunday, plus vespers on Sunday.[1] If illustrated, the opening initial of a section showed a subject relevant to the words that immediately follow, often featuring King David who was believed to be the Psalmist. In the case of the present cuttings the iconography indicates that they opened psalms 52, 68, and 109 respectively.[2]

The palette and decorative vocabulary of the initials—the white cusped fillets and groups of four dots on blue backgrounds, and the crisp chiseled-looking symmetrical foliage of the monochrome staves merging into green and red leaves—identify them as the work of Jacopo da Balsemo and his workshop.[3] Heavily influenced by the leading Milanese illuminator of the preceding generation, the Master of the *Vitae Imperatorum*,[4] Jacopo dominated manuscript illumination in Bergamo in the second half of the Quattrocento. His documented work includes a large number of liturgical and civic commissions including series of choir books, one made between 1449 and 1468 for the Consorzio della Misercordia Maggiore (MiA) for use in the basilica of Santa Maria Maggiore and a later series for use in the cathedral.[5]

Such enormous projects required the involvement of several assistants, and this is evident in the variety of figure styles within the body of work credited to Jacopo. The present initials, while conforming absolutely to the decorative vocabulary of his documented works are peopled with sinewy, angular men unlike the smooth-faced, puffy-cheeked people usually associated with Jacopo's own hand. This distinctive combination makes it virtually certain that an intact leaf with an initial showing King David playing the Psaltery came from the same choir psalter.[6]

A choir psalter was an essential corollary to a set of antiphonals, which contain only the variable elements for the Divine Office. No such survivor is known from either of Jacopo's Bergamo series of choir books, and it may be that these initials and its sister leaf are relics of one of those volumes.[7]

Kay Sutton

1 Hughes 1995, 225–30.

2 Psalm 52 opening "Dixit insipiens in corde suo" ("The fool said in his heart") for matins on Thursday; psalm 68 opening "Salvum me fac Deus quoniam venerunt aquae usque ad animam" ("Save me O God for the waters are come into my very soul") for matins on Friday; psalm 109 opening "Dixit Dominus" ("The Lord said to my Lord") for vespers on Sunday.

3 Maggioni 2004.

4 Lollini 2004a.

5 Eight antiphonals and five graduals survive from the Santa Maria Maggiore series (Bergamo, Bibl. Civ., MiA, Antifonari I–XII and Corali A–D) and, now in the same library, five antiphonals for the cathedral (mss. CAP. A–C, E–F): M. Rossi 1989 and 1995 for the Santa Maria Maggiore choir books; Cortesi and Mandel 1972, 217–22 for the cathedral antiphonals.

6 Sold Christie's, London, June 3, 2009, lot 1: present location unknown.

7 The illuminator responsible for the figures in these initials also worked on the cathedral antiphonals, thought datable to the 1480s: see, for example, Cortesi and Mandel 1972, fig. 132 (ms. CAP. E, p. 220). His style is close to that of the illuminator Baldassare Coldiradi documented in Cremona 1482–84. A penciled note on the reverse of David in the Deep Waters reads "from the Cathedral of Como." For this spurious provenance see cat. no. 157, note 4.

160. Breviary leaf
Workshop of the Master of the Bible Vatican lat. 20 (illuminator)

Bologna, Italy, c. 1275–80
Parchment, 1 leaf, 250 x 310 mm
Brandeis University, Robert D. Farber University Archives & Special Collections, Manus. 30
Adolf von Beckerath, Berlin; sold at Lepke, November 20–21, 1916, lot 6; with Eugene L. Garbáty by 1940; Sotheby's, London, April 23, 1956, lot 35; gift of Garbáty c. 1960.

This leaf was once part of an unidentified and presumably now lost breviary, of which no other fragments are known.[1] Breviaries contain the readings and prayers needed for the celebration of the Divine Office according to the Roman rite. The Brandeis leaf is recognizable as coming from this kind of liturgical book from its text, which includes the prayer for the Feast of the Epiphany (*Deus qui hodierna die*), which is celebrated by the Catholic Church twelve days after Christmas, on January 6. Instead of the conventional image of the Adoration of the Magi, the large historiated initial *D* encloses the Visit of the Wise Men to King Herod, as narrated in the Gospel of Matthew (2:1–3). In the bas-de-page are scenes of Christ's baptism and temptation by a demon, cradled by decorative elements. The Christological episodes were not arbitrarily selected; the oldest Christian community in the Near East understood the Epiphany to be a sign of Christ's divinity, which first became public with his baptism in the River Jordan.[2] The leaf's sophisticated iconographic program might provide clues to the elevated nature of the commission of its parent manuscript, which probably came from a monastery or convent, where the use of breviaries was widespread. Such a provenance is also suggested by the employment of a Bolognese illuminator, the so-called Master of the Bible Vatican lat. 20, whose workshop—as François Avril observed—is connected to the decoration of the Brandeis leaf, which was produced around 1280.[3] Scholars have assigned to this anonymous figure, whose eponymous manuscript is the famous bible in the Vatican Library, a singularly important role in the emergence of the most cultivated experiments of the new wave of illumination that appeared in late thirteenth-century Bologna, the so-called second style.[4] Though the Brandeis leaf retains certain graphic conventions associated with the earlier "first style," it also makes use of a refined decorative repertoire with the most innovative visual solutions of the new phase of Bolognese miniature painting. These are characterized by the fine cords enlivened with knots, pearls, and gilded orbs, which terminate in figurative medallions, here containing the face of the Virgin as in the aforementioned Vatican bible. Indeed, a comparison of the Brandeis leaf with the bible suggests that the former could be dated slightly earlier, to not long after the *Summa de casibus* et *Summa de matrimonio* and another bible, both in the Bibliothèque nationale de France.[5]

Massimo Medica

1 Sold in 1916 as a fourteenth-century Neapolitan work; exhibited in 1940 at the Museum of Fine Arts, Boston show *Arts of the Middle Ages*, no. 35, and in 1948 in the Wadsworth Atheneum's *The Life of Christ* (Seaver 1948, 30, no. 179). Offered for sale in 1956 as possibly Tuscan or Bolognese.
2 Rutledge 2008.
3 François Avril, personal communication. The illuminator was named for Vatican City, BAV, ms. Vat. lat. 20. See Medica 2004c.
4 Conti 1981, 26–28 and 46–47.
5 Ms. lat. 3253, and the related bible, ms. nouv. acq. lat. 3189, respectively. For descriptions of these manuscripts see M. T. Gousset in Medica 2000, 291–96 (nos. 91 and 92).

161. Breviary leaf
Workshop of the Samson Master (illuminator)

Prague, Bohemia, c. 1400–01
Parchment, 1 leaf, 470 x 320 (338 x 215) mm
Harvard University, Houghton Library, MS Lat 434
Christie's, London, June 13, 2012, lot 5, purchased with the George S. Mumford '87 Book Fund.

The fragment bears the text of the Gregorian antiphon for the first Sunday in Advent, which sees in the prophecies of the Old Testament a prefiguration of the Incarnation of Christ in the Virgin Mary: "A diebus antiquis nos audivimus ex ore propheturum (…)." The prophet and the Evangelist within the initial's interior point to passages from Isaiah, whereas the Annunciation is depicted within the shafts of the letter.[1] Acanthus vines, enlivened by drolleries, a wild man holding a coat of arms, and the church fathers, Jerome and Gregory, grow from the letter and surround the text block. In spite of the Saxon arms, the decoration, which dates to the time of King Wenceslas IV (1362–1419), indicates an origin in Prague. The leaf can be assigned to the workshop of the Samson Master, whose name derives from the miniatures illustrating the story of Samson in the Wenceslas Bible.[2] The coloring and figural type of the Virgin Mary, the angels with rounded wings painted *en camaieu*, the fluttering drapery and the puppet-like faces, as well as the striking profile of the prophet, recur in a small book of hours dated c. 1395 that is most closely related in style.[3] The elongated proportions and rich draperies identify the figures as representatives of the "Beautiful Style" c. 1400. The coat of arms of the county palatinate of Sachsen-Allstedt with a gold-crowned eagle within a blue shield belonged to the electoral prince Rudolf III von Sachsen-Wittenberg (1373–1419).[4] The Saxon ruler's good relations with the Bohemian king would have facilitated the commissioning of the work from the workshop in Prague. The occasion for the prestigious commission was a political event that took place on December 5, 1400.[5] On this day, Rudolf III received from the pope an exemption from the jurisdiction of the bishop of Brandenburg for the parish church dedicated to the Virgin as well as for the St. Mary's chapel on the Boldensberg in Wittemberg. The change in jurisdiction was confirmed by a papal bull. Both Marian dedications were subordinated to the papacy in Rome, and were incorporated into the collegiate chapter of the All Saints chapel of the ruler's castle in Wittemberg. From 1392, Rudolf's brother, Albrecht III, had been a canon of the foundation; there can be no doubt that the ruling house of Sachsen-Wittemberg had the last word when it came to incorporated ecclesiastical institutions. The breviary's opening leaf mirrors these historical events and thus can be dated c. 1400–01. Within a complex Marian program that also incorporates the arms of Rudolf III, Matthew and Isaiah both testify to the virginal conception and point to two church fathers—a pope (Gregory) and a cardinal (Jerome)—whose presence stands for Rome.

Maria Theisen & Armand Tif

1 Probably Isaiah (Is 7:14: "Ecce virgo concipiet") and the passage in Matthew (Mt 1:23: "Ecce virgo in utero habebit," which cites the prophet. Passages from Isaiah and Matthew, as well as from Luke, who also cites Isaiah, were read on the first Sunday in Advent; for further discussion, see Tif 2015, 10–12.

2 Vienna, ÖNB, Cod. 2759–64 (c. 1390–1400); Samson Master: Cod. 2760; Jenni and Theisen 2014, 1:46–48. In light of the many works of differing quality that can be attributed to the Samson Master, this court painter must have led a workshop.

3 Prague, KNM, Cod. V.H.36 (Mariánské hodinky); Hlaváčková, in: Boehm and Fajt 2005, 218–19 (cat. no. 83), fig. 83.

4 Siebmacher 1854, 19 and pl. 25; Gockel 1984, 4 and 36.

5 Tif 2015, 10–12.

162. Dominican breviary (pars hiemalis)

Colmar, Dominican convent of Unterlinden, Alsace, c. 1500
Parchment, ff. i + 252, 258 x 180 (172 x 112) mm
Harvard University, Houghton Library, MS Richardson 39
Belonged to the Dominican monastery of Ebersheimmünster, near Strasburg (ex libris, f. 1r); Museo Cavaleri (founded by Michele Cavaleri in 1871), Ferrara (bookstamp, f. 1r); W. H. Schab (no. 189); bought by William K. Richardson in 1940, his bequest, 1951.

163. Jordan of Quedlinburg, Meditationes de vita et Passione Jesu Christi (fragments)

Colmar, Dominican convent of Unterlinden, Alsace, c. 1500
Parchment, 2 leaves: MS Lat 424 (1): 119 x 84 (blank on verso); 424 (2): 120 x 80 (79 x 51) mm
Harvard University, Houghton Library, MS Lat 424
Purchased with the Bernard H. Breslauer Bequest and the George Harrison and Jane A. Mifflin Book Fund, 2010.

The breviary (in fact, no more than the first half, known as the *pars hiemalis*, or winter portion, containing the psalter and the chants and readings for feasts from the beginning of Advent through Easter) and the single leaves from a rare illustrated copy of Jordan of Quedlinburg's widely disseminated *Meditationes de vita et Passione Jesu Christi* (a set of meditations also known as the Sixty-Five Articles on the Passion) were written and illuminated at the turn of the sixteenth century at the famous Dominican convent of Unterlinden in Colmar (Alsace), a center of Dominican reform. Long thought to be lost, the second part of the breviary (*pars estivalis* or summer portion), also still enclosed in its original blind-stamped red deerskin binding of a kind typical of Alsace, has recently been identified in Brussels (BRB, ms. 1810). Most of the breviary's figural decoration occurs in the margins, not in the large decorative initials, of which there are forty-five in the winter portion, twenty-six in the summer portion, all of which fill one of the two columns (a format typical of breviaries). In the volume in Brussels, only the small initial (f. 219r) for Ursula has any figural decoration. In its companion volume at Harvard, only those for John the Evangelist, who enjoyed a special veneration among Dominican nuns, and, tellingly, the Purification of the Virgin (f. 209r) are historiated. John's feast is heightened further in that both sides of the opening are decorated (ff. 181v–82r). The feast of the Annunciation receives similar emphasis (ff. 227v–28r, see below), in keeping with the Dominican order's dedication to the Virgin Mary. In the lower margin an allegorical hunt plays out in an enchanted forest of gaudy flowers and entangled vines populated by exotic birds such as the peacock in the upper left corner. Driven on by an angel blowing a short hunting horn, four dogs, labeled on scrolls as Mercy, Peace, Truth, and Justice, pursue a hart, usually interpreted in Christian exegesis as a symbol of the soul (cf. Ps 41:2: "As the hart panteth after the fountains of water; so my soul panteth after thee, O God"). Opposite the allegorical hunt, the archangel Gabriel enters through the door of the Virgin Mary's bedchamber, marked by a shallow checkerboard floor, to announce the Incarnation. The four dogs refer to an allegory known as the Four Daughters of God, based on psalm 84:11–12 ("Mercy and truth have met each other: justice and peace have kissed. Truth is sprung out of the earth: and justice hath looked down from heaven."). The allegory expresses, from a Christian perspective, the reconciliation of the Old and the New Law brought about by the Incarnation of Christ. Similar subject matter comprises two of the four scenes found on the outer wings of a dispersed retable (Colmar, Musée d'Unterlinden, 88.RP.453), dated c. 1480, from the circle of the Colmar-based artist, Martin Schongauer (1445–91), that came from the church of the Dominicans of Colmar, who served as the nuns' confessors.[1]

Other decorated pages in the breviary demonstrate a strong interest in female saints (ff. 170v: Barbara, 195v: Agnes, 214r: Agatha, 216v: Dorothy, 242r: Common of Virgins). The decoration for psalm 97 (f. 54v: "Cantate domino") forms an enclosed garden occupied by the Virgin and Child, Sts. Catherine, Agnes, and Ursula, along with angel musicians. The monastery within which the nuns remain enclosed is presented as a *hortus conclusus*, a paradisiacal garden, a Marian symbol of virginity drawn from the Song of Songs 4:12 ("My sister, my spouse, is a garden enclosed, a garden enclosed, a fountain sealed up"). The fragments of Jordan of Quedlin-

cat. no. 162, ff. 227v–28r

burg's immensely popular (if rarely illuminated) Passion meditations belong to a larger set (Colmar, Bm, ms. 1027) which was written by the same scribe and illuminated by the same artist as the breviary.[2]

The prayer to the Trinity on the verso of the Coronation of the Virgin did not accompany one of the Sixty Five Articles. Instead, it concluded a set of supplementary prayers that extended the narrative beyond the Passion so as to include images of the Man of Sorrows, the Harrowing of Hell, the Resurrection, and the Trinity (in this case the Trinity crowning the Virgin). The miniature of St. Peter, which is blank on the verso, likely illustrated an independent text that, together with the Meditations, formed part of a miscellany, just as in some printed editions of Jordan's Meditations, of which the earliest, printed by Gherhaert Leeu of Gouda (February 10, 1485), provides a terminus post quem for the manuscript, whose format depends on one of the imprints.[3] In contrast to the manuscript tradition, in which illustrations are almost entirely lacking, Leeu employed fifty-eight different blocks for seventy-five illustrations (seventy-eight in the Dutch edition) for the sixty-five articles and other divisions of the text.[4] The prayer book from Colmar exemplifies the complexity of cross-fertilization between manuscript illumination and various printed media in the second half of the fifteenth century.[5]

In both the breviary and the fragmentary copy of the Meditations the decoration shares such features as doll-like figures with rosy cheeks, wavy, intestinal clouds against bright blue backgrounds, and a bright palette of green, blue, red, and pink. Other manuscripts that are similarly decorated include a prayer book (Colmar, Bm, ms. 277), three diurnales (Colmar, Bm, mss. 399 and 494; Karlsruhe, BLB, Cod. St. Peter perg. 63) and a so-called breviary (in fact, closer in content to a diurnale), also in Karlsruhe (BLB, Cod. K 3135). The breviary's border decoration closely resembles that in another Dominican diurnale in Cambridge, England (Fitzwilliam Mus., MS McClean 64).[6] As a whole, so large a group of manuscripts document the vitality of scribal and artistic culture within Dominican female communities in the region.

Both the breviary and the fragmentary treatise testify to the cultivation of scribal expertise in female monastic communities and exemplify the charming, if somewhat naïve, manner of illumination widespread in German convents of the late Middle Ages, especially in southwestern Germany. Sometimes referred to pejoratively as "nuns' work," the drawings embody and encapsulate the visual culture of female monasticism closely related to distinctive pious practices and an aesthetic closely related to that of textiles, in particular, embroideries.

cat. no. 163, (1)r

Jeffrey F. Hamburger

1 Haas 2007, Meyer 2011–12.
2 For Jordan, see Zumkeller 1983.
3 Zumkeller 1966, 293, lists only eight editions, but in Zumkeller 1983, he indicates nine. The editions are listed in M. Campbell 1874, 293–94. I base my discussion on comparison of the text with that in the edition printed in Basel by Jacob Wolff in 1492, ISTC ij00476000, Cambridge, Houghton Library, Inc 3236.
4 The woodcuts are described briefly in Schretlen 1925, 36. See also Conway 1884, 52–54, 224–25, 227–28, and 330–34, and Kok 1994, 236–39. For Leeu, see further Pleij 1987 and Rosier 1993.
5 Hamburger 2004b.
6 Morgan and Panayotova 2009, 208–9, cat. no. 114.

falcis lesio appellat. Remediū

Qui sic pruid. et cū diligētia subue
nitur. Si lesio uel tumefactio fiat
ex percussione ī aliquo duro loco. uel cal
ce alicuius. prius tota lesio uel tumefac
tio abradatur. deīn accipiatur absī
thiū. paritaria brancaūsina. de foliis
eorū qd̄ tenerrimū ē equalit. et tritantur.
insimul decenter. cū assūgia ueti porci
na. in bona quantitate. et postmod̄
positis in quodā uase mundo bulliāt
et insimul decoquantur. immiscendo
ibidē aliquantulū mell. oli. et farine
tritici assidue insimul agitando. donec
optīe decoquantur. et decoctis decenter
supponantur. tōm calida q̄tū pati potīt.
sup lesionē falcis p̄dcē eadē cū quadam
decenti petia alligando. et hoc in die ter
uel quater. aut amplius si expedierit remo
uetur. Ad id ualet satis sucus absīthij
et apij et tōm de cera q̄tū de assūgia ue
ti et aliquātulū. ymi albi et olei et bul
liāt ad inuicē. o agitando et īmiscendo

7. The Rise of the Professions: Medicine & Law

Today we generally define "profession" as a field of knowledge practiced by experts, who achieved this status through a course of study ending in a qualifying certificate. In this sense, though medical and juridical activities have formed part of human societies for as long as there have been written records,[1] medicine and law only began to be distinguished as professions over the course of the thirteenth century upon their establishment as university disciplines.

The literature of law and medicine has its roots in antiquity. In ancient Rome the practice of law generated a variety of written works.[2] After the fall of the Western Empire, Emperor Justinian (r. 527–65 CE) set his lawyers to summarizing and updating the body of Roman law. The results of this project were published in five volumes between 533 and 565, later known as the *Corpus iuris civilis*—fundamental works in the development of Western jurisprudence.[3] In parallel, when the Roman Empire transitioned to Christianity during the reign of Constantine (306–37 CE) the church created its own legal system and developed rules for governance and worship that were published as texts of canon law. Over the next 500 years—as Justinian's collection fell largely into disuse and legal procedure in the West mostly followed local and regional customs—canon law continued to develop and expand.[4]

The most important sources of medicine originated from Greek scientific writing and from the Islamic world. The former included a collection of medical treatises attributed to Hippocrates (late fifth or early fourth century BCE); descriptions of medicinal herbs by Dioscorides in the first century CE; and Galen's anatomical studies (d. circa 200 CE). Between the seventh and the twelfth centuries Muslim scholars in the Middle East and the Iberian Peninsula translated Greek texts into Arabic and began adding new material, among them Avicenna's important *Canon* (c. 980–1037) and the medical writings of Averroes (1126–98).[5] This increased availability of medical literature stimulated practical activity: Salerno, in southern Italy, became a center for medical practice in the mid-900s, initiating a structural prototype for modern medicine.[6]

The energy of the "twelfth-century Renaissance" (c. 1050–c. 1225) triggered cultural developments, particularly in education and professional specialization. In the eleventh century Italian scholars had worked to restore the Roman law texts, regaining the entire *Corpus* by 1125. Around 1140 Gratian produced the first recension of his *Decretum*, a compilation of excerpts from patristic and ecclesiastical sources intended to structure and resolve contradictory ideas among the historical and legislative texts of the church.[7] About 1150, Justinian's *Corpus* and Gratian's *Decretum* were utilized as the first textbooks in privately-run law schools in Bologna; private schools quickly opened in other Italian cities and Northern Europe.[8] By the thirteenth century the escalating focus on learning had fostered the creation of universities, where the institutionalization of law and medicine provided authoritative curricula and professional degrees that established benchmarks for the theory and practice of these disciplines.[9]

The most important texts for the study and practice of law were Justinian's *Digestum vetus* and *Codex* (cat. nos. 170–71), and Gratian's *Decretum* for canon law. The *Digest* and the *Decretum* were organized didactically, presenting case studies and discussions that considered various solutions to legal questions. Following the *Decretum*, the canons and decrees issued under various popes were organized and promulgated as official canon law textbooks in their time: the *Decretals* of Gregory IX[10] (r. 1227–41) in 1234, the *Decretals* of Boniface VIII[11] (r. 1294–1303) (cat. no. 172), and the *Constitutiones Clementinae* of Clement V (r. 1305–14).[12] After three to five years of study, university-trained lawyers went through admission procedures that would qualify them to practice in secular or church courts.[13]

The teaching of medicine was fully established at the universities of Montpellier, Bologna, and Paris around the second quarter of the thirteenth century.[14] Five years or more were required to complete the curricula, which incorporated the Salernitan works and new medieval texts on anatomy, diseases, diagnosis, therapeutic methods, and surgery, as well as alchemy and astrology.[15] From the fourteenth century doctors would carry with them portable folding almanacs, sometimes called girdle books or physicians' vade mecums, such as cat. nos. 164–65. They contained calendars, charts, and texts that informed the most astrologically favorable times for taking medicine or to practice bleeding, purging, and cauterization.[16]

Susan L'Engle

cat. no. 168, f. 129r

1 The earliest Sumerian law code was formulated in the twenty-second century BCE and Babylonian law was codified by King Hammurabi around 1760 BCE. In ancient Egypt medicine was also advanced; physicians provided diagnosis and treatment of disease as well as surgical intervention for injuries, their cures underpinned by religious practices and the use of magic, incantations, and medicinal plants.

2 Around 451 BCE the Law of the Twelve Tables—compiled and inscribed on twelve bronze tablets—became the foundation of Roman law, followed somewhat later by the Theodosian Code, a collection of current laws and other legislative material commissioned by the Eastern Emperor Theodosius II (r. 408–50 CE) and completed in 448. See Brundage 2008, 9–23.

3 Compiled in Latin, Justinian's *Corpus* was composed of the *Institutes* (533), a summary of the most important principles of Roman law and intended for beginning students; the fifty-book *Digest* or *Pandectae* (533)—which in the medieval period was divided into three volumes comprising the *Digestum vetus*, the *Infortiatum*, and the *Digestum novum*; the *Codex* (revised version in 534); and the *Novellae* or *Authenticum* (565), Justinian's new legislation following the publication of the *Codex*. See Brundage 2008, 57–59; Stein 1999, 32–37; and L'Engle and Gibbs 2001, 12–15.

4 An early and very influential collection of canon law was the *Collectio Dionysiana*, compiled around 500 by a Scythian monk, Dionysius Exiguus (c. 470–c. 544); another important work was a compilation of canons of councils held in the Iberian Peninsula that also included canons from the Eastern Empire, Africa, and Gaul, called the *Collectio Hispana*. Brundage 2008, 39–42, 63–68.

5 Other important works included the *Almansor* by Rhazes (854–925 CE) and a compendium on surgery by Albucasis (936–1013 CE). See Siraisi 1990, 1–12.

6 Siraisi 1990, 13; Bullough 1966, 40; Witt 2012, 397. In Salerno a basic curriculum called the *articella* was put together in the twelfth and early thirteenth centuries, comprising short treatises that offered the basic principles of Hippocratic and Galenic medicine (Siraisi 1990, 58; Stoudt 1995, 166).

7 Gratian's sources included excerpts from papal decretals, church councils, the Bible, and writings of the church fathers. On Gratian's *Decretum* see especially Winroth 2000.

8 On early legal study see, among others, Brundage 2008, 80–125 and Clarke 2001, esp. 22–29.

9 While exact dates remain obscure, universities had been established at Bologna and Paris by the beginning of the thirteenth century. For an overview of the organization, growth, and law curricula of medieval universities in Europe, see Brundage 2008, 219–82.

10 More commonly known as the *Liber extra*, promulgated in 1234.

11 Called the *Liber sextus*, promulgated in 1298.

12 Compiled in 1312 but only transmitted in 1317 by Pope John XXII.

13 On the achievement of professional status as lawyers and judges, see Brundage 2008, 283–343.

14 Most students had master's degrees in the faculty of arts before commencing the study of medicine. For a summary of the teaching of medicine in these three universities, see Bullough 1966, 46–73 and Bullough 2004, esp. nos. 1–4.

15 An important teacher at Montpellier was Arnold of Villanova (c. 1240–1311), who wrote more than sixty treatises on varied medical subjects that incorporated the work of Greek and Arabic scholars, especially Avicenna. See Bullough 1966, 57–58 and "The Development of the Medical University of Montpellier to the End of the Fourteenth Century," in Bullough 2004, 15–30, no. 2.

16 See Wallis 1995 and Carey 2003, 499. Charts included urine wheels, displaying flasks full of urine of all colors and consistencies, annotated with diagnostic comments, such as London, BL, Harley MS. 5311, f. 2v (fully digitized).

164. Folded calendar (March–December)

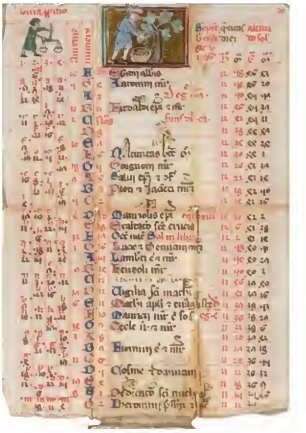
Northwestern Spain or Southwestern France, c. 1300 (possibly earlier)
Parchment, ff. 10, 35 x 20 mm (folded), 70 x 54 mm (open)
Museum of Fine Arts, Boston, 46.458, Helen and Alice Colburn Fund
Purchased by MFA in 1946 from Blumka Gallery, New York.

165. Folded almanac (after Peter of Dacia)

Diocese of Bourges, France, c. 1300–50
Parchment, ff. 19, 62 x 30 mm (folded), 130 x 90 mm (open)
Harvard University, Houghton Library, MS Typ 278
Sold by Blumka Gallery, New York, in 1955; bequest of Philip Hofer, 1984.

All books are portable, but some, like MFA 46.548 and MS Typ 278, were made to move. Known as "folded books" (*Faltbücher* or *livres plicatifs*), these manuscripts do not adhere to the traditional codex format.[1] Instead, they comprise a small number of parchment leaves folded into compact packets that were bound at one end, attached to a cord, and suspended from the belt. Designed for easy carriage, these manuscripts can be astonishingly small. When folded, a leaf from MFA 46.458 is about the size of a standard matchbook.[2] Yet opening to four-, six-, or eight-times their closed dimensions, folded books present information at a legible scale. Although they may once have been common, few survive intact.[3] Their flexible form made them especially vulnerable to wear and, as portable manuscripts, they were exposed to all the mishaps and dangers of a vagabond life.

Whereas the pre-1300 examples of folded books hold material on a variety of topics, those made after overwhelmingly contain calendrical matter.[4] Both Boston manuscripts fit into the latter category. In MS Typ 278 the calendar (ff. 2–13) is accompanied by canons and tables that would allow one to determine the position and age of the moon (f. 13) as well as the dominant planet (f. 17) on any day at a given hour. Precise knowledge of the heavens was indispensable for the practice of medicine since it determined what procedures might be safely and, in some places, legally undertaken. By the fifteenth century in France, anyone who practiced bloodletting was required by law to own a current calendar.[5] Such official edicts were preceded by less formal regulations.[6] The presence of lunar and planetary tables along with images like the zodiac man (cat. no. 166), vein man (cat. no. 167), and uroscopy tables,[7] which appear with some frequency in folded almanacs,[8] suggests that this kind of manuscript was adapted for use by physicians, whose work was itinerant in nature.[9] With a folded almanac attached to his person, a physician had a key tool for prognosis and diagnosis ready-to-hand as well as proof that he pursued medicine as a *scientia* and in accordance with the law.



MS Typ 278, f. 10r (unfolded)

Whether MS Typ 278 was owned by a physician is not clear.[10] Notes added in a fourteenth-century hand focus on phlebotomy.[11] Hence, early in its life, the manuscript passed through the hands of someone with a strong interest in medicine, if not a professional *medicus*.[12] Whatever his vocation, the book was commissioned by a wealthy individual who desired a folded almanac of exceptional quality. MS Typ 278 is remarkable for its fine script, extensive illumination, and sumptuous silk cover. The scribe embellished the calendrical text with whimsical human and animal heads and intricate geometric patterns. At the top of each page of the calendar, brightly pigmented and gold-leafed illuminations the size of postage stamps depict the labors of the month. The signs of the zodiac were painted beside these in the upper-left corner. Thus, for September, a peasant cuts a bunch of grapes from a vine, and Libra is represented by a figure holding a balance (f. 10r). Though standard features of calendars in other contexts, the inclusion of these picture cycles in a folded almanac is without known parallel.

Megan C. McNamee

1 On nomenclature see Carey 2003, 483–87; and Gumbert 1994, 111. J. P. Gumbert, who is preparing a book on this kind of folded manuscript, has dubbed them "bat books" on account of their shape and the way that they hang upside-down (Gumbert, forthcoming).

2 Smaller, in fact. Indeed, its diminutive proportions have lead some scholars

to question its utility (Gumbert, forthcoming). MS Typ 278 is little larger: each folded folio is smaller than a standard business card.

3 Though not as rare as they were once thought; J. P. Gumbert counts sixty-three (pers. comm.).

4 Earlier, non-calendrical examples include a miscellany dated to 1265 (Oxford, Bodleian Library, MS. Laud Misc. 750), a collection of law documents and tracts on legal matters dated to 1284 (Vatican City, BAV, ms. Borg. lat. 355), a breviary dated to 1291 (Venice, Mus. Civ. [unknown shelfmark]), and a recipe book from around 1300 (Rome, BN, ms. 1001). See Gumbert 1994, 113–14; and Carey 2003, 487n35.

5 Bober 1948, 11–12; and Secousse 1950, 399–405.

6 Carey 2004, 361–62.

7 Uroscopy involved the inspection of urine—its consistency, color, and texture—for the purpose of diagnosis.

8 See, for example, London, BL, Harley MS. 5311. Carey 2004, 359.

9 Carey 2004, 356–63; Carey 2003, 490–94.

10 Hilary Carey classed MFA 49.548 and MS Typ 278 as "smaller liturgical calendars" not expressly made for use by physicians (2003, 487). This is certainly the case with MFA 49.548.

11 Annotations that accompany the *versus signorum* (f. 15r) sum up each line in one or two words with statements like "phlebotomy good" (*flebotomia bona*), "bad" (*mala*), "excellent" (*optima*). The same hand also added a passage attributed to Bede predicting mortality based on the time of one's birth (f. 15v).

12 The term *medicus* was a general term applied in this earlier period to anyone—university trained physicians and barber surgeons alike—who practiced medicine or surgery (Sirasi 1990, 29).

166. Latin-English medical compendium

London (?), England, 1460s (before 1468)
Paper, ff. 71, 140 x 100 (90 x 65 [variable]) mm
Boston Medical Library in the Francis A. Countway Library of Medicine, Ballard MS 19
William H. Robinson, London, cat. 45, 1933, lot 76; Sotheby's, London, June 18, 1934, lot 499; sold to E. P. Goldschmidt; purchased by the Boston Medical Library, 1934.

Heavenly and human bodies were thought to be intimately interconnected in the Middle Ages. Medieval medicine was grounded on the belief that the movements of the stars and planets, especially the moon, had a direct influence on health.[1] The ancient doctrine of *melothesia* assigned parts of the body to the signs of the zodiac.[2] A figure known as the zodiac man (*imago* or *homo signorum* in Latin) came to embody this theory.[3] Ballard MS 19 preserves an austere example (f. 57v): the names of the twelve signs are inscribed in red ink on the sketched body of a male nude, marking correspondences spelled out in the text on the page opposite. Aries is said to govern the head, eyes, and face; Taurus the neck and throat; Cancer the breast, heart, stomach, lungs, and ribs; etc. Often, in more elaborate versions of the image, the names of the signs were accompanied or supplanted by their symbols (e.g., ram, bull, crab) and the whole was vividly pigmented.

Common, even ubiquitous, the zodiac man appeared in all kinds of manuscripts, from breviaries to books of hours.[4] Its meanings and audiences were, likewise, equally diverse, but it was primarily a surgical tool. According to the passage that precedes the figure in Ballard 19, cutting or cauterizing[5] any part of the body governed by a particular sign was forbidden when the moon was in that sign.[6] Tables following the image (ff. 60r–62v)—if used in conjunction with a calendar—allowed one to easily determine the moon's place in the zodiac on any date.

f. 57v

Ballard MS 19, written in Latin and English, contains a regimen of health, two texts on uroscopy, three on medicines, three addressing the plague, and three on planetary and lunary astrology. Though purely medical in content, the manuscript may not have been created for a physician. According to Linda Ehrsam Voigts, it is closely related to a cluster of manuscripts "uniform in appearance and scientific and medical in subject matter" produced in London or Westminster during 1450s and 1460s.[7] A. I. Doyle identified the manuscript with a "litill booke of pheesyke" that was copied by professional scribe William Ebesham for the wealthy English gentleman, John Paston II (d. 1479).[8] Paston may have commissioned the "litill booke" for his library or household use.[9] It is possible that Ebesham drew the zodiac man; he was almost certainly responsible for the rather inexpertly executed pictures of uroscopy flasks elsewhere in the manuscript.[10]

Megan C. McNamee

1 Saintyves 1934.

2 On the history of the doctrine—well attested in Greek texts—and its earliest visual manifestations see, among others, C. Clark 1979, 1–60.

3 On the image see C. Clark 1979 and Jones 1984, 69–72. An early example is found in an eleventh-century manuscript, Paris, BnF, ms. lat. 7028, f. 154r (Saxl 1957, 61).

4 Faith Wallis has described how the zodiac man was assimilated into the halo of the medieval computus and traveled with the calendar (Wallis 1995, esp. 119–20). It is in this context, immediately proximate to the calendar, that it appears in the *Très Riches Heures du Duc de Berry* (Chantilly, Mus. Condé, ms. 65, f. 14v) and a fifteenth-century breviary at the Séminaire de Tournai (Bober 1948, 7). See also Voigts 1989, 347.

5 Cautery involved application of heated irons to points of the body as a counterirritant.

6 Ballard MS 19, ff. 56v–57r: "Quare ergo prohibitium est ne aliquis faciat fleoboteomiam incisionem ut cauterazationem in nullo membro dum luna est in signo illud regenum." This was not merely a matter of best practice, but also legal prohibition (Bober 1948, 11–12).

7 MS 19's content is nearly identical to London, BL, Sloane MS. 2320, which is part of the "Sloane Group" described by Voigts (1985, 87; 1989; and 1990) and will be the subject of a forthcoming monograph by Alpo Honkapohja.

This group also includes London, BL, Sloane MS. 1118, Add. MS. 19674, and parts of Sloane MSS. 1313, 2567, and 2948. Voigts attributes the striking similarities in layout, illustration, hand, and decoration of these manuscripts to "something like 'workshop production'" in London/Westminster, during the third-quarter of the fifteenth century (1989, 87 and 1990, 26–57, esp. 50–51). MS 19 is part of a "sub-group" of the Sloane Group: London, BL, Sloane MS. 3566; Cambridge, UK, Trinity Coll., MS. O.1.77; Cambridge, UK, Gonv. & Caius Coll., MS 336/725 (part B), and New Haven, Beinecke Library, Takamiya MS 33. Like MS 19, four of these manuscripts include images of the zodiac man.

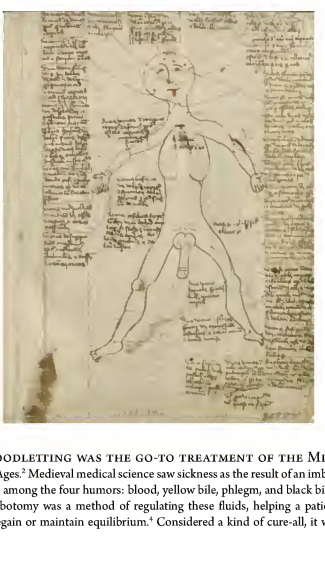
8 The "litill booke," which cost 20 d., is mentioned by Ebesham in a letter and a bill preserved in Paston's correspondence (Davis, Beadle, and Richmond 2004, 2:386–87 and 391–92). On the identification of Ebesham's hand in Ballard MS 19 see Voigts 1990, 30 and 55n25; and Lester 1987, 208. For a brief biography of Ebesham and a detailed description of his hand see Doyle 1957, 321–25.

9 Works on medicine were a fixture of contemporary libraries. On Paston's literary taste see Lester 1987. For book ownership by members of his household see ibid., 215–17. The Paston correspondence preserves a letter from John Paston III to Margery Paston asking for her recipe for *flose vngwentorum*, a plaster to relieve knee pain, and directions for its use (Davis, Beadle, and Richmond 2004, 1:628; Voigts, pers. comm.).

10 The zodiac man appears to have been drawn in the same ink as the text. That Ebesham drew the uroscopy flasks which accompany *Practica urinarum* (ff. 14r–19v) is clear from the layout and tone of the ink.

167. Vein man

Germany, c. 1400–25
Paper, 1 leaf,[1] 280 x 210 mm
Boston Medical Library in the Francis A. Countway Library of Medicine, Ballard MS 3



Bloodletting was the go-to treatment of the Middle Ages.[2] Medieval medical science saw sickness as the result of an imbalance among the four humors: blood, yellow bile, phlegm, and black bile.[3] Phlebotomy was a method of regulating these fluids, helping a patient to regain or maintain equilibrium.[4] Considered a kind of cure-all, it was applied to diverse ills including lethargy, anxiety, hearing or memory loss, even fits of weeping. The voice might be made more melodious; the senses keener; life longer, all with a little bleeding.[5] Given the manifold benefits, it is little wonder the practice was widely used and abused. To do it safely one needed to know precisely when in the year and where on the body to cut. Together, images like the zodiac man in cat. no. 166 and the *homo venarum* or vein man on the recto of Ballard MS 3 provided such information.[6] The text associated with the former warns against bleeding unless the moon is in a favorable position with respect to the zodiac. Just as the tides rose and fell in accord with lunar movements, so too was the nearby planet thought to affect the levels of the humors.[7]

A standard if poorly drawn example of the vein man is found in Ballard MS 3. The composition centers on a male nude, his body squared with the picture plane, tongue extended, and limbs splayed. He is surrounded by text—pithy two- or three-line inscriptions explaining which vein should be bled to effect a certain cure. Red lines tie these statements to the relevant points on the body. Some of the connections are intuitive; bleeding from the forehead, for example, was thought to relieve headaches.[8] Others, however, are less obvious; sores on the eye were treated by bleeding a vein under second toe.[9] As with the zodiac man, the verbal elements add precision. Hence, the cartoonish quality did not necessarily undermine the efficacy of the image. Indeed, the sketch's singularity may have enhanced its value as a mnemonic.[10]

The zodiac and vein men were didactic tools and aids to recall for physicians.[11] Perhaps surprisingly, they also seem to have functioned as objects of contemplation for a broader audience. The text of Ballard MS 3 finds its closest parallel in a manuscript in Washington, DC (LC, Rosenwald Collection, Ms. 4), a collection of complex schemata on theological and scientific matters.[12] The manuscript's maker included no fewer than four renditions of the vein man in the lean, eight-page fascicle.[13] These are sandwiched between a zodiac man and several diagrams from the so-called *Speculum theologie* (*Mirror of Theology*)—instruments of meditation and devotion that flexed the memory.[14] In this setting, the vein man would have served a similar purpose.[15]

Megan C. McNamee

1 At some point Ballard MS 3, a single leaf, was hinged to Boston, Countway Library, Ballard MS 1, a fragment (8 leaves) of the *Speculum astrologiae* (*Mirror of Astrology*) generally attributed to Albertus Magnus (d. 1280). See Ballard 1944, 3.

2 For man *and* beast. Jordanus Ruffus advised bleeding to alleviate many of the maladies that might befall horses as described in his *Liber marescalcie equorum*, contained in cat. no. 168.

3 Siraisi 1990, 120.

4 Voigts 1989, 373–74.

5 Croke 1830, 115 (lines 299–303); and Talbot 1961, 224.

6 On the vein man see Jones 1984, 119–21. The two figures were often paired, appearing in sequence in proximity to the calendar and/or lunar tables. They might also be combined in a single composition as in the *Trés Riches Heures du Duc de Berry* (Chantilly, Mus. Condé, ms. 65, f. 14v). Bober 1948, 1–34, esp. 27.

7 Bober 1948, 8.

8 Ballard MS 3, recto: "Vena in fronte valet dolori capitis."

9 Ibid.: "Vena sub indicem pedis valet pustulis oculorum."

10 On the principle that the unusual is more memorable than the routine and that things are better remembered through individual instantiations in the medieval arts of memory see Carruthers 1990, 122–55.

11 Likewise Mainz, StB, Hs. I 166, ff. 106v–9r.

12 As well as that of Mainz, Stb, Hs. I 166, ff. 106v–9r (Castelberg and Fasching 2013, 95–100). The round-headed figure, however, more closely resembles those in other, related manuscripts such as London, Wellcome Library, MS.49.

13 Folios 2r–3v. A full facsimile is available on the library's website. See also the print edition of the manuscript: Castelberg and Fasching 2013.

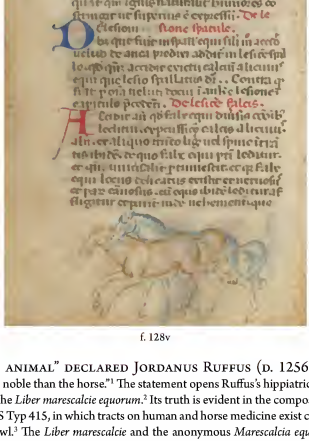
14 Thought to be the work of the thirteenth-century Franciscan, John of Metz.

Sandler 2002, esp. 221–22; and Sandler 1999, 23–28, appendix 3.

15 The seamless integration of medicine and devotion is captured on the verso of Ballard MS 3. Text in a contemporary hand combines a few lines devoted to eye care from chapter 76 (*De luminibus*) of the *Regimen sanitatis Salernitanum* with verses drawn from the Psalms, beginning with Ps 12:4: "Illumina oculos ne unquam obdormiam in morte" ("Lighten my eyes that I may never sleep in death").

168. Tracts on the care of humans, horses, and birds of prey

Italy, c. 1300–50
Parchment, ff. 181, 125 x 90 (80 x 60) mm
Harvard University, Houghton Library, MS Typ 415
Alfred Barmore Maclay; sold at Parke-Bernet Galleries, New York (January 10–11, 1956, lot 465) to H. P. Kraus; purchased with Philip Hofer's Printing and Graphic Arts Fund, 1956.



f. 128v

"No animal" declared Jordanus Ruffus (d. 1256) "is more noble than the horse."[1] The statement opens Ruffus's hippiatric treatise, the *Liber marescalcie equorum*.[2] Its truth is evident in the composition of MS Typ 415, in which tracts on human and horse medicine exist cheek-by-jowl.[3] The *Liber marescalcie* and the anonymous *Marescalcia equorum per alium auctorem* (ff. 154r–66v) are at the heart of this richly made handbook, which also includes Petrus Hispanus's *De conservanda sanitate* (ff. 1r–20v), a treatise beginning "Hec sunt unguenta et emplastra et pulveres contra fistulas" (ff. 21r–90r), and two tracts on the training and care of birds of prey: the *Epistola Aquile, Symachi et Theodotionis ad Ptolomeum* (ff. 168r–70r and 175r–81v), and the *Practica Avium* (ff. 170v–74v).[4] The manuscript is one of only two copies of Ruffus's text to preserve an exhaustive pictorial cycle; it is the only such copy in Latin.[5] One hundred and twenty-six minutely detailed bas-de-page illuminations enliven each page of the tract.[6] Expertly sketched in lead point and washed with colored pigments, the tiny vignettes picture ailments and cures described by Ruffus with remarkable fidelity and precision.

Emblematic of nobility, chivalry, and military might throughout the Middle Ages,[7] the horse became even more central to medieval society in the twelfth and thirteenth centuries as it began to replace oxen in plowing.[8] It was at this time, around 1250, that Ruffus wrote his work on the care of horses.[9] Little is known about the author.[10] In the preface to the *Liber marescalcie*, Ruffus states his name and calls himself a "Calabrian knight in charge of the imperial stables." The emperor in question was Frederick II of Hohenstaufen (1194–1250), Holy Roman emperor and king of Sicily and Jerusalem, in whose memory, we are told, the work was written.

The *Liber marescalcie* typifies a kind of "practical" scientific manual characteristic of Frederick's court.[11] Frederick had himself penned the *Art of Falconry* (*De arte venandi cum avibus*), a detailed guide to hunting with birds of prey (a copy of the French translation of which is preserved in cat. no. 183). Following the example of his lord, Ruffus committed his knowledge of horse breeding, training, and medicine to parchment.[12] Judging from the extant witnesses, the *Liber marescalcie* was of widespread and enduring interest: translations exist in eight languages,[13] 173 manuscripts survive, and it was printed in numerous editions.[14] The diverse formats and quality of surviving copies suggest that the work circulated in a variety contexts, from stable to the study.[15]

Images are thought to have been an organic part of Ruffus's original tract.[16] MS Typ 415 preserves the most extensive pictorial cycle.[17] The extraordinary level of synchrony between text and image in this manuscript suggests that the artist, if working from an illuminated exemplar, intelligently adapted his model with skill and care. The section dedicated to "injuries to the hock" (*De lesione falcis*), for example (f. 128v), explains how wounds to the hock, the point on the rear leg just below the thigh, were often caused by a kick from another horse.[18] Below this passage, two unbridled horses are pictured in full stride, their bodies dangerously intertwined. Surging forward, the rear hoof of the dun-colored horse in the foreground strikes the other horse precisely on the hock. In the lower margin of the page opposite (f. 129r, see image at beginning of this chapter), a man kneels and binds the injured leg—the final step for treating the injury, described in the text above.[19]

Megan C. McNamee

1 MS Typ 415, f. 91r: "nullum animal sit equo nobilius."

2 This is the title as it appears in the incipit (f. 91r). It is called the *De remedium infirmitatum equorum* in the explicit (f. 152v). On instability of the title see, among others, Gualdo 2005, 84.

3 Along with two brief treatises on birds of prey. That this suite of texts was conceived and created as a unit is clear from the uniform mise-en-page, script, and decoration. Foliation in Arabic numerals in the upper-right corner of the recto of each page—contemporary or near-contemporary with the book's making in the early fourteenth century—begins at "41" on what is now the first page, revealing loss; an octavo gathering (that would be ff. 109–17 in the earlier foliation) is also missing. These losses had already occurred when the manuscript was rebound at some point in the fifteenth or sixteenth century. New foliation, referred to here, was added by a modern hand in pencil in the lower-left corner of the recto of each page.

4 Sized literally to fit in the hand, MS Typ 415 mixes utility with luxury. Its small size along with its accurate indexes (ff. 103v–4r, 167r–67v), and numbered pages made it a handy reference tool. In addition, hundreds of finely wrought red and blue penwork initials mark textual divisions, further enhancing the manuscript's navigability as well as its beauty.

5 The other being Berlin, SMPK-KK, Cod. 78 C 15, ff. 1r–48v. The Berlin copy, written in Italian (Pisan dialect), dates to the end of the thirteenth century and is thought to be either a product of the Angevin court (possibly Naples) or of a Pisan atelier in Genoa (Montinaro 2015, 111–12).

6 The two cycles are dissimilar; they were not derived from a common archetype. This is also true of the text, language notwithstanding (Cianti and Cianti 1993, 449–51).

7 Ruffus wrote: "per ipsum principes, magnates, et milites a minoribus discer-

nuntur" ("Through them [horses] rulers, important men, and knights are separated from less important men").

8 Coco and Gualdo 2008, 125 and Gualdo 2005, 81–82.

9 The thirteenth century witnessed the translation into Latin of ancient Greek tracts on horse medicine, including that of Hierocles, in the courts of Charles I of Anjou (1226–85) and Frederick II's successor, Manfred (d. 1266). Though the *Liber marescalcie* was only indirectly influenced by Greek sources, Ruffus was, no doubt, aware of antique precedent (Lazaris 2010; Lazaris 1998, esp. 149–53).

10 On Ruffus's biography see Montinaro 2015, 9–14.

11 Gualdo 2005, 82 and Orofino 1994.

12 Scholars have pointed out the striking structural similarity between Ruffus's tract and Frederick II's *De arte venandi cum avibus*, suggesting that the emperor's work became a kind of legitimizing template. See Gaulin 1994, 425.

13 These are Latin, Italian, French, Occitan, Catalan, Galician, Hebrew, and German (Montinari 2015, 7).

14 For a handlist of known manuscripts and printed copies see Montinari 2015, 63–227.

15 Cianti and Cianti 1993, 207–11.

16 Ibid., 217. In this way the *Liber marescalcie* would have even further resembled the Frederick's *De arte venandi*, which, in the words of Giulia Orofino, was "conceived" (*concepisse*) as a book with visual explanations (1994, 131). Notably, the Greek tracts on the subject known to the west were likely illuminated (Lazaris 1998, 149).

17 Berlin, SMPK-KK, Cod. 78 C 15 contains sixty-one illuminations.

18 Folio 128v: "ex percussione calcis."

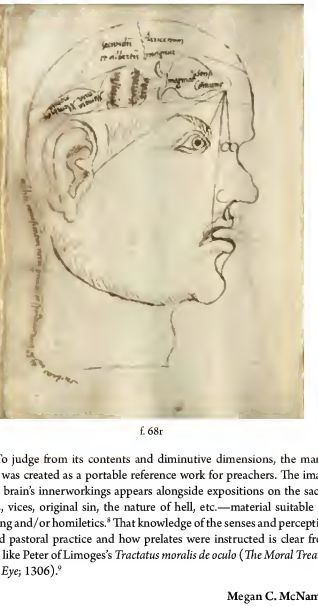
19 The reader is told to shave the affected area, to prepare and apply a hot poultice, and then bandage the wound.

169. Miscellany for preachers

Italy, c. 1500
Paper (with one parchment bifolio), ff. 201, 143 x 104 (textblock irregular) mm
Boston Medical Library in the Francis A. Countway Library of Medicine, B MS b20.3

"We were shown a figure from a *Pearl of Philosophy* which presented to the eyes the ventricles so discussed. This figure we pupils portrayed, each according to his skill as a draughtsman."[1] The statement appears in book 7, on the brain, of Andreas Vesalius's (1514–64) *De humani corporis fabrica* (*On the Fabric of the Human Body*). Vesalius describes what must have been a standard classroom exercise.[2] "The figure" to which he refers is a woodblock print from Gregor Reisch's (c. 1470–1525) popular *Margarita philosophica* (*Philosophical Pearl*), depicting the brain's ventricles and the internal senses.[3] Whoever drew the two heads in cat. no. 169 set himself the same task. Across three sequential openings (ff. 64v–67r) the anonymous draughtsman endeavored to copy the *Pearl* print "according to his skill," which was modest. The mirrored profiles on ff. 66v and 67r are the culmination of his efforts. Only the final picture was "blessed" with Christ's name (*yhs*) at the top of the page and recorded in the index (f. 1r) under the heading "On the soul" (*De anima*).[4]

Throughout the Middle Ages, the brain was, by and large, understood to be the seat of the soul.[5] The drawings in cat. no. 169 show the three cavities, sites of distinct intellectual activities. Sense data from the eyes, ears, nose, and tongue, absorbed by the common sense, passed to and were transformed by the faculties of imagination and fantasy in the first ventricle, cognition and judgment in the second, and memory in the third. "According to Avicenna and Albertus Magnus" (*secundum Avicennnam et albertum magnum*) is written across the head on the left (f. 66v). The thirteenth-century Dominican philosopher Albertus Magnus was, for many, the supreme authority on the soul at the time of the manuscript's making.[6] His works on the subject—required reading at universities throughout Europe—were deeply indebted to the influential Persian physician, Avicenna (980–1037).[7]



f. 68r

To judge from its contents and diminutive dimensions, the manuscript was created as a portable reference work for preachers. The image of the brain's innerworkings appears alongside expositions on the sacraments, vices, original sin, the nature of hell, etc.—material suitable for teaching and/or homiletics.[8] That knowledge of the senses and perception shaped pastoral practice and how prelates were instructed is clear from works like Peter of Limoges's *Tractatus moralis de oculo* (*The Moral Treatise on the Eye*; 1306).[9]

Megan C. McNamee

1 Vesalius 1543, 623; trans. Singer 1952, 6: "Caeterum ut singula quae ita nos edocebamur, aptius assequeremur, tabula quaedam ostendebatur nescio a qua philosophiae Margarita deprompta, dictosque iam ventriculos oculis subriciens, quam nos discipuli prout scholasticae picturae quisque erat studiosior, suis commentariis expressius appingebamus."

2 Vesalius was a student of philosophy at the University of Louvain. He left Louvain c. 1533.

3 The *Margarita* was first printed by Johannes Schott in Freiburg-im-Breisgau July of 1503, giving a post quem date for MS b20.3 (Ferguson 1930, 198–201). The print appears after book 10, chapter 21 in the 1503 edition. We know from extant correspondence that the woodblocks for books 1 through 7 of Reisch's *Pearl* were based on drawings specially prepared by Urs Graf (1483–c. 1528), a consummate draftsman (Cunningham and Kusukawa 2010, xxii–xxvii). Whether Graf was responsible for the image of the brain copied by Vesalius is less certain. Pictures of the cerebral ventricles pre-date the *Pearl*. Moreover, the placement of *fantasia* and *cogitatio* does not accord with Reisch's verbal description.

4 Each page containing writing in the sixteenth-century hands is so "blessed" at the top, either with Christ's name or a cross.

5 Wolfson 1935.

6 Park 1980, 503.

7 These included a commentary on Aristotle's *De anima*, the second book of his *Summa de creaturis*, the *de natura et origine animae*, and the *De intellectu et intelligibili*. Throughout these works, Avicenna's *De anima seu Sextus de naturalibus* is frequently cited. In the later Middle Ages, Albertus's ideas on the soul were broadly dispersed in the fifth book of a spurious epitome known as the *Philosophia pauperum* (Park 1980, 510).

8 Beverly Kienzle noted that the index comprises topics theological in nature, some of which would elucidate the liturgical calendar and practice (pers. comm.).

9 See, for example, chapter 12 on the "instruction of prelates based on seven properties of the eyes" (Newhauser 2012, 146). My thanks to Beverly Kienzle for drawing my attention to this phenomenon.

170. Justinian I, Digestum vetus; Accursius, Glossa ordinaria in Digestum vetus

Toulouse (?), southern France, c. 1275
Parchment, ff. ii (flyleaves) + 294 (ff. 1–294) + 1 (flyleaf), 430 x 255 (231 x 143) mm
Harvard University, Houghton Library, MS Typ 121
Sold by E. Rosenthal in 1944; gift of Philip Hofer in memory of John Milton Perkins Thatcher, 1980.

f. 110r (detail)

In the Middle Ages, Justinian's fifty-book *Digest*, a collection of extracts from the writings of classical Roman jurists, was broken up into three parts: the *Digestum vetus*, the *Infortiatum*, and the *Digestum novum*.[1] MS Typ 121, a *Digestum vetus*, represents the first and most important volume of this division.[2] Produced in southern France around 1275, a little earlier than cat. no. 171, this manuscript also presents aspects of script and formatting that incorporate features from Italian manuscripts, though its decoration is typically French.[3] Vegetal forms shape and embellish its large painted initials, which sometimes include dragons, hybrid creatures, or human figures that project into the margins. Narrow gold bands frame the twenty-one miniatures; from their corners extrude a variety of human and animal heads set on thin, flexible necks. Below the upper frames architectural arcades and occasional columns separate the inner spaces, where figures interact against blue or pink backgrounds overlaid with diaper patterns sketched in white and colored inks.[4]

The illustrations in legal manuscripts both identify major divisions in the text and summarize the subject matter treated at their opening sections.[5] Many important issues affecting medieval life and subject to legal regulation are discussed in the *Digestum vetus*, particularly in book 8, *De servitutibus* ("On Servitudes"), which concerns the right to use things and services on another person's property. Water was a vital element to any community: for irrigation of crops, watering of cattle, as well as for personal necessities of daily life, and the miniature at book 8 (f. 110r) illustrates the right of access to water. On the left two lawyers, one holding a bucket, discuss the conditions for legal exercise of this right; in the right-hand space a man pulls on a rope to draw water from the servient well. The information on this page was evidently considered important, as readers have accentuated numerous passages with special signs: pointing hands alongside the gloss, and vertical pen-strokes decorated with clusters of tiny balls that unite lines of text. Annotations between the lines and in the margins, written in a tiny script, represent observations, definitions, or explanations.

Susan L'Engle

1 A brief account is given in Whitman 1991, 270–71.

2 In Bologna, along with the *Codex*, it was taught in the "ordinary" morning lectures; afternoon classes, the "extraordinary," were devoted to the less essential texts.

3 Alison Stones (e-mail correspondence) has also proposed an origin in Toulouse, indicating various manuscripts with comparable stylistic elements. She suggests Krakow, Bibl. Jagiellonska, Ms. 374, a *Codex* (her cat. VII–16); Cambrai, Bm, ms. 619, a *Liber extra* (her cat. VII–17); Toulouse, Bm, ms. 234, Peter Lombard, *Sentences* (her cat. VII–18); and Cambrai, Bm, ms. 644, a *Digestum vetus* (her cat. VII–19). These manuscripts are all described in Stones 2013–14, 2.1:193–97.

4 A sister manuscript for MS Typ 121 is a *Digestum novum* in Brussels (BRB, ms. 9141). They share the same quire structure (senions, quires of twelve folios), penwork articulation (two-line blue initials in the margins to open extracts, one-line red capitals for author), and painted decoration: miniatures framed with narrow burnished gold bands, diaper backgrounds and arcades. Most telling, the arrangement and design of the animal and human heads on short thin necks that protrude from corners of the miniature frames are identical. Moreover, the replication in both manuscripts of figure types, physiognomy, and the layout of narrative compositions confirms that the illumination was executed by the same workshop artists. See Gaspar and Lyna 1984, 1.1:158–59, no. 66; 1.2: pl. 33b.

5 On the texts and illumination of legal manuscripts, see generally L'Engle and Gibbs 2001; on illumination of the period in Toulouse, see Stones 2013–14, 2.1:193–97 and Haruna-Czaplicki 2008.

171. Justinian I, Codex; Accursius, Glossa ordinaria in Codicem

Toulouse (?), southern France, 1280s
Parchment, ff. ii (modern flyleaves) + 2 (ff. I–II, medieval flyleaves with annotations) + 280 (ff. 1–280) +2 (ff. 281–82, list of *Codex* and *Digest* titles) + ii (modern flyleaves), 460 x 280 mm
Harvard Law School, Historical & Special Collections, HLS MS 63

The *Code* or *Codex*, composed of imperial edicts and constitutions, is the second major text in the corpus of Roman law organized and compiled in the sixth century at the behest of Emperor Justinian I. Originally divided into twelve books, in the thirteenth century the first nine were copied separately as a single volume and the last three bound with other smaller Roman law texts.[1]

f. 93v

HLS MS 63 was written and illuminated in southern France, perhaps Toulouse, in the 1280s. This location is suggested by its Italianate script and other layout features; in the thirteenth century Roman law was mainly taught in southern France, where manuscripts produced in Bologna were greatly admired and imitated.[2] The illumination, however, is decidedly French, featuring ten historiated miniatures and large foliate initials on sumptuous grounds of pink, blue, and burnished gold, often lengthening into vegetal borders where birds and animals perch or dash around. Animal and human heads on long necks and occasional human figures sprout from the decoration, such as the half- figure of a mailed warrior bearing shield and sword atop the upper border at book 4 (f. 93v).[3] The miniature partially expresses the rubricated title *De rebus creditis et de iureiurando* ("On property loaned, and on swearing an oath"). Perhaps depicting the interior of a pawn shop, here brokers stand behind a table upon which a chalice represents the "loaned property" belonging to the figures at the right; the flanking piles of coins will be dispensed as loans.

Copious reader annotation—pointing hands, occasional profile heads, and numerous marginal notes in different scripts—confirms that this manuscript was used as a textbook over a long period of time. As a family possession it could have been taken to classes by successive generations of students—or, if sold to a used book dealer, could be pledged, rented, or resold year after year. In fact, on f. Iv (the second medieval flyleaf), a lengthy fifteenth-century annotation confirms that on July 10, 1406 this *Codex* was given to a Johannes Ravenelli as pledge for a loan by Johannes Bostherii of Lyon.[4]

Susan L'Engle

1 On the texts and illumination of legal manuscripts, see generally L'Engle and Gibbs 2001.

2 MS 63 is articulated in typical *Codex* fashion for Bologna and Padua, that is, large blue initial *I*'s set in the margins represent the emperors responsible for the textual extracts, abbreviated *Impr* for Imperator, or *Idem* for a consecutive extract by the same author. This is followed by a small red capital that opens the first word of the extract. As in Italy the gloss is keyed to the text using letters of the alphabet; in France this is effected by underlining key words (*lemmata*) in the gloss (although *lemmata* are also occasionally underlined in MS 63).

3 I thank Alison Stones (e-mail correspondence) who has also proposed an origin in Toulouse and suggested the date of c. 1280, indicating various manuscripts with comparable stylistic elements. Particularly close in quire structure, penwork articulation, and style of illumination is Krakow, Bibl. Jagiellonska, Ms. 374, another *Codex* (her cat. VII–16). See Stones 2013–14, 2.1:193–97. On the Krakow manuscript see Wlodek, Zathey, and Zwiercan 2008, 129–31.

4 Noted in de Ricci 1935–40, 1:1035, no. 63.

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172. Giovanni d'Andrea, Summa de sponsalibus et matrimoniis; Boniface VIII, Liber sextus, with the Glossa ordinaria in Librum sextum of Giovanni d'Andrea

Master of Crucifixion D and workshop (illuminators)

Parchment, ff. 1 (flyleaf) + 2 (ff. 1–2) +116 (ff. 3–118) + iii (flyleaves) + 1 pastedown (f. 122r), 457 x 276 (370–80 x 215–20) mm
Bologna or Padua, Italy, c. 1310–15 and c. 1335–40
Harvard University, Houghton Library, MS Typ 489
Purchased from H. P. Kraus in 1960 with Philip Hofer's Printing and Graphic Arts Fund.

f. 1r

This canon law textbook opens with a treatise by Giovanni d'Andrea on betrothal and marriage, a short text often appended to decretal collections, which customarily include a section dealing with the regulations of marriage. It is followed by Boniface VIII's *Liber sextus* and its standard commentary for Italy, also by d'Andrea.[1] This latter portion was copied through the *pecia* system, a university-supervised process of book production.[2] A corrected exemplar of the text would be divided into equal pieces (usually of four folios) and rented out to scribes in succession, thus making it possible for multiple copies of a text to be written simultaneously. As the scribe finished copying each piece into a new manuscript he/she would record its number in the margin as proof of completion; many *pecia* (the parts or pieces into which a text exemplar was divided in order to increase the efficiency of copying) notations for both text and commentary survive in this manuscript.

Both texts in this manuscript were written and illuminated in Bologna or Padua but at separate periods, differentiated by layout and decoration. On the first page of the treatise (f. 1r) the acanthus-vine border carrying leaves and buds and interspersed with human figures, ornamental medallions at the lower margin, and the liberal sprinkling of gold dots amidst this decoration exemplify work of the early fourteenth century, around the time of the Bolognese illuminator Nerio (d. before 1320).[3] In the *Liber sextus* the aesthetic paradigms of the next generation can be observed in the positioning of penwork initials within the text columns rather than in the margins, as well as the style of figured initials at section titles. Set on gold grounds, around half of the painted initials that enclose busts of ecclesiastical and secular personages can be attributed to an illuminator known as the Master of Crucifixion D, active in Bologna and Padua between c. 1325 and 1340; the remainder to associates in his workshop circle.[4] These artists portray sturdy figure-types with rounded faces modeled in reddish-brown skin-tones, squinty eyes outlined in black, puffy lips, and strong noses. Their work can also be seen in a *Decretum Gratiani* manuscript in Munich (BSB, Clm 23552).

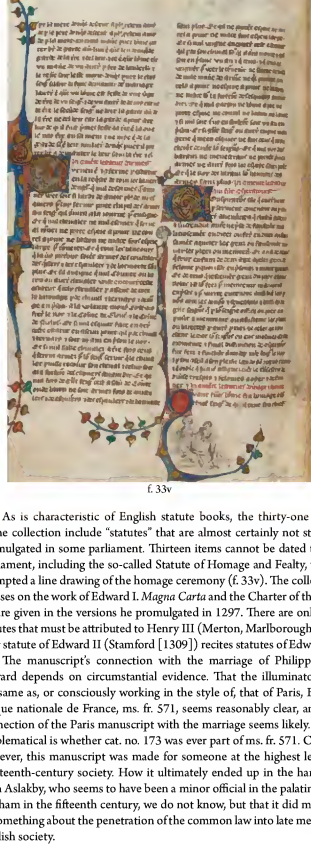
Susan L'Engle

1 On the texts and illumination of legal manuscripts see generally L'Engle and Gibbs 2001; on Giovanni d'Andrea, see Tamba 2000.
2 Literature on the *pecia* system begins with Destrez 1935; see most comprehensively Soetermeer 1997.
3 On Nerio and Bolognese illumination in general see Conti 1981 and L'Engle 2002.
4 On the Master of Crucifixion D see Medica 1990 and Battistini 2004.

173. Magna Carta cum statutis

Northern France, c. 1325 (?)
Parchment, ff. ii (modern) + 36 (ff. 1–36) + ii (modern), 333 x 235 (c. 249 x 169) mm
Harvard Law School, Historical & Special Collections, HLS MS 12[1]
Philippa of Hainault and Edward III (?), John Aslakby (fifteenth century), Michael Dalton of Cambridgeshire; William Bragge of Sheffield; his sale Sotheby's, London, June 9, 1876, no. 290, acquired by Henry White; his sale, Sotheby's, London, April 28, 1902, no. 1409, to Sydney Cockerell for George Dunn; his sale Sotheby's, London, February 11, 1913, no. 1409; bought privately by HLS.

English medieval manuscript statute books differ from the typical medieval legal manuscripts in that many seem to be designed for an audience wider than legal professionals. More than 350 survive; no two are exactly alike. Many contain illustrations. This one's are far more elaborate than most. Indeed, this manuscript may have been a "wedding present" given by Philippa of Hainault to the future Edward III.



f. 33v

As is characteristic of English statute books, the thirty-one items in the collection include "statutes" that are almost certainly not statutes promulgated in some parliament. Thirteen items cannot be dated to any parliament, including the so-called Statute of Homage and Fealty, which prompted a line drawing of the homage ceremony (f. 33v). The collection focuses on the work of Edward I. *Magna Carta* and the Charter of the Forest are given in the versions he promulgated in 1297. There are only two statutes that must be attributed to Henry III (Merton, Marlborough). The only statute of Edward II (Stamford [1309]) recites statutes of Edward I.

The manuscript's connection with the marriage of Philippa and Edward depends on circumstantial evidence. That the illuminator was the same as, or consciously working in the style of, that of Paris, Bibliothèque nationale de France, ms. fr. 571, seems reasonably clear, and the connection of the Paris manuscript with the marriage seems likely. More problematical is whether cat. no. 173 was ever part of ms. fr. 571. Clearly, however, this manuscript was made for someone at the highest level of fourteenth-century society. How it ultimately ended up in the hands of John Aslakby, who seems to have been a minor official in the palatinate of Durham in the fifteenth century, we do not know, but that it did may tell us something about the penetration of the common law into late medieval English society.

Charles Donahue Jr.

1 Baker 1985, 16, no. 42; Michael 1985; and Skemer 1997 and 1999.

174. vol. 1, Index to Vetera et Nova Statuta, Magna Carta de Libertatibus, various statutes; vol. 2, Nova Statuta 1 Edward III–21 Richard II (1399); vol. 3, Nova Statuta 1 Henry IV–8 Edward IV (1468)

Probably London, England, vols. 1–2, c. 1450–60; vol. 3, c. 1468–70
Parchment, vol. 1, ff. 136, 305 x c. 208 (205 x 140) mm; vol. 2, ff. 149, 305 x c. 208 (205 x 140) mm; vol. 3, ff. 193
Harvard University, Houghton Library, MS Richardson 40
James Dyer; Arthur Thomas Liddell (Anderson & Garland, Newcastle-upon-Tyne, September 28, 1920, no. 357); Owen D. Young, by 1935; William K. Richardson bequest, 1951.

vol. 1, f. 57r (detail)

In addition to the *Vetera et Nova Statuta* (*Old and New Statutes of England*), this manuscript contains a copy of the *Magna Carta*, the charter first issued by King John just over 800 years ago in 1215. In the thirteenth and fourteenth centuries the *Vetera Statuta* were often produced with the charter,[1] but by the fifteenth century it was a less common practice. More than four hundred manuscripts of English statutes survive from these three centuries; the majority—some 125—are from the mid-fifteenth century,[2] as is this copy, a particularly elegant example. With its images of kings and an exceptional number of borders, cat. no. 174 ranks highly among luxuriously decorated *Nova Statuta*.[3]

The *Magna Carta* opens here with the scene of a king identified by the first words of the charter: "Henricus dei gracia Rex Anglie." The rather startling conclusion is that the king is not John but his son Henry III, who reissued the charter in 1216. Henry is depicted in a gold mantel, seated and holding a fleur-de-lis scepter, his throne oriented at an unusual forty-degree angle from center. His features are delicate and attentive to something "off-stage" left. A full border with aroids in bulky, curled acanthus leaves interspersed with delicate sprays surround the text (f. 57r).

The first border of volume 2 is even more extravagant than that of volume 1, yet with the miniature of Edward III based on the iconography previously used for Henry III.[4] The volume is also interesting for the strict division of borderwork by quires and for the participation of six different hands.[5] Two of these artists were involved in the decoration of London, Lincoln's Inn Library, MS Hale 71, *Nova Statuta*.[6]

The sequence of statutes was completed in volume 3 some twenty years after volumes 1 and 2.[7] The miniature introducing the reign of Edward IV (f. 164r) has a close iconographic connection with eight other manuscripts, all using a standard model of a king enthroned under a canopy and attended by clerical advisors at left and legal or lay counselors at right.[8] The scribe, too, can be found in at least nine further manuscripts of the *Nova Statuta*.[9]

Kathleen L. Scott

1 McGerr 2011, 17; Baker 1985, 76. The *Statuta Vetera* comprise the reigns of Henry II, Edward I and Edward II. In 1216, 1217, and 1225 new versions of *Magna Carta* were issued, that of 1225 being the "final and definitive" document; the name "Magna Carta" was in fact first used in 1225 in order to distinguish it from the briefer Forest Charter (Carpenter 2015, 99). In the thirteenth and fourteenth centuries the famous charter was copied into chronicles, cartularies, and, as here, statute books (Carpenter 2015, 78–79, 81, 94–97, 102). Examples of the *Magna Carta* in earlier manuscripts with the *Statuta Vetera* are Notre Dame, IN, Notre Dame U., Hesburgh Library, cod. lat. a. 4; Princeton, Princeton UL, Scheide MS. 30; Oxford, Bodleian Library, MS. Rawl. C. 292, with historiated initials of kings; and Washington, DC, LC, Law Library, MSS Baker 16 and 17.

2 McGerr 2011, 16.

3 The text ruling in pink ink reinforces the impression of a very high quality manuscript.

4 Differences in the execution prevent assigning this scene to the artist of the first king.

5 This is a surprising number to be available at one time for work on one book. The first border (f. 1r) bears on the lower bar frame an orange leaf with the word or "wede"or "mede," almost certainly the name of the limner. This Hand A decorated only the first quire, ff. 3r–8v; Hand B: quires 2 and 4, ff. 9r–16v and 25r–32v; Hand C: quire 3, ff. 17r–24v; Hand D (Hand B of vol. 1): quires 5 and 6, ff. 33r–40v and 41r–48v; Hand E: quire 7, ff. 49r–56v; Hand F (Hand A of vol. 1): quire 8, ff. 57r–64v and to the end.

6 Hands B and probably also Hand C. For discussion of the ownership, scribal hand and further references concerning MS Hale 71, see McGerr 2011, 21, 26, 32 and 164nn26, 30.

7 At 1 Edward IV the format of the ruling changes to brown ink and to thirty-two lines per page in contrast to the twenty-eight lines in volumes 1 and 2. These codicological aspects reinforce the notion that volume 3 was made at a different time from volumes 1 and 2. As often in books of statutes, the manuscript contains at the end extra ruled blanks for the addition of subsequent statutes.

8 The clerics are identifiable by tonsure, crosiers, and a portable cross in the background and the legal advisers by bars on their robes. Manuscripts using the standard model at the opening of Edward IV's reign, some by the same artist, are Philadelphia, FLP, LC 14 9.5 (McGerr 2011, pl. 33); New Haven, Yale U., Goldman Library, MS G. St. 11.1 (McGerr 2011, pl. 6); Kew, TNA, PRO E. 164/11 (McGerr 2011, pl. 14); London, BL, Cotton MS. Nero C.I; London, BL, Hargrave MS. 274 (McGerr 2011, pl. 35, for Richard III); Oxford, St. John's Coll., MS. 257 (McGerr 2011, pl. 36); Oxford, Bodleian Library, MS. Hatton 10 (Scott 1980, fig. 74); and Holkham, Earl's Library, MS. 232. In the London, Met. Archives, COL/CS/01/007 (formerly Corporation of London, Guildhall, "Cartae Antiquae"), the basic model was used seven times (McGerr 2011, pl. 32), and in London, BL, Cotton MS. Tiberius B.XII, *De jure regum Anglorum ad regnam Francie*, as a half-page scene with additional figures. This standard iconography of a king and court continued in use in early printed books as woodcuts (Beale 1926, 217, no. 7).

9 The manuscripts are listed in McGerr 2011, 26, with two other possible additions to the scribe's corpus.

175. Oberbayerisches Landrecht Kaiser Ludwigs des Bayern
Johannes Waltpurger (scribe)

Augsburg, Bavaria, c. 1470
Paper (watermark Piccard nos. 116797–98, Augsburg, 1469), ff. iv (paper) + 69, 405 x 290 (295 x 198) mm
Harvard University, Houghton Library, MS Ger 142 (formerly G. Cab. 3.31)
Three coats of arms (front pastedown), one of Bavaria (?), the second of Munich, the third unidentified (monogram V C X); Hanns Fend, Munich, 1516 (inscription, front flyleaf); bookplate of Ignatius Molitor; Franz Josef Sammet (before 1829); Georg Ludwig and Konrad Maurer, Munich, 1829–1904, (inscribed, front pastedown); gift of Archibald Cary Coolidge (Hohenzollern Collection, no. 13), 1904.

f. 5r (detail)

In keeping with its content, this copy of the *Upper Bavarian State Law*, or literally, law of the lands of the emperor, Louis the Bavarian—a collection of more than 350 laws organized in twenty-eight sections dealing with civil, criminal, and procedural matters that remained in force until the nineteenth century—opens with a large initial featuring Christ in Judgment.[1] Throughout the late Middle Ages, earthly judgments were linked to divine judgment by way of lending them religious sanction. The initial on f. 5r introduces the royal "We" ("We, Louis by God's grace"), identified by the florid rubric as the "highly praised and high-born emperor Louis of Rome," i.e., Louis IV (1282/6–1347). From 1328 Louis enjoyed the title of Holy Roman emperor, although he was in almost constant conflict with the pope on account of his military campaigns in northern Italy, for which he suffered excommunication until the time of his death. The rubric—in fact an excerpt from the prologue to another, related work, a collection of laws compiled c. 1340 which pertain to the city of Munich (StA, Zimelie 2, known from its binding as the "Sealed Book")—explains that Louis and four of his six sons issued the book to the cities in Bavaria so that the poor would not be defrauded by the rich and so that everybody would be able to enjoy their capacity (*frünckhait*) and atone for their maliciousness (*poßhait*). In fact, Louis's efforts to consolidate power at the expense of his nobles provoked the election of Charles IV, later Holy Roman emperor, as anti-king of Rome in 1346, the very year in which the revised text of the compilation, of which the first version goes back to c. 1334, was issued, in part to bolster Louis's authority. The oldest extant copy (Munich, BSB, Cgm 1506, c. 1346) opens with an image of the emperor enthroned on the opening letter with his four oldest sons kneeling to either side of him. The same iconography occurs in a somewhat later copy (Munich, BSB, Cgm 15).[2] In contrast, the luxury copy in London (BL, Arundel MS. 131), dating to the first half of the fifteenth century, portrays the emperor with the seven electors.

The copy at Harvard employs sacred, not secular iconography. The sole figural initial employs a formula widely used for the illumination of the first Sunday in Advent in missals from Augsburg c. 1500 and associated in particular with the workshop of Johannes Bämler, sometimes referred to as the "Augsburg-Salzburg Workshop."[3] No less typical are the particolored frame, the curling acanthus leaves in the body of the initial, the tooled golden ground, and the acanthus extensions, punctuated by gold dots with penwork spray, of the serif. Decoration elsewhere in the manuscript consists of non-figural initials, often in burnished gold, with red and blue penwork, occasionally with acanthus ornament.

Texts of many kinds, not only missals, but also legal books, were produced in Augsburg in large numbers for the open market by professional scribes. The scribe of MS Ger 142, who identifies himself as Johannes Waltpurger of Friedberg, an eastern suburb of Augsburg (f. 61r: "per me Johanem Waltpurger de Fridperg"), appears to have been a professional specializing in legal manuscripts. A Johannes Waltpurger, identified as a "Gerichtsschreiber zu Indersdorf," i.e., a legal scribe in Indersdorf, Bavaria (c. eight miles north of Munich), is documented in Friedberg in 1465.[4] A scribe of the same name identifies himself as being "of Augsburg" in a translation of the Psalms (Basel, UB, Cod. AN IV 6, dated 1485, f. 149r) decorated with initials in a similar style.[5]

The manuscript retains its original binding of stamped and blind-tooled brown calf with corner and center bronze bosses front and back. Three coats of arms were drawn on the front pastedown, apparently in the sixteenth century. The third and largest, of a monk with outstretched arms holding a red codex in his left hand (sometimes construed as the privileges of the city) and with his right hand open with an extended index finger (sometimes interpreted as referring to an oath) is the canting arms of the city of Munich (Mönch = monk).

Jeffrey F. Hamburger

1 Schlosser and Schwab 2000; Volkert 2010, 10n19.
2 Suckale 1993, 255, no. 65.
3 Holter 1972, 246–57; Beier 2004, 55–78. Cf., e.g., the missal illuminated by Bämler, Salzburg, UB, Ms. III,12, f. 8r or that in Innsbruck, UB, Cod. 15, f. 4r.
4 http://www.handschriftencensus.de/19796 (Klaus Graf), with reference to Hundt 1863, 384.
5 For a description, see http://aleph.unibas.ch. For a digitization, see www.e-codices.unifr.ch.

176. Modus Tenendi Parliamentum and two treatises on the office of the marshal of England

England, c. 1558–59
Parchment, ff. 35, 220 x 160 (148 x 97) mm
Isabella Stewart Gardner Museum, 3.T.8
Isabella Stewart Gardner purchased from J. Pearson & Co., London, November 24, 1902, as a manuscript for Edward VI of 1547.

f. 13r

This mid-sixteenth century legal compilation of English translations of the *Form and Manner of Keeping the Parliament of England*[1] and two treatises on the office of the marshal of England[2] was used very differently by two different owners: Thomas Howard (1538–72), fourth Duke of Norfolk, for whom it was made,[3] and Sir Edward Coke (1552–1634), an important lawyer, politician, and legal writer. For Norfolk, who was hereditary earl marshal of England, the two treatises on this office and the accompanying images of its holder (ff. 26r, 32v), explained the earl marshal's rights and duties,[4] while the *Modus* depicted the marshal at the opening of Parliament (f. 13r) and noted his role in convening parliamentary commissions.[5] Only the *Modus* mattered to Coke, who acquired the manuscript when he was attorney general, between 1594 and 1606, and annotated it.[6] His notes in the manuscript (p. 3, f. 12v) reveal how he used this text to establish Parliament's antiquity. In 1593 he told the Commons that before Normans conquered England in 1066, according to a "book" of the *Modus* he possessed, Parliaments met and did so with the Commons, the Lords and the King all sitting together.[7] This "book" was not the Gardner manuscript, which Coke acquired later and which omitted the reference to pre-Conquest parliaments that other versions of the *Modus* included.[8] In the manuscript, however, Coke partially compensated for the omission by noting that his own "book of precedents" (f. 12v)[9] showed that Parliament met in King Cnut's reign (1016–35)[10] and by citing several chapters from this manuscript's translation of the *Modus* to establish the *Modus*'s authenticity as a medieval text dating from the fourteenth or perhaps even the thirteenth century (p. 3).[11] Moreover, if Coke had interpreted the image of Parliament (f. 13r) as showing Commoners in the back and Lords in the front on either side of the king, he could have seen it as confirming the statement about Parliament that he supposedly based on his "book" of the *Modus* in 1593: "At the first we were all one House."[12]

Stephen D. White

1 See Pronay and Taylor 1980 for the most recent edition of the Latin text of the *Modus Tenendi Parliamentum* in two different recensions. For a recent discussion of the *Modus* with useful bibliography, see Weber 1998.

2 *The maner and forme and vsage of Gilbert de Strogell m[ar]shall of Englande…* and *The man[er] and custome of the vsages of Thomas Brotherton whiche he hadd and vsed in the office of the Marshallsie.* On these treatises, see McCoy 1989, 34–36 and 36n29; Starkey 1987.

3 Graves 2008.

4 McCoy 1989, 34–36 and 36n29; Starkey 1987; Graves 2008.

5 Starkey 1987.

6 On Coke see Boyer 2003 and 2009. The manuscript is noted in Hassall 1950 as no. 333; other manuscripts of the *Modus* in Coke's library are nos. 335 and 345. On page 3 of the manuscript, Coke wrote: "Edw: Coke Attornat gen: ex dono magistri Britten," as in Starkey 1987, 43, citing Hassall 1950, 26 (no. 333). The manuscript is no. 9 in a "Provisional List of Untraced Manuscripts" (of the *Modus*) in Pronay and Taylor 1980, 209–10.

7 D'Ewes 1682.

8 The Latin text of the *Modus* (as translated in Pronay and Taylor 1980, 81) began: "Here is described the manner in which the parliament of the King of England and of his Englishmen was held in the time of King Edward, the son of King Ethelred. Which manner was related by the more distinguished men of the kingdom in the presence of William, Duke of Normandy, Conqueror and King of England: by the Conqueror's own command, and through his approval it was used in his times and in the times of his successors, the Kings of England." According to Snow 1977, 89n35, the "book" Coke cited in the Parliament of 1593 could only have been John Hooker's English translation of the *Modus* in his "The Order and Usage of the Keeping of a Parlement in England" (London, 1572), which directly stated, as the *Modus* itself did not, that "all the whole degrees of the parlement, sat togither in one house."

9 "Vide liber precedentium 535 tempore Canuti regis." Starkey 1987, 45 identifies this book with a book of precedents in Coke's library that included a document referring to what Coke identified as a Parliament held in 1020–21. Coke quoted the document, which came from the abbey of Bury St. Edmunds, in the Preface to the Ninth Book of his Reports (1612–13) in Coke 1777.

10 The Preface to the Ninth Book of Reports (1612–13) in Coke 1777 also corroborated the first point by using the passage from the Latin version of the *Modus* quoted in the preceding note to show that this work explained how Parliament was organized in the reign of King Edward the Confessor (1042–66) and continued to be organized, with William the Conqueror's approval, by William and his successors. See Garnett 2013.

11 Coke's note reads as follows: "vide cap 10 cest treatise fuit compose devant le statut de 1403 cap 5 comme poit etre collect' hors de my le chapter / cap 20 cest treatise fuit compose quant la fuit un steward de angleterre / vide cap 23 concernant aids poet etre colli & ceo fuit devant 3 e i de statutis de aids." According to Starkey 1987, 43–45, which overlooks the third line of Coke's note dating the *Modus* to Edward I's reign (1272–1307), it was "not enough" for Coke to date the *Modus* only as far back as the fourteenth century, because he needed to show that Parliament antedated the monarchy. But since, as explained in preceding notes, Coke could use the *Modus* to show continuity in the manner of holding Parliaments before and after 1066 (see Garnett 2013), it was sufficient for this purpose to establish the text's authenticity as fourteenth- or possibly late thirteenth-century text about Parliament's earlier history.

12 D'Ewes 1682, "this Book [i.e., the *Modus*] declareth how we all sat together, but the Commons sitting in presence of the King and amongst the Nobles disliked it, and found fault that they had not free liberty to speak." On the true source of this passage, see above, note 7.

8. Secular Pleasures: Edification & Entertainment

A passage in Chrétien de Troyes's romance, *Yvain; or, The Knight of the Lion* describes how the knight Yvain, after entering a castle and passing through to its garden, saw "a rich man...at his ease on a silk cloth beneath the trees. Before him was a maid who read a long romance....A lady, too, came in the orchard and she lay upon the cloth to listen. They were the maid's parents."[1] This familial scene of reading and listening introduces a common practice in high and late medieval secular life, in which such genres as romance, Roman or contemporary history, and moral philosophy, among others, were read aloud and discussed as often as they were looked at or read silently.[2]

The practice of educational reading involved the activity of skilled readers who could embellish and comment on texts as they read them aloud to groups gathered for edification.[3] This method was used outside the classroom for scholars like King Charles V, who before supper in winter listened to "fair histories, holy scripture or the *Faits des Romains* or the *Moralités des philosophes*."[4] Reading aloud could even quell political unrest, as when Duke Louis of Bourbon, in the days following the assassination in 1407 of his nephew, the king's brother, repeatedly invited courtiers to dinners at which he enforced silence and had the deeds "of the most famous princes, the former kings of France, and of other men worthy of honor" read aloud in order to calm tempers.[5]

When owners opened books from their libraries, they often found illuminations that guided interpretation of texts or stimulated their imagination. For instance, the *Chronique anonyme universelle* (cat. no. 178), which describes its history as a "genealogy of the Bible" and quotes the beginning of the book of Genesis, reinforces this message by opening its visual cycle with a set of Creation scenes of a sort traditionally found in French bibles.[6] This biblical frame lent added authority to the histories of the popes, French and English kings, and Holy Roman emperors contained in the *Chronique*. Similarly, the author Christine de Pizan, in introducing her *Livre de trois Vertus* (cat. no. 182), had the Master of the *Cité des Dames* adapt a composition customarily employed to represent academic lectures. In this image Prudence addresses women of all ranks about how to function in the world. The distinct styles of dress worn by the women reflect and exemplify the listeners'—and readers'—diverse social origins. French translations of Livy's *Ab urbe condita* (cat. nos. 188–89) use illuminations staged in fifteenth-century dress to encapsulate events from the text, thereby accomplishing a visual translation that enhanced and shaped late medieval readers' understanding of antiquity.

Because artists such as the Dunois Master illustrated different genres—in this instance, a Lancelot romance (cat. no. 186) and a Livy (cat. no. 188)—their application of common models created crossover effects, such as the association of Roman and medieval military leaders with romance heroes. Like the repetition of visual models, the joining of texts in a single manuscript encouraged cultural elision. For instance, the juxtaposition of the anonymous *La forme qu'on tenoit aux Tournois* and Duke René d'Anjou's *Le livre des tournois* in a manuscript (cat. no. 185) made during René's lifetime juxtaposed a description of how tournaments were set up in the time of King Arthur with René's very similar explanation of how fifteenth-century tournaments should be run. Such chivalric recastings of the present in the guise of the past (in this example, presenting René as a new Arthur) were widely popular in the fifteenth century.[7]

Whether dealing with power and politics, courtly pastimes, or received philosophical and historical knowledge, these books were read aloud, discussed, dipped into and remembered, and their illustration played an important role in facilitating their reception.

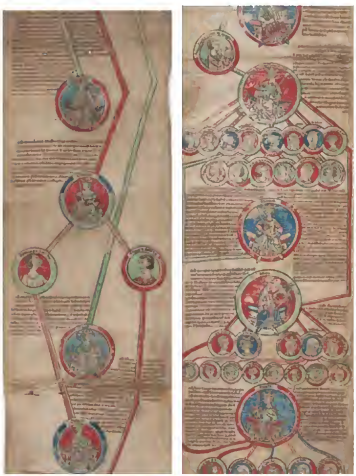
Anne D. Hedeman

1 See Chrétien de Troyes 1975, 160–61.
2 For discussions of public reading, see Coleman 1996 and 2010.
3 See Hamasse 1999 and Grafton 1999.
4 For this quote, see Christine de Pizan 1936–40, 1:47–48 cited by Buettner 1996, 24 and Coleman 1996, 118.
5 Coleman 2010, 53.
6 See Morrison and Hedeman 2010, 242–45; Davis 2014.
7 See Morrison and Hedeman 2010, 249–51.

cat. no. 185, p. 118

177. Genealogical roll of English kings

England, c. 1300
Parchment, roll, 4.03 x .26 m (incomplete)
Harvard University, Houghton Library, MS Typ 11[1]
Abbey of Melk; Stanley Morison, c. 1940; sold by Scribner's in 1947; gift of Philip Hofer in honor of James E. Walsh, 1983.



1st and 6th membranes

The descent of the kings of England from Aethelstan (d. 939) to Edward I (d. 1307) is set out in a four-meter parchment roll. Each king is shown in a roundel with a sword, a scepter, or with some other attribute (a hare sits in Harold Harefoot's lap; King John tends to a hawk; Henry III holds a tiny building, see 1st membrane, above). With the exception of Edward the Martyr (d. 978), who is shown grimacing with a sword piercing his chest, the images contain little suggestion of narrative. Smaller medallions show busts of the rulers' significant male and female offspring. The figures are well drawn and full of character, and enlivened by bold color.

The roll visualizes the continuity and legitimacy of the English monarchy from the Anglo-Saxons to the Plantagenets through a bloodline that connects the roundels. It is is interrupted just twice, first by a sequence of Danish kings beginning with Canute (d. 1035), and then by the Norman conquest. The bloodline bypasses illegitimate rulers: the Danish kings have no English royal blood, and nor does Harold Godwinson (d. 1066). By contrast, the legitimacy of the Norman dynasty is demonstrated by the bloodline that runs from the Anglo-Saxon Edmund II "Ironside" (d. 1016) through his granddaughter St. Margaret, Queen of Scots (d. 1093), to Queen Matilda, wife Henry I (d. 1135), William the Conqueror's youngest son. Matilda is the only woman to be shown full-length and seated with a crown and scepter, emphasizing her dynastic importance.

Each reign is described in a few lines of punchy Anglo-Norman French prose. Rich in anecdote, these texts are decisive in their judgments about the strengths and weaknesses of each ruler: Athelstan was the most handsome man that ever lived; William Rufus was bad toward strangers and worse toward friends; Henry III brought honor, peace, and reverence to God. Up to Henry I (d. 1135), these texts are heavily indebted to William of Malmesbury's twelfth-century *Gesta regum Anglorum* (*Deeds of the English Kings*). The texts end with the death of Henry III (d. 1272), with the final medallion showing Edward I unaccompanied by text (see 6th membrane). This suggests that the roll was made during the reign of Edward I, and the artistic style is consistent with a date around 1300. Emanating from Edward I's medallion are lines leading to his now-missing offspring, which shows that the roll is incomplete; in common with many similar rolls, MS Typ 11 was probably updated later in the fourteenth century.

There was something of a vogue for roll genealogies in the decades around the turn of the fourteenth century. At least two dozen similar rolls survive. Useful for edification, reference, and entertainment, the market for such manuscripts appears to have been largely aristocratic. Their production coincides with a growth of literacy amongst the laity, and reflects a burgeoning interest in national history.

The roll consists of six parchment sheets glued end to end. At least one membrane, but probably two, are missing from the beginning; originally, the sequence of kings would have begun with Ecgberht (d. 839), and it is likely that the sequence was prefaced with a diagram of the Anglo-Saxon heptarchy.

Alixe Bovey

1 Monroe 1989, 2: cat. D24; Dean and Boulton 1999, no. 6; Tyson 2001, 109, 114, 116, 118; Bovey 2005; de Laborderie 2009; Clanchy 2013, pl. 13.

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178. Chronique Anonyme Universelle

Eastern France, c. 1470s
Parchment, vertical roll in sixteen sheets pasted together, 10.38 x .51 m (upper margin: 183 mm; outer margins: 35 mm)
Boston Public Library, MS pb Med. 32
Owned by Jean-Baptiste-Joseph Barrois; sold to the Earl of Ashburnham in 1849; his sale, Sotheby's, London, June 10, 1901, lot 626 to Sydney Cockerell; "626" written in blue pencil on verso of fifteenth sheet, before the silk repair was applied; acquired by BPL on March 10, 1903.

The *Chronique Anonyme Universelle* is a magnificently illuminated roll that records the history of the world in French, from Creation to the fifteenth century. History is recorded in parallel columns, beginning with biblical history in two, then adding ancient Greece at the right, and finally settling into a four-column format—from left to right, the popes, Roman and Holy Roman emperors, the kings of France, and the kings of England (with a brief detour into the Crusades near the end). The inter-columnar space and outer margins of the *Chronique* are filled with a genealogical diagram of humanity that runs parallel and in rough correspondence to the text, charting the descent of Jesus (and by extension the popes) from King David, and the kings of England and France from Japheth and the Trojans. Individuals, most of whom are not mentioned in the text, are named within small red circles or illustrated in small roundels that are vertically connected in a family tree stretching from Adam and Eve to King Louis XI, who was crowned in 1461.

The *Chronique* survives in two versions (or "recensions"), distinguishable by their illustrative iconography and textual variants.[6] The BPL roll is a late example of a sub-group of second-recension manuscripts whose iconography is in some cases quite rare.[7] For example, the Hewing of Nebuchadnezzar is a violent extra-biblical scene that is rarely illustrated outside of Vincent of Beauvais's *Speculum humanae salvationis*. In the detail of the *Chronique* illustrated here, in the second central illustration from the left, Nebuchadnezzar's son Evilmerodach is advised to cut his father's corpse into three hundred pieces and feed it to three hundred birds in order to prevent him ever returning to claim the throne.[8] In the Boston roll and its sisters, a servant hacks at a limb on an elongated table behind the shrouded corpse, and Evilmerodach stands to one side handing pieces of hewn flesh to the birds of prey perched on the background wall.[9]

The miniatures in this manuscript are skillful and bright, showing a command of perspective and figural painting. They are thought by François Avril to have been painted in a style "popular in a large swath from the northeast to the southeast of what is currently France."[10] Illustrated figures include characters from the Bible (Noah, Abraham, Esther, Jesus), the ancient world (Alexander and Julius Caesar), and British pre-history (Arthur), as well as English and French kings. The choice of illustrative content—for the most part formal portraits or scenes of violence—reflects the text's focus on politics and warfare, governance and leadership. This is no medieval romance. Few women are illustrated, although the text includes a remarkable number of stories centered on female exempla, tales that would have modeled leadership and governance for Duchess Marie as she led the Duchy of Bourbon during her husband's decades-long English imprisonment.[11]

Lisa Fagin Davis

The *Chronique* is a compilation of multiple sources, including the Bible, Josephus, Vincent of Beauvais, Peter of Poitiers's *Compendium in Genealogia Christi*, Livy's *Décades*, the *Grandes Chroniques de France*, the *French Prose Brut*, Martinus Polonus's papal and imperial chronicle, William of Tyre's Crusader chronicle, and the *Annales* of Charles VII compiled by Gilles le Bouvier.[1] It survives in twenty-eight known fifteenth- or early sixteenth-century rolls.[2] In contrast to Peter of Poitiers's *Compendium*, which was made for the use of students, most *Chronique* rolls are, like the present manuscript, luxury copies made for nobility. The earliest copy (St. Petersburg, RNB, Mss. Fr F.v.I.9 and Fr F.v.IV.14) can be reliably dated to 1409–15 based on internal evidence.[3] Compiled in France at the height of the Hundred Years' War with England, it should come as no surprise that the text tells a very Francophilic version of history, depicting the French as noble and virtuous and the English as war-mongering charlatans. The St. Petersburg roll is thought to have been compiled for the use of Marie, Duchess of Bourbon (daughter of the great collector John, Duke of Berry, and a book-collector in her own right), making the *Chronique* a fascinating example of a text originally composed for the use of a literate, noble, and powerful woman.[4]

Mid-fifteenth-century copies of the *Chronique* expand the French section by concluding the reign of Charles V and adding Charles VI, Charles VII, and Louis XI. The BPL roll is incomplete, however, lacking several sheets at the end. It ends abruptly with Pope Urban VI (d. 1378), Holy Roman Emperor Henry II (r. 1014–24), the French King Philip IV (Philip the Fair) (r. 1285–1314), the English King Henry III (r. 1216–72), and Godfrey of Bouillon.[5]

1 L. Davis 2014, 16–20.
2 Ibid., 3.
3 Ibid., 48–49 and 140–41.
4 Ibid., 94–95.
5 Ibid., 100–102. For a complete digital facsimile, see "Chronique Anonyme Universelle."
6 L. Davis 2010.
7 L. Davis 2014, 49–50.
8 Ibid., 197:35b–199:21b.
9 Ibid., 73.
10 Morrison and Hedeman 2010, 245n1.
11 L. Davis 2014, 14.

179. Jacobus de Cessolis, Schachzabelbuch

Vienna, Austria, c. 1390 (not after 1408)
Parchment, ff. i + 159 + ii, 215 x 145 (part 1: 149 x 88–89; part 2: 149–51 x 82) mm
Harvard University, Houghton Library, MS Typ 45
Prince Dietrichstein library, Nikolsburg, Moravia, until at least 1873; Sotheby's, London, 1928; Maggs (cat. 542, 1930, no. 99; cat. 555, 1931, no. 45); bought by Silas W. Howland from Gilhofer & Ranschburg (Lucerne, November 21, 1933, lot 508); bequest of Silas W. Howland, 1938.

f. 67v

A young man in foppish, courtly attire stands on a small patch of turf, holding in one hand a large key and in the other a short wooden rod. He wears a tight-fitting, parti-colored surcoat (of a type known as a *cotehardie*) with hanging dagged sleeves, whose broad red and blue diagonal stripes are matched by the his flamboyant rolled headgear and equally tight leggings or hose, which show off his long, slender legs and snout shoes (f. 67v). His headgear, a type of *chaperone*, is no less flamboyant: a *roundlet* (a stuffed fabric circlet), presumably covered by lengths of folded fabric (itself a form of extravagance) of a type known as a *garget* (not visible), from which extend two long tails known as a *lirippe*. In disregard for sumptuary laws, the longer the *lirippe*, the higher the rank of the wearer. A triangular purse hangs from the man's large, linked belt, which slips over his slender hips, thereby accentuating his groin. A large scroll unfurls from his left hand and falls under his right foot. It reads "wer vil sache aufrichten sol, Der pedarf guten witz wol" ("Who want to accomplish many things, he surely needs to keep his wits about him"). The man is not engaged in any particular action; rather, like a mannekin, he serves as an immobile stand on which the clothes and the objects in his hands are presented to the viewer.

The accompanying text, which opens with a red and blue puzzle initial set within red fleuronnée, immediately explains the man's various attributes. The key in his right hand refers to city officials (*amptlewt*) and managers (*phlêger*) of the city, who take care of weights and measures (essential to the conduct of commerce). The rod in his left hand is one such measure, a cubit (*elle*), especially for the measurement of cloth, which may explain the luxury of the man's costume. Hewing to the image, the text further explains that the man wears a belt from which hangs a purse full of pennies (*phennigen*), an element that refers to custom officials (*zolner*), who charged tolls to enter market towns and merchants (*chramer*), who sold their goods at the markets. Anyone who has visited a late medieval town will know of the central place of market squares in the urban environment.

The work to which this curious account belongs is a German translation of the *Liber de ludo scaccorum* (*Book on the Game of Chess*) by the Italian Dominican, Jacobus de Cessolis (active 1288–1322), whose stupendously successful book, the most popular moral allegory of the aristocratic game, was widely disseminated and translated into numerous languages.[1] The young man is but one of eight pawns (in addition to his office, peasants, craftsmen, merchants, doctors and apothecaries, tavern keepers and, lastly, good-for-nothings and crooks such as gamblers) who represent the common man, as opposed to the aristocracy (king, queen, knight, etc.). The substitution of representatives of trades in lieu of the customary foot soldiers represents one of the book's original contributions. Far from a manual on chess, Jacobus's work belongs to the important genre of medieval estate literature, which addressed the hierarchical organization of society.[2] If in the feudal period, medieval society was classified into three groups—the *oratores* (those who pray), the *bellatores* (those who fight), and the *laborares* (those who labor, i.e., the peasantry), by the late Middle Ages, the social order had become far more diverse (and mobile). As a preacher, Jacobus was familiar both with allegorical exposition and the need to vary the rhetoric and content of sermons according to whichever social group he was addressing. His treatise offers a combination of both approaches. As in a sermon, the author enlivens his argument with c. 150 exempla or entertaining stories.

Jacobus's work received no less than four translations into German verse, of which the most famous is that by Konrad von Ammenhausen. There followed three (possibly four) prose translations. The manuscript at Harvard belongs to the "Second Prose Version" and, given that the overwhelming majority of manuscripts are fifteenth century in date, is one of the very earliest copies of any prose translation. Harvard University owns two other copies of the work in Latin, the first (Houghton Library, MS Typ 154) a fourteenth-century Bolognese manuscript with one historiated initial and six surviving miniatures, the second (Houghton Library, MS Lat 169) a copy on paper written in southwestern Germany in the second half of the fifteenth-century.

In addition to the *Schachzabelbuch*, MS Typ 45 contains several other texts, of which the most substantial is a prayer book (ff. 89r–144v), originally a separate fascicule, the pages of which are far more soiled than those of the chess book, indicating much heavier use. The most distinctive feature of the prayer book is that the Hours of the Virgin are in rhymed verses (*Tagzeitengedicht*).[3] To the prayer book has been added a calendar with calendrical tables (ff. 146r–54v) written by a separate hand, but dated 1408 (f. 159v), which provides a terminus ante quem for the prayer book, if not for the manuscript as a whole. Various prayers and blessings (ff. 87r–88v; 159r–60v) have been added by the same hand to the last folios of both fascicules. Given that the layout (justification, number of lines) of the prayer book is so close to that of the *Schachzabelbuch*, it is possible that the second fascicule was tailored to the first at an early date. That the manuscript originated in or near Vienna is suggested by its dialect (Middle Bavarian) and a document issued in the city that serves as one of the front flyleaves (f. 1v).[4] Of the original complement of fifteen miniatures, three (the author portrait, the king, and the queen) are missing at the beginning.

The style of illumination, both the handling of garments and the figure types, draws directly on Bohemian models of the 1390s as exemplified by works illuminated by the artist known as the "Paulus Meister."[5]

Jeffrey F. Hamburger

1 Plessow, Honemann, and Temmen 2007, with a description of MS Typ 45, 418–19.
2 Karłowska-Kamzowa 1998.
3 Palmer 1995, Kornrumpf 2000–04.
4 Simon 1983.
5 For a list of works attributed to this artist, Jenni and Theisen 2014, 1:30–33.

180. Évrart de Trémaugon, Somnium Viridarii

Rouen, France, c. 1430s
Parchment, ff. 142 , 309 x 232 (217–19 x 152–54) mm
Harvard University, Houghton Library, MS Typ 127[1]
Longmans (cat. 1816, no. 6339); Thorpe (cat. 1823, no. 16348); Thomas Phillipps (MS 253); bought by Philip Hofer from W. H. Schab 1949, deposited 1967.

f. 1r

The *Somnium Viridarii* (*Dream in a Pleasure Garden*) was written in 1376 for King Charles V of France by Évrart de Trémaugon, one of the king's councilors and a member of his household. This political treatise drew from legal, scriptural, and scholarly sources to define relationships between temporal and ecclesiastical power and to explore topics ranging from government, royal rights, and politic of the realm to social questions, astrology, and divination.[2] It was translated into French by 1378 and remained popular in both courtly and university circles during the period of Anglo-Burgundian government when the Duke of Bedford inventoried the French royal library and acquired it by purchase in 1425.[3] Stratford suggests that the duke kept the library, which included Charles V's Latin and French copies of the *Somnium*, in Paris until he moved it to Rouen in 1429.

Royal copies of both versions of the text must have been available for consultation in Bedford's library in Rouen, because the visual cycle that we know from the surviving royal *Songe du Verger* (London, BL, Royal MS. 19 C.IV) was the inspiration for a group of *Somnium Viridarii* made in Rouen by artists in the circle of the Master of John Talbot.[4] Their three illuminations reinforce the debate format of the texts. The frontispiece representing Évrart's dream introduces the fictional frame of the treatise (f. 1r, see above). The author, wearing scholarly garb, dozes in an orchard where he overhears Charles V advising quarreling figures of Spiritual Power, dressed as a crowned nun, and Temporal Power, dressed as a queen, enthroned beside him. Charles suggests that the queen's representatives should debate the issues that divide them, and a cleric and a knight begin their debate. The other two illuminations in this manuscript introduce books 1 and 2 with pictures that enable careful readers to infuse the debate that ensues into the visual excerpts that head the two books and then back into the frontispiece. In the first (f. 3v) the cleric stands at left and the knight at right, echoing the direction of speech in book 1 in which the cleric speaks first and the knight second. Their positions and order of speech reverse in the illustration (f. 73v) and text of book 2. The words of the knight and cleric are introduced by numbered rubrics throughout and their discussion topics numbered and summarized in the *casus brevis* that fill ff. 133–42. These devices make individual topics easily accessible.

The manuscripts made in Rouen diminish the role of Charles V, who in his own manuscript appears within smaller miniatures of the debate and via the marginal representations of the French fleurs-de-lis. While the present manuscript conforms to the streamlined cycle popularized in Rouen, it is unique for its visual emphasis in the frontispiece on the figure of Temporal Power, who wears the fleur-de-lis and positions her head and arms identically to the French king.

Anne D. Hedeman

1 Bond and Hofer 1955, 22, no. 69, pl. 32; Wieck 1983b, 18–19, no. 8.
2 See Schnerb-Lièvre 1993–95, 1:xiii–xlv.
3 For concise discussion of the relationships between the Latin and French versions of the text and their visual cycles, see Stratford 2006.
4 Charles V's original Latin copy does not survive, there are seven copies, of which four are interrelated iconographically to Charles V's French *Songe du verger*: the present manuscript; Paris, B. Mazarine, ms. 3522; Oxford, Bodleian Library, MS. Laud Misc. 731 (which was not painted, but whose puzzle initials and marginal pen-flourished frames are by the same hand); and Oxford, Bodleian Library, MS. Bodl. 338. See Stratford 2006, 480–87.

181. Alain Chartier, Le quadrilogue invectif, Dialogus familiaris amici et sodalis, and Le Livre de l'Espérance
Master of the Échevinage of Rouen (or, the Master of the Geneva Latini) (illuminator)

Rouen, France, completed January 10, 1464
Parchment, ff. 103, 297 x 220 (208 x 152) mm
Harvard University, Houghton Library, MS Typ 92
André de Riaucourt; gift of Mrs. John B. Stetson, 1954.

Alain Chartier (c. 1380/90–1430) was a famous writer of prose and poetry in Latin and French and also a notary and secretary to kings Charles VI and the dauphin Charles (later Charles VII). This manuscript contains one Latin and two French works authored by Chartier in the 1420s when he was exiled from Paris with the dauphin during the darkest moments of the Hundred Years' War. *Le quadrilogue invectif*, *Dialogus familiaris amici et sodalis*, and *Le Livre de l'Espérance* were often bound together, perhaps because of their debate/dialogue form and their shared concerns about France's political climate. *Le quadrilogue invec-*

tif is a dream vision of a conversation between personifications of the three orders (the Nobility, Clergy, and People) and of France, who castigates them for the state of the country. The *Dialogus familiaris amici et sodalis* is a discussion between a "friend" and "fellow" who blame the plight of France on the French people's rejection of the common good in favor of personal gain. Finally *Le Livre de l'Espérance* is another dream vision in which the narrator first hears from allegorical figures of Melancholy, Indignation, Defiance, and Despair, about the court, the state of France, and classical precedents, before shifting to a dialogue between Understanding and various personified virtues who critique the clergy and nobility.

f. 4r (detail)

Painted in Rouen by an artist who has been designated as both the Master of the Échevinage of Rouen and the Master of the Geneva Latini, this manuscript is decorated with four illuminations designed to weave together its texts and to emphasize the authoritative voice of the author/narrator.[1] Chartier's relationship to the king and role as author is the subject of the prologue image (f. 2r). He kneels presenting the book to the king, a pen case and inkpot hanging from his belt. The three other illuminations in the book represent the narrator's emotions and visionary experiences through images of his interaction with allegorical figures. The first image of the *Quadrilogue* (f. 4r) shows the narrator naked dozing in his bed after his emotions veered between hope and despair, personified to either side of him. The state of France, personified as a beautiful woman supporting a decaying chateau emblazoned with the fleur-de-lis, speaks with him about her dire condition. The image introducing *Le Livre d'Espérance* (f. 41r) shows the same narrator woken from sleep by Defiance with a beggar's bag and casket, Indignation with tablets of the law and a whip, and Despair with a noose and knife while Understanding dozes at the foot of the bed. These images interlace the two texts, presenting them as though they were the result of one long night of visions. Typical of illustrations of Chartier's texts, these illuminations emphasize the allegorical frame rather than the actual content of Chartier's diatribes and they do so with minimal detail.[2] They also establish a distinction between Chartier and the narrator and identify singular narrative voices throughout the manuscript.

Anne D. Hedeman

1 For discussion of style and of the relationship of this cycle to those in other French manuscripts of Chartier's works, see Plummer 1982, nos. 87–88; Wieck 1983b, 24–25, no. 11; Avril and Reynaud 1993,169–72; and Serchuk 2015.

2 See Serchuk 2015, 86–98 (on *Quadrilogue invectif*), 106–14 (on *Livre de l'Espérance*), and 114–16 (on the *Dialogus*).

182. Christine de Pizan, Le livre des trois Vertus
Master of the Cité des Dames (illuminator)

Paris, France, c. 1405
Parchment, ff. ii (paper) + i (parchment) + 98 + i (parchment) + ii (paper), 287 x 195 (182 x 103) mm
Boston Public Library, MS f.Med. 101 (formerly Ms. 1528)
Possibly owned by Jean de Poitiers, Seigneur de Saint-Vallier or his father Aymar of Poitiers (see inscription on f. 98v); later owned by N. Yemeniz, his sale Paris, 1867, lot 536; purchased in 1919 from Leclerc (Paris) by E. Rosenthal; sold by him to BPL in 1943.

f. 1r

This is one of two extant originals produced under Christine de Pizan's direction shortly after completing *Le livre des trois Vertus a l'enseignement des dames* (*The Book of the Three Virtues for the Instruction of Ladies*), the first conduct manual for women not written by a man and not directed exclusively to the upper classes.[1] She dedicated it to the twelve-year-old Marguerite de Bourgogne, wife of the dauphin Louis. Thanks to her father, a professor of astrology at Charles V's court, Christine was well educated and able to take up her pen as a professional author when left a young widow with family to support. She composed in a large variety of genres, from the amorous to the political, in poetry and prose, often as the first woman to do so (e.g., her biography of Charles V, an advice treatise for the dauphin, a book on chivalry, and her last narrative poem on Joan of Arc). Though Christine did not hesitate to cross gender boundaries herself, she did not recommend such a life of struggle and isolation to other women. She did, however, encourage them to develop their capacity to exercise reason and take an active role in the economic and moral life of their families and households.[2]

In the manuscripts Christine supervised, "the interrelation between miniature and text...is essential to [their] total meaning,"[3] as the two-column miniature and decorative program on f. 1r vividly demonstrate. Christine presents this "courtesy book" for women of all classes, ages, and categories as a practical sequel to her more scholarly *Livre de la Cité des Dames* (*Book of the City of Ladies*). The illustration's two parts, executed by the Master of the *Cité des Dames*, narrate the new book's origin and aims, as explained in the opening rubric and text. Exhausted by her monumental defense of women against misogyny, Christine has to be roused from her bed and sent back to work by Reason, Rectitude, and Justice. The image on the left communicates the urgency of their call: all three Virtues concentrate their gaze on the author, while one (gesturing to indicate speech) grasps and pulls Christine's blue-sleeved arm. On the right, four crowned ladies, each with blonde hair, echo the three Virtues on the left. Joined by Prudence, they frame a commanding figure enthroned before a table, who, looking straight ahead, gestures over an open book and gives the promised instruction. Her red dress, covered with a mantle, identifies her as Reason, the Virtue who clutches Christine's arm to wake her.[4] In Christine's text, however, all three Virtues speak in a single collective voice, in contrast to individual voices introduced to enliven specific types of women: for example, a princess who wonders if her riches are sinful and an honest merchant's wife who refuses the advances of a would-be seducer.[5] The addressees are represented by seven seated women who complete the circle below their teacher, visually reinforcing the figurative and social hierarchies: eyes modestly cast down and head coverings to indicate their rank in society.[6] Although Christine's canopied bed creates a three-dimensional space for the Virtues' visit, the scene on the right emphasizes vertical hierarchy against a flat diapered background.

Corrections were added by a hand (known as "X") that is identified with Christine herself. One in particular (ff. 82v–83r) has led scholars to reconstruct the scene of writing. Another hand, known as "R," copying from her exemplar that was still in process of revision, needs help to decipher a passage; X sits down and copies from the end of the column to line 7 of the following page but stops when she repeats *cause*, just copied above. She crosses out the last line and a half, at which point R resumes copying from the correct *lettre*.[7] Through this record of two hands meeting, we are transposed to Christine's workshop where time always presses and work moves hastily forward.

As a whole, the manuscript is designed for easy use. Tables of contents and rubrics identify and number chapters. Stains, rubbings, and inscriptions added by owners, medieval and modern, indicate passage through many hands. Those who could afford such a manuscript dominate the text: princesses and *hautes dames* set an example in part 1's fifty-plus folios. Part 2 speaks to ladies who attend them at court, part 3 to *bourgeoises* and women of the lower ranks, including prostitutes and the poor. Christine gives special attention to widows like herself and emphasizes the importance of religious devotion for all women, even as she highlights their diversity and the range of their abilities.

Matilda Tomaryn Bruckner

1 Ouy and Reno 1980. For the text, see Willard and Hicks 1989 for which BPL MS f Med. 101 serves as the base manuscript; for a translation see Lawson 1985.
2 Krueger 2003.
3 Margolis 2011, 70.
4 Ouy, Reno, and Villela-Petit 2012, 617.
5 Dulac 2007.
6 Ouy, Reno, and Villela-Petit 2012, 617.
7 Ibid., 611.

183. Frederick II of Hohenstaufen, Le livre de la science de chacer aux oyseaux
Master of the Flemish Boethius (illuminator), Jan van Kriekenborch (scribe)

Ghent, southern Netherlands, 1486
Harvard University, Houghton Library, MS Typ 129
Parchment, ff. 149, 385 x 285 (240–42 x 165) mm

cat. no. 183, f. 72v

184. Gaston Phoebus, Le livre de la chasse and Ramon Llull, Le livre de l'ordre de chevalerie
Master of the Flemish Boethius (illuminator), Jan van Kriekenborch (scribe)

Ghent, southern Netherlands, 1485
Harvard University, Houghton Library, MS Typ 130
Parchment, ff. 124, 395 x 290 (168 x 242–43) mm
Made for Louis of Bruges; King Louis XII of France; Gontaut-Saint-Blanchard family, 1873; sold by H. P. Kraus in 1950; gift of Philip Hofer, 1982 (MSS Typ 129–30).

cat. no. 184, f. 101v

During the late Middle Ages aristocratic readers were fascinated with chivalry and the noble art of hunting. The present two manuscripts exemplify the talented response of contemporary scribes and illuminators to such subject matter as well as the degree to which nobles were willing to invest in books on such subjects.

The three French texts contained by the two volumes are classics on chivalry and the medieval art of hunting, but are very different in their origins.[1] *Le livre de la science de chacer aux oyseaux* (*The Art of Falconry*) was written toward the end of the thirteenth century for Jean II, Lord of Dampierre (d. 1307) and treats the anatomy and physiology of birds and the training of birds for hunting. Like many such vernacular texts, the work is a translation of a Latin original. In this instance the ultimate source was *De arte venandi cum avibus* by Emperor Frederick II of Hohenstaufen (1194–1250). Written toward the end of his life and originally in six books, this treatise covered a wide range of topics and was intended to instruct Frederick's son and heir, Manfred. The vernacular text is based more directly on an abbreviated version of Frederick's treatise, focused on the first two books and edited by Manfred himself. *Le livre de la chasse* (*The Hunting Book*) composed in French by Gaston III "Phoebus," Count of Foix (1331–91), has a much simpler genesis. Dedicated to Philip the Bold, Duke of Burgundy (1342–1404), the work describes game animals and hunting dogs and outlines methods of hunting. Like Frederick, Gaston wrote his treatise late in his life. The third and final text, *Le livre de l'ordre de chevalerie* (*The Book of the Order of Chivalry*), is a French translation of a work originally written in Catalan by Ramon Llull (c. 1232–1315). Whereas the other two texts are lengthy treatises on the noble art of hunting, Llull's is a relatively brief manual on chivalry. Couched as the advice offered to a young squire by a former knight living as a hermit, the scene depicted in the work's frontispiece (f. 101v), the treatise outlines the duties of a knight. Set between trees that lend the landscape the character of a stage-set, the distant view to a fortified town stands in sharp contrast to the close-up of flowers, scrolls, and stylized acanthus scattered in the border.

Comparison with other manuscripts confirms that the late fifteenth-century copies of both books now at Harvard were transcribed for the same patron by Jan van Kriekenborch, who was active in Ghent between 1485 and 1506.[2] The extensive illumination in each volume is attributed to a regular collaborator of van Kriekenborch, the Master of the Flemish Boethius.[3] The patron is Louis of Gruuthuse (1422–92), one of the most famous collectors of fine manuscripts of the late Middle Ages. As in many of his other books, Gruuthuse's heraldic arms and devices form an integral part of the illumination.[4] In its extensive use of marginal illustrations, which complement, yet expand on, the adjacent text in the manner of pictorial glosses, *Le livre de la science de chacer aux oyseaux* remains true to the system of decoration invented for its thirteenth-century progenitors. In (ff. 72v–73r), the birds of prey discussed in the text are shown, not simply as specimens, but within their various habitats, which take the form of landscape vignettes. The precise context in which each volume was produced is now well understood. Given the existence of only three other medieval copies of *Le livre de la science de chacer aux oyseaux*, it has been relatively easy to determine the exemplar of cat. no. 183.[5] Like the two other copies,[6] cat. no. 183 was copied from the volume, now in Paris (BnF, ms. fr. 12400), completed in 1310 for the original dedicatee's son.[7] Unlike the other two copies, this manuscript retains the original Franc-comtois dialect of its model and faithfully replicates the forms of the multitude of birds illustrated in the margins of its model by Simon d'Orléans (f. 72v, illustrated above). In doing so it reproduces indirectly those of its exemplar's own model, the copy of the abbreviated Latin text made for Manfred (Vatican City, BAV, ms. Pal. lat. 1071).[8] Although the manuscript tradition of the *Livre de la chasse* is much more complex, the model of cat. no. 184 seems also to be identifiable and extant. Preserved in a damaged state in Dresden (SLUB, Mscr.Oc.61), this volume from the early fifteenth century contains both texts in the present manuscript.[9] It also includes a third text, *Le livre des échecs moralisées* by Jean de Vignay, that was listed second in cat. no. 184's table of contents, but apparently not copied into the volume. In addition the Dresden volume preserves a campaign of illustrations closer in content and form to that of cat. no. 184 than other manuscripts of the text. As has recently been highlighted, the Paris and Dresden volumes were recorded at Ghent in 1485 in a small collection of books extracted from the Burgundian ducal library that had probably been used in the education there of the young Philip the Fair (1478–1506).[10] Having served in 1483–85 as a member of Philip's regency council, the older bibliophile was doubtless aware of these books. During his subsequent imprisonment at Ghent in 1485–88 Gruuthuse appears to have had copied and repurposed these works for his own more mature, vicarious entertainment.[11]

Scot McKendrick

1 On these texts see respectively Holmér 1960, Tilander 1971, and V. Minervini 1972.

2 Wieck 1983b, cat. nos. 25, 26. On Kriekenborch see Hans-Collas and Schandel 2009, 16, 208, 217–18, 226, 250, 253–54.

3 Hans-Collas and Schandel 2011, 426, 428.
4 On Gruuthuse's books see Wijsman 2010, 356–69.
5 Holmér 1960, 2, 50–51 and L. Minervini 1995, 421–22.
6 Geneva, BGE, Ms. fr. 170 and Stuttgart, Württ. LB, HB XI.34a. The Geneva volume was made in Bruges and first owned by Gruuthuse. The Stuttgart volume was copied from it and first owned by Philip of Cleves (1456–1528). See Wijsman 2007, 256.
7 See L. Minervini 1995, and Stones 2013–14, 1.2:449–56, cat. no. 3.94.
8 See Walz and Willemsen 2000.
9 See Bruck 1906, 240–43. As indicated by the arms on the opening page, this volume was originally made for the French dauphin, Louis, Duke of Guyenne (d. 1415). Its unique trio of noble instructional texts was presumably compiled especially for Louis.
10 Wijsman 2007, 249–52 and Wijsman 2010, 366–67.
11 Gruuthuse appears to have recognized the skill of the Master of the Flemish Boethius as a copyist. He certainly employed him to produce several versions of earlier manuscripts (Hans-Collas and Schandel 2011, 425). It is notable that Gruuthuse's other copy of the *Livre de la chasse* (Geneva, BGE, Ms. fr. 169) neither replicates the distinctive trio of texts in the Dresden manuscript nor copies so accurately the Dresden miniatures.

185. La forme qu'on tenoit aux Tournois et Assemblées au temps du Roy Uterpendragon et du Roy Artus and René d'Anjou, Le livre des tournois

France, c. 1460–70
Parchment, ff. 61, 213 x 164 (138–39 x 97–99) mm
Harvard University, Houghton Library, MS Typ 131[1]
Guyon de La Sardière; Louis Jean Gagnet (his sale, Paris, April 10, 1769); duc de La Vallière (his sale, Paris, January 12, 1784, lot 3988); P. A. Bolongaro-Crevenna (his sale, Amsterdam, April 26, 1790); Thomas Johnes of Hafod, seventh Duke of Newcastle (Clumber sale, Sotheby's, London, February 14, 1938, 4, lot 1094); bought by Philip Hofer from Quaritch in 1938, presented, 1982.

p. 78

The two treatises combined in this manuscript each describe the ceremonies conducted at the end of the Middle Ages for staging tournaments, athletic spectacles which remained very much in vogue in the fifteenth century. The first, *The Manner in which to Hold Tournaments and Assemblies at the Time of King Uterpendragon and King Arthur*, was very likely written by one of the great lords of the period, Jacques d'Armagnac, Duke of Nemours, who was beheaded in 1477 on account of repeated plots against the king of France, Louis XI. Unwelcome at court, the duke retired to his château of Carlat in the southwest of the kingdom, where he occupied his time as an exile in compiling a considerable collection of manuscripts that were distributed following his death among followers of the king. The treatise is dedicated to Gaston of Viane, the son of another powerful feudal lord of the region, Gaston IV, Count of Foix, a distant descendant of the famous Gaston Phoebus (cat. no. 184). This first text relates the mythical origins of the ceremony, which the author traces to the time of the kings Uterpendragon and Arthur, founders of the Order of the Knights of the Round Table. The treatise is followed by a collection of the (imaginary) coats of arms of the knights. There follows a second treatise, much more famous, the *Livre des tournois*, which René d'Anjou wrote for his brother, Charles d'Anjou, Count of Maine and the father-in-law of Jacques d'Armagnac. The works consist of a detailed account of the different phases and the context of a fictive tournament pitting against one another the partisans of the Duke of Brittany and those of the Duke of Bourbon.

The text, written around 1460, enjoyed a certain success, due without doubt to the admirable cycle of illustrations that accompany it in the original manuscript (Paris, BnF, ms. fr. 2695) and that are copied or adapted with great fidelity in a certain number of copies from this manuscript. Three of these copies were executed in Bruges in the course of the 1480s for the great bibliophile, Louis of Gruuthuse, who gave one to King Charles VIII (Paris, BnF, ms. fr. 2692). The copy at Harvard occupies a place apart in the manuscript transmission of the text: its layout is different and it only partially reproduces the original's images heightened in watercolor, which most often are attributed to Barthélemy d'Eyck, a painter of Netherlandish origins who came to Provence in the 1440s and whom King René soon took into his exclusive employ. Of the original cycle, the illustrator of the manuscript at Harvard retained only those images dealing with the most technical topics accompanying the description of the different components of the dukes' armaments and those of their mounts: helmets, cuirass, armlets, gloves, etc. (pp. 56–76). The scenes with people serve only to convey the symbolic confrontation between the Dukes of Brittany and Bourbon (p. 78); to these are added the celebrated nocturnal scene in which the victor of the tournament is awarded his prize (p. 118, see image at beginning of this chapter). Without matching their model in quality, these images indicate that the artist had the original or a very close copy in front of him. The figure of the kneeling messenger in the image which opens the first treatise (p. 1), who is painted in a rather clumsy fashion, is also inspired, if only loosely, by a model by Barthélemy d'Eyck. The style of the initial and the vegetal frame recur in some manuscripts executed for the Duke of Nemours at Carlat, which could indicate that the manuscript at Harvard was commissioned by Jacques d'Armagnac, the likely author of the first text in the collection.

The supposition that the manuscript once belonged to Diane de Poitiers, the celebrated mistress of King Henry II, is based on a misunderstanding. The bibliophile Guyon de La Sardière, who owned the manuscript in the eighteenth century, had purchased a certain number of his manuscripts at the sale of the library of the château of Anet, dispersed in 1724, a library which had for a long time mistakenly passed for having come from the king's mistress. The Guyon de La Sardière sale catalogue does not specify an Anet provenance for this manuscript, and no manuscript in the Anet sale catalogue contains the texts of the Harvard manuscript.

François Avril

1 Sandoz 1944, 395–420; Hofer and Bond 1955, 24–25, no. 79, pl. 31; Michon 1956, 21–25, 62n3; Miner 1957, 185, no. 454, pl. 91; Bond and Faye 1962, 262; Kristeller 1963–97, 5:232; Pächt 1977, 75n5; Wieck 1983a, 197 and 1983b, 32–33, no. 15; Avril 1986b, 81, no. 3; L. M. C. Randall 1992.

186. Lancelot du Lac, equestrian knight entering and leaving a city (cutting)
Dunois Master (illuminator)

Paris, France, c. 1440–50
Parchment, 83 x 92 mm
Boston College, McMullen Museum of Art, 1995.4[1]

THIS CUTTING COMES FROM A MANUSCRIPT OF *LANCELOT du Lac* that originally contained at least 152 illuminations, some or all of which were excised from the codex as early as the sixteenth century. Thirty-four of the 152, bound into an album in Paris in the mid-nineteenth century, were offered for sale in London by W. R. Jeudwine in 1962.[2] At least eighteen miniatures from the dismembered *Lancelot*, of which the cutting at the McMullen Museum is one, have surfaced or changed hands since 1962. Not in the Jeudwine sale, it first appeared in 1994, when it was offered by Les Enluminures of Paris.[3]

Because the McMullen Museum illumination is glued down to pasteboard, the text on its other side cannot be read, which complicates the identification of the subject matter. To judge from the matching black and gold caparisons on the identical white horses in the left and right foreground and the matching armor of the knights who ride those steeds, the same figure—probably Lancelot—is depicted entering a city with two other equestrian knights on the left and leaving it with three laymen on horseback at the right.

All of the *Lancelot* cuttings have been ascribed to the painter of the hours made between about 1440 and 1445 for Jean, Count of Dunois (London, BL, Yates Thompson MS. 3).[4] The Dunois Master was Paris's leading book illustrator in the 1440s, a position he gradually yielded to the younger Master of Jean Rolin II over the course of the 1450s. Some scholars identify the Dunois Master with the Jean Haincelin who paid taxes in Paris in 1438 and received payment in 1448–49 for work for Charles, duc d'Orléans.[5] To judge from the style of its miniatures, the *Lancelot du Lac* that yielded the cutting formed a pair with a *Guiron le Courtois* in Paris (BnF, mss. fr. 356 and 357). François Avril has proposed that the two manuscripts are identical to the *Lancelot* and *Guiron* that Admiral Prigent de Coëtivy is documented as having bought from Jean Haincelin in 1444.[6]

Gregory T. Clark

1 Enluminures (Les) 1994, 56–57, no. 21; Netzer and Reinburg 1995, 105, no. 61a; Sotheby's, London, December 2, 1997, 81.

2 Jeudwine 1962.

3 For a tracing of eighteen of the thirty-four Jeudwine cuttings to about 1980, see de Hamel 1982, 10–11. Since 1982 some eighteen miniatures from the lost Lancelot have surfaced or changed hands: La Spezia, Mus. Civ. Amedeo Lia, 519–21 (three cuttings; Todini 1996, no. 63); Sotheby's, London, July 14, 1981, lot 30 (one cutting); Christie's, London, April 3, 1984, lot 62 (number of cuttings uncertain); Sotheby's, London, December 2, 1997, lot 65 (seven cuttings, with an update on the subsequent peregrinations of the Jeudwine cuttings); Sotheby's, London, July 6, 2000, lots 23–26 (four cuttings); Christie's, London, June 4, 2008, lots 26–28 (three cuttings); Christie's, London, November 23, 2011, lot 6, and June 12, 2013, lot 12 (one cutting); and Christie's, London, July 13, 2016, lot 107 (one cutting).

4 For the Dunois Master, see Spencer 1965; Avril and Reynaud, 1993, 23–24, 36–38; C. Reynolds 1996*a*; Reynaud 1999; C. Reynolds 2006*b*, 440–43; and Châtelet 2008, 18–19. See also cat. nos. 187–88 in this volume.

5 For a summary of the identifications for Jean Haincelin, see Rouse and Rouse 2000, 2:73–74.

6 Avril and Reynaud 1993, 38.

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187. Laurent de Premierfait, trans., Les cents nouvelles
Dunois Master (illuminator)

Paris, France, c. 1460s
Harvard University, Houghton Library, MS Richardson 31
Parchment, ff. ii + 262 + ii, 334 x 242 (233 x 163) mm
Étienne Chevalier; bequeathed to the Minimes of Tonnerre, 1640; ceded to Cardinal Loménie de Brienne, 1788; bought by Thomas Johnes of Hafod at sale of Bibliotheca Parisina (Paris, March 28, 1791); Dukes of Newcastle (Clumber sale, Sotheby's, London, December 6, 1937, lot 934); bought by William K. Richardson, bequeathed 1951.[1]

f. 213v (detail)

GIOVANNI BOCCACCIO WROTE THE *DECAMERON* C. 1348–51 in response to the outbreak of the Black Death. In it ten young men and women flee to a villa in the countryside outside Florence to take refuge and entertain each other by telling ten stories each day for ten days. The hundred tales presented within this narrative frame expose human folly and foibles with a light touch.

When Laurent de Premierfait translated the *Decameron* from Italian to French, he sought to make it appeal to French audiences. He had

already translated Boccaccio's Latin *De casibus virorum illustriorum* (*On the Fates of Famous Men*) into French in 1409; its enthusiastic reception among French nobility created an expectation that Boccaccio's work would be historical and moralizing. In 1411–14 when Laurent translated the *Decameron* from Italian into French via Latin, he changed its tone and presented the *nouvelles* as didactically framed exempla.[2] In his translator's prologue Laurent describes the hundred tales as being suited to divert and refresh: "The listener or reader who contemplates each *nouvelle*'s account seriously and thoroughly will find in the stories more profit than pleasure, because all vices are criticized and reexamined there and virtue and virtuous conduct are praised and encouraged in as many ways as there are stories."[3]

In 1415–18 Laurent oversaw production of the earliest French illuminated copy of *Les cents nouvelles* decorated with one hundred illuminations. Subsequent illuminated manuscripts either adapted this model or illustrated the text with a single prologue image, with images marking the beginning of each of the ten days, or with a combination of the two, resulting in pictorial cycles of one, ten, eleven, or 100 pictures among the twelve surviving illuminated *Les cents nouvelles*.[4] This manuscript, which has eleven illuminations, was made for Étienne Chevalier, who rose from being a royal secretary through the ranks to serve Charles VII and Louis XI as treasurer of France. The Dunois Master often worked for highly placed administrators at the French court.[5] Chevalier's device of a knotted double *e* marks the margins of every illuminated page.

The visual cycle painted by the Dunois Master includes classic scenes, but often displaces them or deviates from traditional iconography to emphasize women as exempla. For instance, the illumination beginning the second day (f. 28r) illustrates the tenth story in which Bartolomea, the wife of Ricciardo di Chinzica and lover of Paganino da Mare, denies that she knows her ineffectual husband when he attempts to bring her home from her lover's house. It centers Bartolomea between her scholarly husband and fashionably dressed lover so that Étienne Chevalier could contemplate the choice between the two men flanking her. More dramatically, the ninth day (f. 213v) begins with an illustration of the seventh story from the eighth day that shows the widow Elena left naked at the top of a tower by Rinieri, her would-be lover whom she had spurned. She is exposed to the sun, and tortured by flies. The image deviates from traditional representations which always pair Elena's punishment by Rinieri with the event from a previous winter that occasioned it: she promised to let Rinieri into her home, but instead left him in her courtyard freezing in the snow.[6] This illumination pares down the story so that Chevalier could revel in the punishment of a fickle woman. It was sufficiently ambiguous to one viewer that he carefully scraped away the nude figure of the woman leaving Rinieri untouched. It may be that without the companion scene, he confused Elena with an idol, and defaced her.

When the Dunois Master painted this book for Étienne Chevalier, he may have intended this striking image of Elena's punishment and other displaced images featuring female weakness to highlight through contrast the last image in the manuscript, the picture placed at the beginning of the tenth day (f. 233v) of the virtuous and long-suffering Griselda, which was actually the very last tale of *Les cents nouvelles*. In this unusual illumination, Griselda stands richly dressed before her enthroned husband who showers her with gifts. This contrasts sharply with the customary scene of Griselda stripped to her shift and placidly suffering at the hands of her husband as a test of her virtue. This unusual image of a wealthy man and his virtuous wife could have been a complement to Étienne Chevalier himself who may have seen himself mirrored in the scene of munificence.

Anne D. Hedeman

1 Wieck 1983b, 20–21, no. 9, 116.
2 See Beck 2003 and Norton 1972.
3 "L'escouteur ou liseur qui longuement et meurement advisera le compte de chascune nouvelle, il trouvera es histoires racomptees plus profit que delict, cas illec sont tous vices morsillez et reprins et les virtues et bonnes meurs y sont admonnestees et loees en autant et plus de manieres comme est le nombre des nouvelles." See Di Stefano 1999, 2.
4 See Branca 1999, 3:205–45.
5 Avril and Reynaud 1993, 36–38. See also cat. nos. 186, 188 in this volume.
6 The double image of Rinieri and Elena's suffering appears in the five other manuscripts to illustrate the story.

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188. Pierre Bersuire, trans., Histoires Romaines
Dunois Master (illuminator)

Paris, France, c. 1450
Harvard University, Houghton Library, MS Richardson 32, vol. I
Parchment, ff. 264, 430 x 295 (292–95 x 183–85) mm
Marquess of Lothian, Newcastle Abbey, Scotland, before 1845; Lothian sale (New York, Anderson, January 27–28, 1932, lot 12); bought by Gabriel Wells; bought by William K. Richardson in 1944, bequeathed 1951.

This manuscript contains a French translation of the first decade of Livy's *Ab urbe condita libri*, one of the most popular texts to circulate in fourteenth- and fifteenth-century France, which survives in at least seventy full or partial copies.[1] This version of Pierre Bersuire's translation was undertaken for King John the Good and partially revised for King Charles V after Bersuire died in 1362.[2] While Charles V's royal copy of the definitive version of the *Roman Histories* (Paris, BSG, Ms. 777) was originally illustrated with over seventy individual scenes for the three decades of Livy, most subsequent manuscripts were more simply illustrated by a frontispiece and single images for each book of the three decades. The iconographic content of these visual cycles reflect artistic collaboration, shared models, and even the active intervention of a *libraire* (bookseller).[3]

The illuminations of this manuscript include nine single-column illustrations at the beginning of books 2–10 and a double-column frontispiece (f. 1r) that precedes and illustrates the translator's prologue, even though its rubric identifies it as beginning book 1. Painted c. 1450 by a follower of the Bedford Master, called interchangeably the Chief Associate or the Dunois Master, this visual cycle is eclectic.[4]

Its frontispiece is particularly inventive. It shows members of male Roman society surrounding the enthroned emperor within his palace. To the immediate left of the emperor's dais appear nobles and kings and to the immediate right bishops and clerics. In front of the emperor are representatives of the military class at the left and of the merchant class at the right. This visualization of Roman society is couched explicitly in fifteenth-century French dress, as the presence of bishops with croisers shows most clearly. They probably represent the *pontifices*, or priests responsible for the state cult and reflect usage in other translations, like that completed in 1402 of Valerius Maximus in which *pontifex maximus* becomes *un très grant evesque* (a very great bishop).[5] The illumination is an apt reflection of Bersuire's revision through translation of Livy's text "so as to lessen the pagan character of antiquity and assimilate forms and functions of ancient power to those of the royal authority."[6] Bersuire's translator's preface that begins just below the illumination explicitly explains the utility of Livy to late medieval rulers and was doubtlessly the source for this image. The preface emphasizes the importance of Roman history as a model to modern princes, stating that "all princes with clear understanding want to put into practice the virtuous deeds and knowledge of the notable works of ancient princes and of the skill with arms, argument, and industry with which in the past they conquered countries and lands and built Roman empires and founded, accrued, defended and governed and held them through succession and over a long period so that in such ways they could govern and defend them and possess and conquer foreigners so as to afflict their enemies and defend their subjects and aid their friends."[7]

The single column miniatures are equally inventive and eclectic. For instance, the illustrations to books six and eight (ff. 156r and 197r) with their representations of kings or bishops continue the kind of fifteenth-century visualizations that the frontispiece introduced, but it is difficult to identify their Roman subjects by reading the text. A few of the images are more precisely linked to their texts because they derive from early fifteenth-century models circulating amongst Parisian *libraires*. For instance, the illumination of the Roman consuls surrendering to the Samnites after the battle at the Claudine Forks (f. 218r) finds its closest analogy in an image painted by the Master of the *Cité des Dames* c. 1410 (Paris, BnF, ms. fr. 264, fol. 229v).[8] Each illumination distinguishes the two consuls from their soldiers and the Samnites. In the manuscript in Paris, the consuls signal their surrender by offering their armor to Samnite military forces while the despairing Roman soldiers hide their faces. In the illustration to this manuscript, the Roman army, stripped to their shifts, turns away from the two consuls who, still armored, surrender their swords and helmets to the Samnites. To signal difference from the Romans, the Samnites are exotically dressed, wearing bifurcated hats and sashes tied around their waists. Even though the Samnites came from an area of Italy adjacent to Rome, the Dunois Master gave them orientalizing dress to underline their difference from the Romans. This artistic decision was in keeping with emphasis of the translator's preface on the Romans as models for fifteenth-century French nobility.

f. 1r (detail)

Anne D. Hedeman

1 Livy's first, third, and fourth decades were all that were known in fourteenth-century France, and they were referred to in French translations as the first-third decade. Each decade contained ten books, except for the fourth (or, in French translation, the third), which had nine books. For the popularity of the text, see Monfrin 1963, 171–73; Monfrin, 1964, 10–14; and Duval and Vielliard (online).

2 For textual analysis of this versions of Bersuire's translation and the suggestion that the revision was done by Raoul de Presles, see Tesnière 2007a and 2007b.

3 Inge Zacher's analysis of seventeen early Livy manuscripts that she associated into four iconographic families raises the possibility that study of them within the framework of the Parisian book trade may offer an avenue to understand the existence of shared iconography in manuscripts by different artists. Margaret Manion explored the potential role of *libraires* in Zacher's third family to which the Melbourne Livy belongs. See Zacher 1971 and Manion 2005, 221–22, 224, 234–42, and 270–71.

4 See also cat. nos. 186–87 in this volume. For prior discussion of the manuscript, see Wieck 1983b, 10, no. 5, and 116. For the relationship between the Bedford and Dunois Masters, see Avril and Reynaud 1993, 23–24 and 36–38. This manuscript, though painted by a less skilled practitioner of the style, has particular affinities with images in the second volume of the *Roman de Giron le Courtois* (Paris, BnF, ms. fr. 357) painted by the Dunois Master and dated c. 1450. See Avril and Reynaud 1993, 37–38, no. 7. Aspects of the armor worn, such as the visored sallets with elongated tails or the two-part breastplates joined by leather straps were specific to the mid- to late fifteenth century. I would like to thank Chassica Kirchhoff for consulting with me about armor.

5 Charras 1982, xxviii.

6 See Tesnière 2007a and 2007b.

7 Folio 1r: "[V]ault il plus exercer les vertueux fais et savoir les notables oeuvres des princes anoiens[sic] et les sens d'armes, raisons, et industries par les quelz ils conquistere jadiz les pays et les terres et edifierient empires Romaines et les fonderent, accrurent deffendirent et gouvernerent et tindrent par grans successions et par longues durees affin que par semblables guises ilz peussent les leur gouverner et deffendre et les estranges possidez et conquerre en maniere deue grever leurs ennemis et deffendre leurs subgiez et aider leurs amis."

8 For a fuller discussion of this image within the context of its manuscript, see Hedeman 2008, 51–53.

189. Pierre Bersuire, trans., Histoires Romaines

Master of the Harvard Hannibal and Boucicaut Masters (illuminators)

Paris, France, c. 1413–15
Parchment, ff. 192, 420 x 316 (285–87 x 192–97) mm
Harvard University, Houghton Library, MS Richardson 32, vol. 2
Marquess of Lothian, Newcastle Abbey, Scotland, before 1845; Lothian sale (New York, Anderson, January 27–28 1932, lot 12); bought by Gabriel Wells; bought by William K. Richardson in 1944, bequeathed 1951.

f. 1r (detail)

This manuscript painted by the Master of the Harvard Hannibal and by Boucicaut illuminators contains the second decade of Livy's *Ab urbe condita libri* (*Roman Histories*) in the version of Bersuire's translation that was updated for King Charles V in the 1360s.[1] It is the finest example of collaboration between these artists and demonstrates their inventiveness in enriching an established iconographic tradition.[2]

Like other manuscripts attributed to the Mazarine and Boucicaut Masters, such as Boccaccio's *Des cas des nobles hommes et femmes* (Los Angeles, Getty Mus., Ms. 63) or the *Grandes chroniques de France* (London, BL, Cotton MS. Nero E.II), cat. no. 189 is clearly the work of a team of artists working and collaborating inventively, probably under the supervision of one of the nine *libraires*-illuminators registered in Paris in the early fifteenth century.[3]

The book opens with a two-column wide frontispiece (f. 1r) showing the coronation of Hannibal as emperor that is the eponymous painting for the Master of the Harvard Hannibal. Single-column miniatures painted by Boucicaut illuminators follow it to illustrate books 2–10.[4] All the illuminations in this manuscript have a high level of finish, and they share an inventive approach to the particular iconography for Bersuire's translation with at least two contemporary manuscripts (Paris, BnF, mss. fr. 259 and 267).[5]

For example, the frontispiece for all three manuscripts illustrates book 1 chapter 5 of Bersuire's translation of decade two which described how Hannibal was selected emperor with the agreement of the people and the knights (*chevaliers*) and was led into the palace of the senate of Carthage, where he was crowned emperor of Carthage, an error introduced by Bersuire in translation.[6] The iconography of both related manuscripts shows Hannibal, enthroned and being crowned with a laurel wreath, in a barrel-vaulted room visible through a triple-arched opening.[7] In the related frontispieces, Hannibal is youthful with a short blond beard and wears robes that have distinctive elongated tippets hanging from the sleeves. Representatives of the people and the knights who assented to his election stand and kneel to either side of the coronation, dressed in exotic armor or exotic dress with side-split robes. They wear turbans, hats with split brims, and rolled cloth tied around their heads or waists.

The Master of the Harvard Hannibal embellishes this basic iconographic type, by changing details to clarify place and to enhance the importance of Hannibal and his suitability to be a hero with whom the French readers of the manuscript might identify. In the illumination a double arched frame opens into a richly detailed hall with a double barrel vault, red and blue painted tie rods, and a lateral entrance. This representation of the palace of the Carthaginian senate shows it in the guise of the *grand-salle* of the medieval Parisian royal palace.[8] The artist also substituted for the laurel wreath a three-tiered imperial crown reminiscent of crowns given to Charlemagne in illuminations by contemporary artists like the *Cité des Dames* illuminators.[9] As Jessica Berenbeim first suggested, the Master of the Harvard Hannibal added further details to identify Hannibal as African, yet distinct from his colleagues.[10] His identity as an African is emphasized by the foremost kneeling figures: one at the left is a black African, and the other wears a red-sheathed scimitar at his waist. Although Hannibal wears versions of the exotic clothes of his fellow Africans, his blond hair and short beard makes him seem more Western European—more like the Roman heroes painted elsewhere in the manuscript and more like his fifteenth-century readers.

The Boucicaut illuminator who collaborated on the manuscript also worked to revisualize iconographic tradition and promote appropriate cultural models for readers by responding creatively to marginal sketches and written directions.[11] For instance, the marginal sketch for the Siege of Capua (f. 88r) is almost a mirror reflection of the composition in the same position in the sister manuscript painted by Boucicaut illuminators (Paris, BnF, ms. fr. 259, f. 354r). That image shows three tents filled with soldiers in a landscape at the right. They gaze up toward a group of soldiers who look down on them from a walled city distinguished by a gate flanked by two towers with pointed roofs. Besides reversing the composition used in f. 259r, the marginal drawing in cat. no. 189 introduces landscape features to emphasize the rugged terrain surrounding the Roman camp and to identify the scene as the siege of Capua, the subject of much of book 6. In moving from the marginal drawing to its realization in the manuscript, the illuminator adapted architecture and figures to distinguish the opponents more clearly. He orientalized the city of Capua, which was controlled by Hannibal's forces, by painting three of the towers with rounded, domed roofs, rather than replicating the drawing's skyline with pointed towers. He also identified the leader of the Roman forces, the proconsul Quintus Fulvius, by giving him a crown. Since Quintus Fulvius was ultimately victorious over Hannibal's forces in taking the city, he was an appropriate Roman hero to draw attention to for readers of the story of Capua.

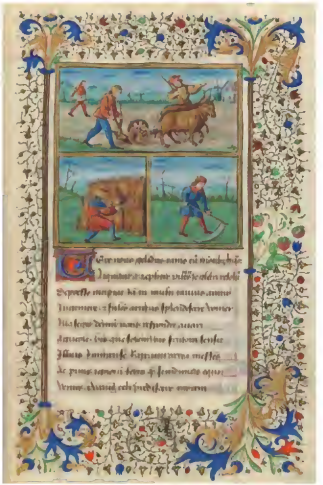
Anne D. Hedeman

1 For discussion of the translation of Livy's *Ab urbe condita libri*, see cat. no. 188.
2 For discussion of the Master of the Harvard Hannibal, who is named after his contribution to this manuscript, see Meiss 1974, 1:90–99; Wieck 1992; Bartz 1999, 115 and 121–22; and C. Reynolds 2006b.
3 For discussion of the close collaboration between Boucicaut illuminators, see Hedeman 2008, 67–82; C. Andrews 2002 and 2006.
4 For prior discussion of this manuscript, see Morrison and Hedeman 2010, 229–32, cat. 40 with further bibliography; and Berenbeim 2001.
5 Inge Zacher identified cat. no. 189 as one of three iconographically related manuscripts (her Group III) containing decade two in Bersuire's translation. The other two manuscripts in this group are: Paris, BnF, ms. fr. 259 attributed by Bartz to the so-called Mazarine Master; and Paris, BnF, ms. fr. 267, painted by as yet unidentified artists. For these manuscripts, see Zacher 1971, 48–50, 56–58, 98–99; Meiss 1968, 56–58, 70, 80–81, 89, and 142.
6 Bersuire introduced this error of describing Hannibal as an emperor from one of his sources, Nicolas Trevet's commentary on Livy. For this see Meiss 1968, 150n66.
7 See Paris, BnF, ms. fr. 259, f. 253r, and Paris, BnF, ms. fr. 267, f. 1r, both available on *Mandragore*.
8 Compare a representation of the medieval *grand-salle* that shows the wood vaults, tie rods, and lateral door, in the etching by Charles Meryon after Jacques Ier Androuet du Cerceau available on *Gallica*.
9 For analogies for this crown resembling a papal tiara worn by Charlemagne in contemporary *Grandes chroniques de France*, see Hedeman 1991, 159 and 172.
10 Berenbeim 2001.
11 There are effaced written directions (probably directions to the illuminator) in the margins next to illuminations on ff. 18v, 37r, 55r, 70v, 88r, 111r, 134v, 157r, and 173r, and a pale drawing still visible adjacent to the miniature on f. 88r. Meiss observed this practice at work in the illustration of the *Grandes chroniques de France* (London, BL, Cotton MS. Nero E II) painted by the Boucicaut illuminators and others. See Meiss 1967, 1:11–13 and 2: figs. 304–11, 314–15.

190. Virgil, Eclogues, Georgics, and Aeneid

Bourges, France, before 1451/56? and c. 1500
Parchment, ff. i (paper) + 325 (ff. 1–325) + i (paper), 272 x 190 (164 x 145) mm
Harvard University, Houghton Library, MS Richardson 38
Jacques Cœur, Bourges; Count MacCarthy (no. 2540); Thomas Phillipps (MS 2164); bequeathed by William K. Richardson, 1951.

The works of the Roman poet Virgil (70–19 BCE) are best known for the late antique illustrated copies preserved in the Vatican Library, known as the *Vergilius Vaticanus* (ms. Vat. lat. 3225) and *Vergilius Romanus* (ms. Vat. lat. 3867). Whereas the *Eclogues* (also known as *Bucolica*) are composed of ten Idylls and the *Georgics* are four books on agriculture in verse form intended to serve as a model for human society, the *Aeneid* tells of the escape of Aeneas from the city of Troy and the events that lead to the settlement at the River Tiber before the foundation of Rome. Although the three works were often copied together, manuscripts produced in France during the Middle Ages rarely received even a single miniature; in fact, known illustrated exemplars are so rare that a tradition can hardly be constituted.[1]



f. 23r

With its focus on lavish decoration, the Houghton Virgil is a rare example. Ruled in twenty-one long lines, the manuscript has escaped virtually all trimming by binders. Every book and the prologue to the *Georgics* is introduced with a large miniature, which depicts either one key scene described in the following chapter or subdivided into two to six different scenes depicting the events narrated in the text. Miniatures are framed by elaborate gilt baguettes and acanthus borders on a fond of ivy leaf tendrils that are very close in style to those current in the workshop of the Master of the Boèce (Paris, BnF, ms. fr. 809), an illuminator from the circle of the Jouvenel Master who himself was active in Angers around the middle of the fifteenth century as a predecessor or follower of Jean Fouquet.[2]

The Houghton Virgil was illuminated in at least two different stages: The entire secondary decoration was carried out during a first campaign. The opening of the *Eclogues* and all twelve miniatures illustrating the *Aeneid* (see Lenders to the Exhibition in this volume for an image) were begun shortly after 1450; the five miniatures introducing the prologue and the books of the *Georgics* (f. 23r) were completed around 1500 by an artist, who might well have worked in the broader circle of the Master of Spencer 6 in Bourges. The later artist uses graphic shaping and liquid application of color glazes with reduced but strong color contrast of red and blue.

The first campaign, which had previously been situated between the circle of the Jouvenel Master and the Coëtivy Master,[3] is more likely the chief work of an artist active in Bourges around 1450 who illuminated a book of hours for the use of Bourges (Bourges, Bm, ms. 594), a psalter-book of hours in New York (PML, MS M.67) and also worked on the book of hours in Stonyhurst College (MS. 38) together with the Master of Charles de France and the Master of fr. 809.

During the second campaign of illumination, an important clue to the previous owner and most likely patron of the manuscript was covered up: on the first initial on f. 1r, under a black filling with tendrils in gold, lies a coat of arms that can be identified as *azur with a fess of or charged with three dots* (most likely scallops) *of sable and three hearts of gules*. This is the coat of arms of Jacques Cœur, the Bourges merchant and financier of Charles VII who was accused of conspiracy against the king in 1451 in the matter of the death of his mistress Agnès Sorel and, after being deprived of his possessions, died in 1456.[4] Another clue, on f. 23r, supports this attribution: two interlaced hearts—one red, one blue—are accompanied by the motto *Ioie / Douleur* (*Happiness / Pain*). This is, although not firmly attributable to Jacques Cœur himself, at least associated with his grandson Jacques II Cœur who had the same coat of arms (as did his son Jean, bishop of Bourges from 1446 to 1483, but with a different motto[5]) and had this motto amongst others inscribed in his book of hours now in Munich (BSB, Clm 10103),[6] which was illuminated probably by François Colombe in Bourges and features a double-page representation of the old city palace of Jacques Cœur.[7] Given, however, that the style of decoration and subsequent covering of the coat of arms suggest an origin around 1450, it was most likely the merchant and first Cœur who was responsible for the commission of this work. It makes this Virgil the only manuscript attributable to the patronage of this important patron of the arts in Bourges in the middle of the fifteenth century.

Christine Seidel

1 P. Courcelle 1984, see J. Courcelle 1985 on illustrated manuscripts of the *Aeneid* and Mane 1995 on the *Georgics*.
2 König 1982 on the Jouvenel Master, on fr. 809: 37–41, 102–4, 189–91, 217–25. On the relation with Fouquet see Avril and Reynaud 1993, 108–10 and Avril 2003, nos. 20 and 21.
3 Wieck 1983b, cat. no. 12.
4 On the story of Jacques Cœur see P. Clément 1853.
5 Chenu 1940, 2–3 mentions the personal motto of the archbishop that appears in his pontifical in New York (PML, MS G.49) made c. 1450.
6 Schaefer 1971, 144–45.
7 Although the manuscript had more recently been associated with descendants of Jacques Cœur (see Schaefer 1971) due to the later date that the style of the miniatures suggest, Jacob 2012, 35–37 pointed out that it was his grandson who most likely owned the manuscript.

191. Guillaume de Tignonville, Dits moraux des philosophes

Loire Valley, France, c. 1400 (?)
Parchment, ff. ii + 102, 307 x 238 mm
Boston Public Library, MS f Med. 91 (formerly Ms. 1518)[1]
Purchased from A. Rosenthal, New York, in 1941.

Guillaume de Tignonville, the author of a French translation of a compendium of ancient wisdom, was born around the middle of the fourteenth century. Tignonville, the former seat of the family, is a hamlet located south of Paris on the road to Orléans, and the male members of the clan had been active in the service of the royal administration for several generations. Guillaume's father Louis had been *bailli* and provost of Troyes in Champagne, and Guillaume himself had occupied the same position at Chartres. In June 1401, he was elevated to the post of *prévot* of Paris with responsibility for the public order of that volatile and not infrequently violent city. In that capacity, he was involved in two bitter conflicts, a jurisdictional dispute with the archbishop of Paris over the trial and execution of two malefactors alleged to have been in clerical orders and thus subject to ecclesiastical authority, and the sensational murder on the streets of the city of Duke Louis of Orléans at the behest of John the Fearless, Duke of Burgundy (November 23, 1407). Relieved by Charles IV of his position in the aftermath of these events, he nonetheless continued to enjoy royal favor, and undertook a number of diplomatic missions as a mediator between warring princely factions and as a negotiator with

England in the Hundred Years' War. He died in 1414, whether from natural causes or otherwise is not known.

f. 1r (detail)

On the literary side, Tignonville is known to have been drawn into the famous quarrel over the *Roman de la Rose* in which he appears as an ally of Christine de Pizan's defense of women against her opponents, and he contributed a poem to the verse collection *Livre des Cents Ballades*, though this aspect of his career remains rather sketchy. But the *Dits moraux des philosophes—moraulx*—in Tignonville's French—is the only extended literary work that he is known to have produced. Neither the date nor the circumstances surrounding the composition of the work are known, the text itself offering no objective data of any kind in the form of a dedication or prefatory *accessus*. The oldest dated manuscript known to us is a copy which, according to the colophon, was written at Aix-en-Provence by a scribe named Andrivet de Bressé, from Saumur, and completed by him on July 10, 1402 on commission (or on behalf of) a man named Jean le Voyer, qualified as a knight, chamberlain of the king (Louis II of Anjou), and Lord of La Clarté (Paris, BnF, ms. fr. 572, f. 76r).

The ultimate source of Tignonville's *Dits moraux* was the Arabic compilation of wise sayings of the sages of antiquity made in 1048 or 1049 by the historian and philosopher Abū al-Wafā' Mubashshir ibn Fātik. A Spanish translation of this work entitled *Bocados de oro* appeared in the middle of the thirteenth century, which was the basis of the Latin version, made a few decades later in southern Italy according to some and in Venice, following others. Tignonville's somewhat more compact French translation was to achieve a remarkably wide diffusion. Some seventy manuscripts of the work, according to the most recent count, are known, along with a fragmentary Provençal version. Two Middle English translations, *Dicts and Sayings of the Philosophers*, one of which was printed in 1477 by Caxton, followed by a series of French editions soon thereafter.

Dits moraux consists of sayings attributed to twenty-two sages, among whom figure Hermes (Trismegistus), Homer, Solon, Hippocrates, Pythagoras, Diogenes, Socrates, Plato, Aristotle, Alexander the Great, Ptolemy, and Galen, along with handful of philosophers with strange names like Tac, Zalqualquin, Logmon, or Macdarge (transmitted in various spellings) whom despite much effort, it has proven difficult to identify with certainty, while a concluding twenty-third section contains the single sayings of a number of presumably lesser known sages.

The attractive manuscript of the Boston Public Library, which has only recently drawn attention, belongs to a fairly small group of *Dits moraux* copies embellished with grisaille miniatures featuring portraits of the authors preceding brief biographical or anecdotal details concerning their lives and wise sayings attributed to them. The opening page of the manuscript, framed by a spiky vine leaf border, houses a presentation scene set on a patterned red background, and showing a seated man of noble bearing giving to or receiving a book from a youthful figure with short, curly hair kneeling before him, perhaps best interpreted as a conventional image of Tignonville (f. 1r). The miniatures demarcating the subdivisions of the text are smaller, framed vignettes that vary in size and in the quality of their execution, pointing to their authorship by several hands, the more refined of which are enhanced in places by washes of pale color (ff. 52v, 53v, 61v). They feature standing single figures wielding unfurled scrolls, addressing small groups of interlocutors, or bearing attributes indicative of their professions like the flasks displayed by Hippocrates and Galen, emblems of their medical skills (ff. 10v, 60r) or Ptolemy, credited in the text with an expertise in music, performing an experiment with a bell (f. 52v). The manuscript was likely executed around 1400, with the participation of an illuminator who illustrated the presentation copy of the moral/allegorical poem of Honoré Bouvet, dedicated to Valentine Visconti, the Milanese spouse of Louis of Orléans, which is datable between 1398 and 1403 (Paris, BnF, ms. fr. 811), and a product of the same Angevine milieu.

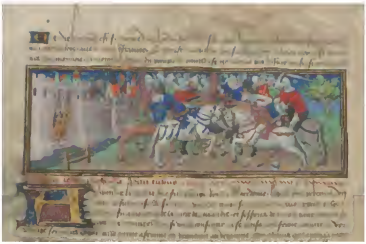
Walter Cahn

1 Bond and Faye 1962, 209; Munsterberg 1941; Cahn and Marrow 1978; Cahn 2014, 191–94. Eder 1915 contains the modern edition of the text.

192. Guillaume de Tignonville, Dits moraux des philosophes. Master of the Harvard Hannibal (illuminator)

Paris, France, c. 1400–25
Parchment, ff. 29, 305 x 225 (225 x 162) mm
Harvard University, Houghton Library, MS Typ 207[1]
John Henry Backhouse; J. A. J. Barclay; bought by Philip Hofer from H. P. Kraus in 1954, deposited 1967, bequeathed 1984.

Though battered and somewhat depreciated by losses, this copy of Tignonville's *Dits moraux* nonetheless represents an exceptional realization within the corpus of manuscripts of the work, boasting an elaborate series of illustrations on oblong panels that subdivide the text into its separate components. It comes closest to a luxury edition of this rather sober compilation, or closest to what could be imagined such an artifact to have been. The customary pattern of Tignonville illustration, however, has left an imprint at least on the opening miniature, which doubles as a presentation scene for the entire text and as a preface for the first item in the compendium, the body of wisdom ascribed to an otherwise unknown author bearing the biblical-sounding name Sedechias. Although such portraits in Tignonville manuscripts usually take the form of single or small groups of figures, the miniature in the Houghton codex, unfortunately in a poor retouched state, is a full-fledged composition set in the well-appointed interior of a scholar, showing Sedechias at a pulpit expounding his doctrine from an open book to an audience composed of three formally robed men ensconced on a bench before him, and a second, evidently less favored group of figures, some seated, others standing, further back along the right side of the composition.



f. 18v (detail)

At least five leaves of the manuscript are thought to be missing, some having been replaced by blanks, while images related to thirteen authors are extant, including, exceptionally, no less than four attached to the long section devoted to the career and sayings of Alexander the Great, drawn by the Arabic author from the legendary account of the ps.-Callisthenes. Missing are illustrations that one would have expected to find, falling roughly into two groups: Homer, Solon, Zabyon, Hippocrates, Pythagoras, and Plato, Assoron, Logmon, Pope Gregory the Great (Saint Gregoire in Tignonville's translation) and the final chapter labeled "Les Dits de Plusieurs Sages." Whether images connected with these authors were once extant cannot be proven, but with the possible exception of the uncertain case of the expansive utterances of Socrates, which also lack an image in cat. no. 191, this would seem very likely.

The scribe left his artistic collaborator with the difficult task of filling spaces that are unusually long and narrow, whose height may range from seven to fifteen or more lines. Some of his compositions seek to preserve the effect of a single, wide-angle viewpoint (ff. 2r, 4v, 6r, 15r, 18v) while others divide the space in two parts, representing interior and exterior settings, or separate moments of the action (ff. 19r, 20r, 20v, 21v, 23v, 25r). The text supplied the illuminator with reflections of a predominantly philosophical character that do not offer much scope for pictorial interpretation. Hence, most of these illustrations respond in various ways to the formulaic words "And he said …" ("Et dit, Et dit que …") by which the pregnant words of a given sage are introduced, showing the speaker out of doors with a rapt audience (ff. 2r, 4v), or in an interior furnished with the trappings of learning (ff. 1r, 15r, 23v), or again, in a more neutral setting, as in the striking miniature that precedes the wise sayings of a certain Tac (f. 4r), where the focus is on the extravagantly-accoutered participants, best understood as embodiments of a fabulous wisdom from the East (f. 4v). The illuminator's ingenuity was engaged in other ways by the story of Alexander the Great, whose wisdom is mainly conveyed by narrative means or epistolary exchanges with other protagonists (ff. 20r, 20v, 21v) rather than, as elsewhere, in spoken formulations delivered to disciples or crowds of admirers. For this reason, the five illustrations devoted to the story, for which an ample body of pictorial antecedents could be found, differ from the rest. Two of them, the story of Alexander's encounter with Diogenes (f. 6r), and his defeat of the pretender to the Macedonian throne Cahus at the battle of Serapion (f. 18v, see above) are edifying anecdotes drawn from this stock source.

The illumination of the manuscript has been ascribed by Millard Meiss to the Master of the Harvard Hannibal, so named by him for the frontispiece miniature showing Hannibal's Coronation as emperor of the Carthaginians in the second volume of a copy of Bersuire's French version of Livy's *Ab urbe condita* in the Houghton Library (cat. no. 189, f. 1r). Meiss characterized him as a prolific performer whose style derives from the circle of the Master of the Boucicaut Hours, with whom he collaborated in an earlier phase of his career, and "a veritable sponge…who sometimes copied entire cycles of miniatures"[2] from the products of other Parisian workshops. The pioneering list manuscripts in which his hand can be found, compiled by Meiss some fifty years ago, consisted of the impressive total of more than twenty items, but it has since then been further amplified by new attributions and refinements, a process that can be expected to continue and, one may hope, yield more decisive results.

Walter Cahn

1 Hofer and Bond 1955, 20, no. 5; Bond and Faye 1962, 270; Ross 1963, 7; Meiss 1967, 1:391–92; Kraus 1978, 136–37, no. 49; Cahn and Marrow 1978, 219–20, no. 45; Plummer 1982, 5, no. 6; Wieck 1983b, 14, no. 6; Cahn 2014, 194, 196–97; Eder 1915.

2 Meiss 1974, 1:390.

193. Macrobius, Comentum Macrobii Ambrosii in somnium Scipionis

Bologna (?), Emilia, Italy, February 7, 1469
Parchment, ff. 112, 244 x 172 (140 x 95) mm
Harvard University, Houghton Library, MS Typ 7
Nicolai Briganti (sixteenth or seventeenth century); Castellucci family (eighteenth century); Olschki; purchased from E. Rosenthal in 1946.

This manuscript contains Macrobius's commentary on the *Somnium Scipionis*, a large section of the sixth book of Cicero's *De republica*. The text narrates the soul's travel in the afterlife of Scipio Aemilianus (Scipio Africanus Minor), the Roman consul who defeated Carthage (146 BCE). Written in the fifth century CE, the commentary witnessed a wide circulation from late antiquity through the Renaissance, becoming one of the main sources on Platonism and Neoplatonism in the Middle Ages. The work was particularly appreciated for its long digressions on ancient science (including geography, oneirocriticism, astronomy, and numerology), which, as in the case of the present manuscript, was generally illustrated with diagrams and maps (including a world map, f. 86v).

An illuminated bifolium at the beginning of the manuscript, most likely an early addition to the main text, bears two miniatures that visualize in literal fashion the phases of Scipio Africanus Minor's dream (ff. 2v–3r). On the verso, several characters stand on a rocky, stage-like platform. On the left, a king hugs a young man dressed in ancient garb; in the middle, the king raises his head toward the celestial spheres; on the right, he sits on a wooden throne next to the younger man. According to Boffito, this illustration is inspired by Cicero's comment on the hospitality given by Masinissa, king of Numidia and a friend of Scipio's family, to Scipio Africanus Minor.[1] In the lower section on the opposite side of the opening (f. 3r), Scipio lies in bed, dreaming; in the upper part, he stands amidst the Milky Way between his father Aemilius Paullus and his adoptive grandfather Scipio Africanus. A roundel at the center shows a view of Rome and Carthage.

The decoration of the manuscript was first cautiously attributed to a Neapolitan artist by Boffito.[2] More recently, Lollini suggested an Emilian origin; he also observed a common iconographical model shared by this manuscript with two further copies of the *Somnium Scipionis* dating from the late fourteenth century (Cesena, Bibl. Malatest., ms S.XII.6; Oxford, Bodleian Library, MS. Canon. Class. Lat. 257).[3] Indicative of Emilia are the expressive facial features, animated gestures, vivid colors, and dynamic folds of the clothes. These stylistic traits betray the impact on the Bolognese milieu of Ferrarese art that flourished under Duke Borso d'Este (r. 1450–71), as demonstrated by comparison with the *Costituzioni del Collegio dei dottori, giudici e avvocati* (Bologna, AS, cod. min. 40), copied in 1467 and illuminated by an artist who derived the figures of the pope and

ff. 2v–3r

the emperor from the Ferrarese master of the so-called Mantegna's Tarots. Close stylistic affinities can also be found in a copy of Flavio Giuseppe's *Antiquitates Judaicae* (Bologna, Bibl. Univ., ms. 2242) realized around 1464 by Domenico de Lapis, a Bolognese illuminator and book printer.[4] This artist shows the same penchant for vivid colors and bold features, as well as the same distinctive inadequacies of spatial construction. The two white-vine initials confirm this context, as shown by the morphological similarities with the initials in the *Epistles* of Pliny the Younger (London, BL, Burney MS. 230), probably by the same hand.[5]

Teresa D'Urso

1 Boffito 1907–08, 323.
2 Ibid., 326.
3 Lollini 2000, 38.
4 On this illuminator, see Guernelli 2009, 73–77.
5 Viewable on the British Library's online *Catalogue of Illuminated Manuscripts*.

III
Isabella Stewart Gardner Museum

Italian Renaissance Books

EL TERTIO cæleste triumpho seguiua cum quatro uertibile rote di Chrysolitho æthiopico scintule doro flammigiante, Traiecta per el quale la seta del Asello gli maligni dæmonii fuga, Alla leua mano grato, cum tutto quello cb di sopra di rote e dicto. Daposcia le assule sue in ambito per el modo compacte sopra narrato, erano di uirente Helitropia Cyprico, cum potere negli lumi cælesti, el suo gestáte cœla, & il diuinare dona, di sanguinee guttule punctulato.

Offeriua tale historiato insculpto la tabella dextra. Vno homo di regia maiestate ísigne, Oraua in uno sacro templo el diuo simulacro, quello che della formosissima fiola deueua seguire. Sentendo el patre la eiectione sua per ella del regno. Et ne per alcuno fusse pregna, Fece una munita structura di una excelsa torre, Et in quella cum soléne custodia la fece inclaustrare. Nella quale ella cessabonda assedédo, cum excessiuo solatio, nel uirgineo sino gutte doro stillare uedeua.

*

The celebrated golden age of Italian art and culture known as the Renaissance would be unimaginable without the humanist book. Humanism, the renewal of classical antiquity, is universally acknowledged as a key driving force behind Italy's revitalization in the fifteenth and sixteenth centuries. In the popular imagination of the period, however, the literary origins of humanism, and thus of the Renaissance, have been eclipsed by Italian artistic achievements, political intrigue, and iconic figures. The idea for restoring glory to Italy by reviving the best features of its ancient ancestry was conceived by the poet Francesco Petrarch (1304–74). Equating language with civilization, Petrarch prescribed recuperating the pristine Latin of Imperial Rome, which, in his opinion, had been contaminated by barbarians after the fall of the Empire. Petrarch's vision was promoted by chancellors (chief bureaucrats) of the Republic of Florence, Coluccio Salutati (r. 1375–1406), Leonardo Bruni (r. 1410–44), and Poggio Bracciolini (r. 1453–49). Administrators by profession but scholars by choice, these "pen-pushers" obsessively collected, copied, and studied early manuscripts of neglected classical texts as models of language and learning. The poster boy of the humanist movement was the doctor of the church and translator of the Bible, St. Jerome (c. 342–420 CE). Plagued by guilt for his love of Roman authors, he dreamed that he was admonished for following Cicero rather than Christ. In short, Renaissance humanism was born of the pen and not the paintbrush or chisel.

The final part of this volume, Italian Renaissance Books, comprises manuscripts and early printed books exhibited at the Isabella Stewart Gardner Museum. It centers on the humanist book as the foremost nexus of literary and visual culture in the Italian Renaissance. The following seven chapters chart the humanist book's invention in Florence around 1400 to its apotheosis in Venice at the turn of the sixteenth century. "The Florentine Humanist Book" explores the *all'antica* manuscript, a new style of book designed by early humanists to preserve and elevate the ancient literature they recovered. The appropriation of humanist ideals and manuscripts by Italy's elites is explored in three essays concerning the magnificent libraries they formed to promote their image as wise and virtuous rulers. "Italian Princely Libraries" showcases humanist manuscripts that belonged to popes, cardinals, and scions of dynasties. "Manuscripts of the Classics" and "Humanist Texts" present works by ancient and Renaissance authors who formed part of the humanist literary canon. Books that served communal and individual expressions of religious faith are explored in "Renaissance Liturgical Books" and "Italian Books of Hours." The catalogue culminates in "Book Decoration & the Advent of Printing," which illustrates how Venetian printers successfully combined the ingenuity of German printing technology with the artistic and literary forms of the Italian humanist manuscript to create masterpieces such as the celebrated *Hypnerotomachia Poliphili* (opposite), and innovations, most notably pocket-sized editions, which transformed publishing.

The exhibition at the Isabella Stewart Gardner Museum would be unimaginable without the spectacular trove of Italian Renaissance books in Boston-area collections. Highlights include the newly rediscovered prayer book of Pope Julius III (r. 1550–55) and a book used in preparing for Mass in the Sistine Chapel, both painted by the first official illuminator to the popes, Vincent Raymond di Lodève (d. 1557) (cat. nos. 203 and 221). Not one, but two volumes from the famous set of choir books of the Benedictines of San Sisto in Piacenza are included (cat. nos. 225–26). Books of hours that belonged to Isabella, Queen of Naples (1424–65) and Isabella d'Este, Marchioness of Mantua (1474–1539), would have delighted Isabella Stewart Gardner's fascination with historical art patrons who shared her name (cat. nos. 228, 232). Also paying homage to the founder of the museum hosting this part of the exhibition are a manuscript of the *Divine Comedy* created within a century of the death of Dante (Gardner's favorite Italian author), the first two illustrated editions of the poem, and its first appearance in a portable format (cat. nos. 214, 247–49). All four books come from Gardner's collection which was called Fenway Court Library during her lifetime.

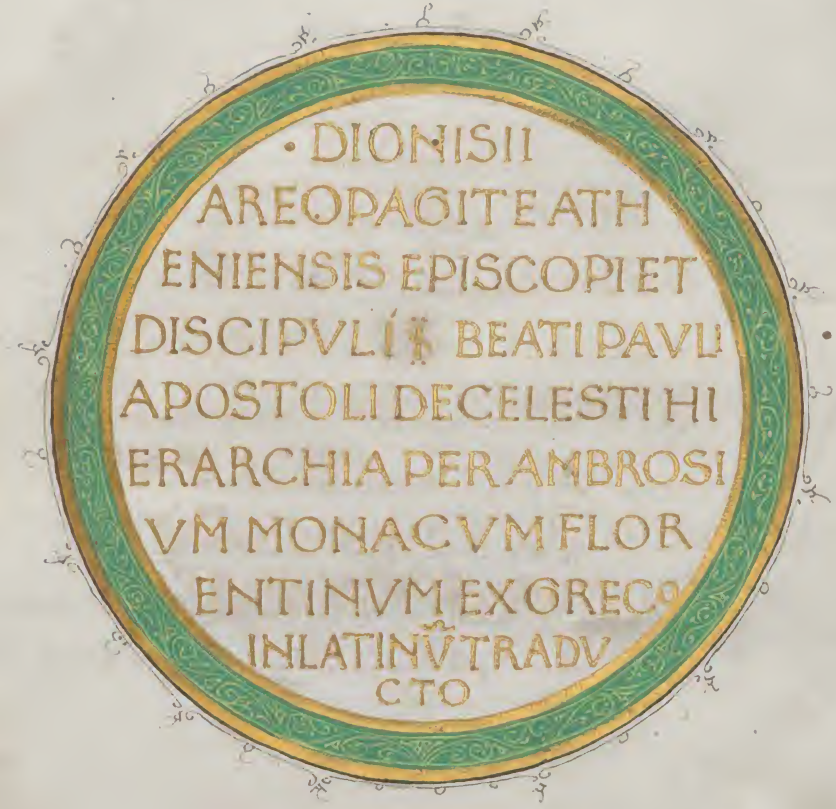
If Harvard's Houghton Library is the Boston-area's Bibliotheca Apostolica Vaticana (described by a pope as "a sea into which all rivers shall flow"[1]), Fenway Court Library is its Biblioteca Malatestiana. Like Malatesta Novello's masterpiece, it is a rare surviving library of a single bibliophile, its book collection intact in its original arrangement, housed in an edifice of outstanding beauty designed as a temple to art and culture. In addition to hosting the exhibition *Italian Renaissance Books*, the Isabella Stewart Gardner Museum's renowned Italian Renaissance art collection inspired the single focus on manuscripts produced in that era. It also furnished an installation evoking a studiolo, dominated by a painting, *St. Jerome in His Study* (loaned by Harvard Art Museums/Fogg Museum), with antique sculpture, medals, and autograph letters on the topic of books exchanged by humanists.[2] These letters show that Gardner viewed her book-collecting activities as a continuation of the tradition of great library-building in the Renaissance.

Anne-Marie Eze

1 Connors and Dressen 2010, 211.

2 Letter from Pope Innocent VIII to Angelo Poliziano thanking him for his translation of Herodian's *History of the Roman Empire* for the Vatican Library (Rome, August 16, 1487; ISGM, 2.b.3.4.4); letter from Vittoria Colonna to Pietro Aretino thanking him for a copy of "Marfisa" (Ferrara, November 6, 1537; ISGM. 2.b.3.2.1). These were accompanied by a letter-book of Francesco de' Medici, open to a copy of a letter about a consignment of books sent to a Medici & Co. representative in Ragusa) (Florence, September 25, 1505; Baker Library, Harvard Business School, MS 538, f. 58v), and a letter from Enea Silvio Piccolomini about a missal from Siena Cathedral sent to Cristoforo Felici (Rome, November 10, 1457; Harvard University, Houghton Library, MS Lat 298).

cat. no. 240, f. k8r


DIONISII
AREOPAGITE ATH
ENIENSIS EPISCOPI ET
DISCIPVLI BEATI PAVLI
APOSTOLI DE CELESTI HI
ERARCHIA PER AMBROSI
VM MONACVM FLOR
ENTINVM EX GRECO
IN LATINVM TRADV
CTO

1. The Florentine Humanist Book

At the dawn of the fifteenth century, a new kind of manuscript debuted in Florence. It looked completely different from books in use elsewhere in Italy and Europe. Unique in its script, decoration, and layout, the so-called *all'antica* manuscript owed its distinct appearance to the efforts of a small circle of humanists led by Florence's learned chancellor Coluccio Salutati (1331–1406). Humanists were followers of a new literary movement inspired by the visionary poet Francesco Petrarch (1304–74), who believed that Italy could enjoy a new golden age by reviving the refined and civilized Latin of the Roman Empire (cat. no. 215). To recover the written heritage of their ancient ancestors, Salutati encouraged Poggio Bracciolini (1381–1459) and others to search monastery and cathedral libraries throughout Europe for neglected classical texts to copy, study and imitate in their own writings.

Feeling that beauty of language should be matched by beauty of form, another Salutati protégé Niccolò Niccoli (1364–1437) devised a complementary script called *littera antiqua* with which to transcribe the rediscovered antique works. Breaking with the Gothic manuscript tradition of the previous two centuries, Niccoli modeled his letterforms on the rounded minuscules in the volumes of classical and patristic authors found by his friends, which he admired for their legibility and venerable age. These books, however, did not date from antiquity, but were Romanesque copies from the 1100s (cat. no. 195). Adopting other features from these pre-Gothic codices, the early Florentine humanists laid out texts in a single column of long lines framed by superbly proportioned wide margins. They titled works entirely in capital letters, and decorated initials with a Romanesque motif called *bianchi girari*, comprising stylized entwined vine stems left white against a multicolored ground (cat. no. 194). Intended for use in the humanist's study or to be treasured by cultivated bibliophiles, the *all'antica* book assumed a new format which added to its distinct character. As a medium to small-sized folio or quarto with finely prepared parchment leaves, it was lighter and more refined than contemporary scholastic codices. By around 1410, the early Florentine humanists' experiments with book design were complete and all of the features that became the hallmarks of the *all'antica* book had been established. The first texts copied in the new style were predominantly classical Latin authors (cat. nos. 208–10) and the church fathers (cat. no. 197). Greek works in Latin translation followed (cat. nos. 194, 211–13). Finally, the writings of the humanists themselves and of the "three Florentine crowns" Dante Alighieri (1265–1321), Petrarch, and Giovanni Boccaccio (1313–75), whose works had achieved a status similar to that of the classics (cat. nos. 196, 214–18) were added. An early admirer and collector of these manuscripts was Florence's erudite ruler Cosimo de' Medici (1389–1464) (cat. no. 194). His stamp of approval greatly contributed to the Florentine humanist book's swift and widespread success. Within twenty years, *littera antiqua* script and *bianchi girari* decoration became commonplace in manuscripts throughout Italy, fusing with existing styles to produce local variants.

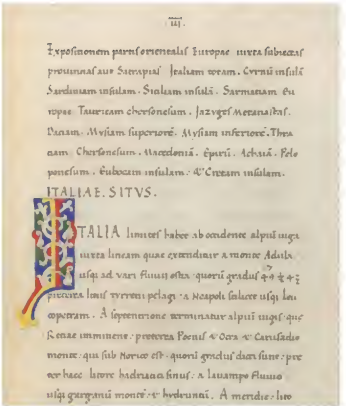
By the 1440s Florentine illuminators, most notably Filippo di Matteo Torelli (1408/10–68), created new embellishments to inject an antique flavor into humanist manuscripts and further enhance their prestige. They framed frontispieces titled in painted gold letters with full- or three-sided white vine-stem borders, which they populated with naturalistic flora and fauna, and gold discs derived from Gothic manuscripts, as well as with new motifs drawn from classical art, especially sculpture and coins. Nude infant boys, called *putti*, frolicked among the vines and supported laurel wreaths containing the coat of arms of the book's owner (cat. nos. 196–97). Idealized portraits of revered ancient and humanist writers proclaim their authorship of a book's contents (cat. nos. 208–9, 212–14). From the 1460s *all'antica* manuscripts acquired classicizing title pages solely occupied by an elaborate *clipeus* (or roundel) enclosing the title or description of the work, and the name of the author and/or translator, written in splendid chrysographic capital letters (cat. no. 197, see opposite). Many of these stylistic developments were driven by the Florentine bookseller Vespasiano da Bisticci (1421–98), who attained great success and fame through commercializing the humanist book, and disseminating it throughout Italy and beyond. He employed scribes and artists to produce manuscripts of bestselling classical and humanist texts in the Florentine style for speculative visitors to his shop in Florence (cat. no. 212), while also supplying bespoke, deluxe volumes to the libraries of princes of the church and state around Europe (cat. no. 196). With a mix of shrewdness and charm, Vespasiano transformed the *all'antica* manuscript, originally the product of a recherché Florentine cottage industry, into a lucrative international phenomenon.

Anne-Marie Eze

cat. no. 197, f. 3v

194. Ptolemy, Geographia

Florence, Italy, c. 1410–15
Parchment, ff. 346, 530 x 350 (186–87 x 112–13) mm
Harvard University, Houghton Library, MS Typ 5
Purchased from William H. Robinson with the Hofer fund, 1947.



f. 66r (detail)

This manuscript is one of the oldest surviving copies of Iacopo Angeli da Scarperia's translation of the *Geographia*. The text is inextricably linked to the rediscovery of ancient Greek culture in Florence, a fundamental episode in the development of Renaissance humanism. In 1397, the learned Byzantine Manuel Chrysoloras (1350–1415) arrived in the city in order to teach Greek, having been invited by the Signoria. From that moment, cultured Florentine men were expected to be able to read Greek literature in the original language, and the study of Greek was more or less constantly included in higher education curricula. Chrysoloras's arrival also initiated an intense period of the translation and dissemination of theretofore unknown Greek texts, many of which were scientific. Among the books that the teacher brought from Constantinople to Florence for his classes were two manuscripts of the *Geographia,* also known as the *Cosmographia*, of Claudius Ptolemy (c. 100–c. 175 CE): a codex with a complete text and twenty-seven maps (a *Mappa Mundi*, ten maps of Europa, four of Africa, and twelve of Asia), and a volume containing a large collection of scientific works, including the *Geographia* without the cartographic illustrations (both now in the Vatican Library).[1] In Florence Chrysoloras began to translate the *Geographia*, which was unknown in the West apart from references to it in other works. Perhaps the translation was commissioned by the elderly chancellor Coluccio Salutati (1331–1406), who was interested in geography (as were Petrarch and Boccaccio before him) and owned a copy of Ptolemy's *Syntaxis mathematica* or *Almagest,* in a Latin version made in Sicily around 1160–65.[2] During his sojourn teaching in Florence from 1397 to 1400, the only Greek author Chrysoloras attempted to translate for the Florentine public was Ptolemy. He failed, however, to complete the task, perhaps due to his insufficient Latin skills. Chrysolaras's autograph manuscript or a copy of the passages, which he managed to translate, remained in Florence after his departure. Around 1405–06 Leonardo Bruni asked after it in three letters sent to his fellow humanist Niccolò Niccoli (1364–1437), to whom he announced his intention of translating the *Geographia*. The task was completed by the abovementioned Iacopo Angeli da Scarperia (c. 1360–1410/1), another brilliant young member of Salutati's circle. Having studied under Chrysoloras, Angeli used the aforementioned unillustrated text of the *Geographia* brought to Italy by his teacher (Vatican City, BAV, Ms. Vat. 191). Neither the date nor the dedicatee of his translation, which was extremely popular throughout the fifteenth century and was first printed as early as 1475 in Vicenza, is clear even if the majority of extant manuscripts, and in particular the two oldest copies are addressed to Pope Alexander V (born Peter of Candia, reigned June 26, 1409–May 3, 1410).[3] Though undated, the Houghton *Geographia* should be included among the oldest examples, as its preface contains Angeli's dedication to the Cretan pontiff (ff. 1r–2v).[4]

Albinia de la Mare rightly proposed that the Houghton Ptolemy was copied around 1410–15. Its quarto format, *littera antiqua* script written in a block of long lines within broad margins, capital letters for titles, and *bianchi girari* initials qualify it as the first *all'antica* manuscript of the *Geographia*. The identity of its scribe is unknown, however, he appears to have been trained by Poggio Bracciolini, as his handwriting was clearly influenced by or modeled on the hand of the humanist who was the first professional scribe to adopt the new humanist script. Bracciolini is known to have employed copyists trained by him, particularly in the 1420s, therefore, it is sometimes difficult to distinguish their handwriting from his own, and attribution is complicated.[5] As can be seen from the page illustrated here (f. 66r), the similarities between the script in this manuscript and Bracciolini's hand are above all visible in the capital letters used beside the *bianchi girari* initials and for titles–especially the letter G–and in the way the words of the titles are separated by dots, like in epigraphic inscriptions. Also originating with Poggio is the distinction of Roman numerals with a long superscript line also derived from epigraphy. Although this Ptolemy is not an autograph copy by Bracciolini, it was annotated by him in the margins of ff. 10v–11v and 12v where, as was the practice of the time, he noted the names of people mentioned in the text in order to re-find them more easily. Bracciolini's *marginalia* do not suffice to determine whether the manuscript belonged to him, but they certainly suggest that he was involved in the production of this copy. Also pointing to Bracciolini are the book's white vine-stem initials, which seem to have been painted by the same hand as those present in a manuscript of Cicero's *Orationes* copied by Bracciolini before 1415,[6] and in two volumes of Cicero's *In Verrem* and Jerome's *Chronicon*, which belonged to Cosimo de' Medici (1389–1464) and were written by another scribe close to Bracciolini, around 1410–15.[7]

In addition to its textual and codicological importance, the present manuscript has a distinguished provenance. A now erased note in Latin on the verso of the original parchment flyleaf that faces the first page of text reads "Ptolomeus. Liber astrologie Claudii Tholomei conventus Sancti Marci de Florentia ordinis Predicatorum [quem] emit Cosma de Medicis [...]", meaning that it belonged to Florence's first public library.[8] Above this inscription, is a record of the book's former location in the San Marco library: "Ptolomeus. 108. De xvii bancho ex parte occidentis," which is repeated below as "ponatur in bancho xvii occidentali."[9] Between 1436 and 1443, the Florentine convent of San Marco was completely restructured by the architect Michelozzo on the command of Cosimo, who wanted a public library to be built to house 400 books from the collection of the late Niccoli, and 251 volumes that he himself had donated to the convent. The majority of the latter were purchased on the Florentine and Tuscan book markets rather than gifts from de' Medici's private library. The number "108" that accompanies the old location mark is from the inventory of Cosimo's manuscripts made when they entered the library of San Marco.[10] The leather spine of the book's current binding, which has a gilt-stamped title, was made in 1768, the year in which the library was again inventoried and its manuscripts rebound in uniform covers.[11] This

date provides the terminus post quem for the manuscript's departure from San Marco, which happened between 1768 and 1808 when the convent was suppressed by Napoleon.

Teresa De Robertis

1 Mss. Urb. gr. 82 and Vat. gr. 191, respectively. Gentile and Speranzi 2010, 11–19.
2 Now, Vatican City, BAV, ms. Vat. lat. 2056.
3 The two oldest copies, Vatican City, BAV, mss. Vat. lat. 2974 and Ott. lat. 1711, date from 1409 and 1411, respectively.
4 Hankins 1992, 125–27.
5 De la Mare 1973, 67.
6 Florence, BML, ms. Plut. 48.11. De la Mare 1992, 120.
7 Respectively, Florence, BML, mss. Plut. 48.27 and Plut. 67.11. De la Mare 1992, 141, no. 8 and 151, no. 60.
8 "Ptolemy. Book of Claudius Ptolemy's Astrology, property of the Dominican convent of San Marco in Florence, which Cosimo de' Medici bought."
9 Respectively, "Ptolemy. 108. From the seventeenth desk-bench on the western side" and "to be placed in the seventeenth desk-bench on the western side."
10 The manuscript was also described in the library's catalogue compiled around 1500. Ullman and Stadter 1972, 211.
11 Florence, BML, ms. San Marco 945.

195. Missal (part) and breviary (part)

Northern Italy (Emilia-Romagna?), c. 1080–1110 (with later additions)
Parchment, ff. i + 89 + i, 223 x 135 (157–64 x 85–92) mm
Harvard University, Houghton Library, MS Typ 413
André Hachette; Erik von Scherling; purchased with Philip Hofer's Printing and Graphic Arts Fund, 1956.

f. 1v (detail)

In addition to seeking out and studying the texts of classical authors, the humanists of Renaissance Italy looked to the past to create a new type of book. The models they used were not books from antiquity, but rather the handsome, legible manuscripts from eleventh- and twelfth-century Italy that were readily available to them. Humanistic script was created by Poggio Bracciolini (d. 1459), perhaps at the request of Coluccio Salutati (d. 1406), the humanist and chancellor of Florence, who was then seventy and struggling with failing eyesight. It is a rounded script, with clearly separated letters, fewer abbreviations, and distinctive letter forms (including an upright *d* and round *s* only at the end of the line).[1] To accompany their manuscripts copied in this new *lettera antica*, the early humanists created a new style of illuminated initial, known as *bianchi girari* or white vine-stem, again using eleventh- and twelfth-century Italian manuscripts as models. There are two examples of the type of initial that inspired the early humanists in this liturgical manuscript from the late eleventh century; the opening shown here marks the beginning of the canon of the Mass (f. 1v).[2]

Missals include all the texts needed for the Eucharistic service of the Mass; texts for the Divine Office, the daily prayer of the church said by priests and other religious at various times throughout the day and night, are collected in breviaries. This manuscript was made for use in a monastery in northern Italy, possibly at the abbey of St. Sylvester at Nonantola, one of the most important Benedictine abbeys in northern Italy;[3] it includes texts from both a missal and a breviary, although neither is complete.[4] The first examples of missals date from the tenth or the eleventh century, the first breviaries from the eleventh century. This is therefore important as an early example of these two liturgical books; finding them together in one manuscript is very uncommon.[5]

Laura Light

1 De la Mare 1973 and 1985, de la Mare and Nuvoloni 2009, and Ullman 1960. The script of the manuscript described here is a fairly good late eleventh-century Carolingian minuscule. It is not particularly rounded, uses the "æ" diphthong often (and e-cedilla infrequently), but consistently abbreviates "and" with a tironian-7. The script used by the early humanists as a model differed in some details.
2 Alexander 1994, Ceccanti 1993–96, Crivello 2003, Pächt 1957.
3 Compare the following manuscripts from Nonantola: Branchi and Desco 2003, no. 66, Augustine, *Enarrationes in Psalmos, etc.*, c. 1075–1100, Rome, BN, ms. Sess. 10 (similar "loose" interlace style, and similarities of script); no. 47, *Passiones sanctorum*, c. 1050–1100, Rome, BN, ms. Sess. 48 (similarities of script and interlace, here with a geometric style initial); no. 57, Eugippius, *Compilatio operum Augustini*, late eleventh century, Vatican City, BAV, ms. Vat. lat. 520, made at Nonantola for Fonte Avellana (note the small red initial with decorative finials, and script); Branchi 2011, fig. 100, sacramentary, c. 1090–1110, Paris, BnF, ms. lat. 2292, ff. 101v–3r, additions to an earlier manuscript (minor initials and script).
4 This is not a sacramentary (as described in Bond and Faye 1962, 276), nor a breviary and sacramentary (Von Scherling 1954, 5, no. 2476). Light 1988, 26n1 should be corrected since ff. 82r–89r, as noted by von Scherling, are texts from a breviary, not a missal as stated by Light.
5 Palazzo 1998, 107–10 (on the origin of the missal), 169–72 (on the breviary), citing other relevant studies; Salmon 1964, discussing a combined missal and breviary, see also Huglo (online). Combined missals and breviaries might have been convenient books for use in parish churches or priories; perhaps this manuscript was from a priory of Nonantola.

196. Leonardo Bruni, Epistolarum libri octo
Filippo di Matteo Torelli (illuminator)

Florence, Italy, c. 1440–50
Parchment, ff. 100, 336 x 230 (207–10 x 133) mm
Harvard University, Houghton Library, MS Typ 9
Jean Jouffroy; Chardin (his sale, Paris 1825, lot 2128); Thomas Phillipps (MS 862); purchased from William H. Robinson by Philip Hofer, 1947.

f. 1r

Leonardo Bruni (1370/75–1444) was involved in the organization and dissemination of his letters, which he divided into eight books and ordered chronologically from 1405 to 1440. Born in Arezzo, Bruni moved to Florence around 1395 and spent his formative years in the intellectual circle of Coluccio Salutati (1331–1406), becoming one of the central figures of early humanism. Chancellor of the Florentine Republic in 1427, he authored literary works and translations of Greek texts with strong moral and civic overtones (cat. no. 212); a characteristic also seen in his letters. The present manuscript is probably a copy of the original version of Bruni's letter collection, which, following the author's death, underwent revisions and gained a ninth book.[1] On the last page (f. 100r), an inscription in capital letters *VESPASIANUS LIBRARIUS FLORENTINUS VENDIDIT* attests that the book was sold by Vespasiano da Bisticci (1421–98). Vespasiano was the most important Florentine bookseller of the fifteenth century, and the principal agent of the diffusion of humanist manuscripts produced in that city to Italian and European book collectors. Cat. no. 196 was likely prepared for sale by Vespasiano. Similar inscriptions with his name appear in other codices, especially those destined for foreign clients. On the preceding page (f. 99v), a cursive inscription *Restituatur capitulo albien[se]* ("let it be returned to the chapter of Albi") identifies the buyer with some certainty as the powerful French prelate and bibliophile, Benedictine Jean Jouffroy (1412–73), who was one of Vespasiano's first clients (his earliest documented acquisition was in 1446). Jouffroy became the archbishop of Albi in 1462.[2]

The script, in *littera antiqua*, is attributed to an anonymous Florentine scribe.[3] The frontispiece with Bruni's first letter addressed to his mentor Coluccio Salutati is enclosed on all sides by a white vine-stem border, enlivened with putti, birds, and butterflies (f. 1r). White vine-stems also decorate the initials of the incipits for each of the eight books (*Leonardus*, with the letter *L* in gold leaf). In Florence this kind of *all'antica* white vine-stem decoration was the hallmark of humanist books. Inspiration for this motif came from the decoration of twelfth-century Romanesque manuscripts, which the humanists discovered in old monastic libraries (cat. no. 195).

The illuminations in cat. no. 196 have been convincingly attributed by Albinia de la Mare to the Florentine miniaturist Filippo di Matteo Torelli (1408/10–68), and dated to 1440–45.[4] Filippo Torelli was an innovator of white vine-stem decoration, on which he bestowed great elegance and refinement, thanks to a crisp and precise design, and luminous palette. The frontispiece of this manuscript has a decorative layout similar to that adopted by Torelli in a copy of Lattanzio's *Divinae institutiones*, produced around 1435 for Cosimo Il Vecchio de' Medici (1389–1464).[5] Even greater ornamental exuberance was achieved by the artist in the next stage of his career, as seen in a set of three manuscripts of the *Decades* by Livy created in 1458 for Cosimo's son, Piero de' Medici (1416–69).[6]

Ada Labriola

1 Viti 2003, 23–30; M. C. Flori, in Cardini and Viti 2003, 71–72, cat. no. 38. MS Typ 9 is fragmentary, and codicologically complex: see Hankins 1991, 61–62, 68, no. 14; Hankins 1997, 25, no. 289.

2 De la Mare 1985, 424, 566–67, no. 15, 571; de la Mare 1996, 181–82n51 and 55, 189–90n79, 201n109, 202, 206. For Jouffroy's acquisitions from Florence and his humanist library, see Toscano 2010, 105–19.

3 De la Mare 1985, 566–67, no. 15. De la Mare believes that the anonymous scribe was probably also responsible for the inscription with the note of sale (f. 100r).

4 Ibid. The attribution, initially suggested by Albinia de la Mare in 1974, was upheld by Wieck (1983b, 68, no. 33) and by Toscano (2010, 114). Previously, Bond and Faye (1962, 251) had dated the manuscript to c. 1470. For Filippo di Matteo Torelli, see Galizzi 2004d.

5 Florence, BML, ms. Plut. 21.5. See A. Labriola, in Natali, Neri Lusanna, and Tartuferi 2012, 262–63, cat. no. 82.

6 Florence, BML, mss. Plut. 63.10–12. See Ames-Lewis 1984, 109–11, 281–83, nos. 43–45. The three manuscripts of Livy's *Decades* were written and illuminated in 1458, according to letters sent by Vespasiano to Piero de' Medici in April, May, and June of that year.

197. Ambrogio Traversari, trans., De caelesti hierarchia; De ecclesiastica hierarchia; De divinis nominibus; De mystica theologia; Epistolae

Florence, Italy, c. 1460–65
Parchment, ff. 123, 279 x 192 (171–73 x 123) mm
Harvard University, Houghton Library, MS Richardson 12
George Dunn, August 1907; his sale (London, February 2, 1914, lot 1015); to Leighton, his sale (London, November 14, 1918, lot 261); to Maggs; Maggs, cat. 374 (1918), lot 183, cat. 380 (1919), lot 1666, cat. 395 (1920), lot 32, cat. 404 (1921), lot 46; to William K. Richardson, his gift, 1951.

f. 4r

The four tracts and ten letters united under the name of ps.-Dionysius the Areopagite were written in Greek at the end of the fifth century by an anonymous author, who sought to present himself as the renowned Athenian judge who was converted to Christianity by St. Paul in the first century CE. The ps.-Dionysius's literary corpus was widely disseminated in the Middle Ages thanks to four Latin translations produced from the ninth to thirteenth centuries.[1] The new Latin translation by the Camaldolese monk Ambrogio Traversari (1386–1439), who entered the Florentine monastery of Santa Maria degli Angeli in 1400, emerged from the climate of intellectual fervor of early humanism in Florence. A promoter of the revival of the Greek language, Traversari was the leading agent in the rediscovery of ancient Christian literature.[2] He undertook the translation of the first two tracts on the hierarchies in heaven and the church as well as the *Epistolae* of the ps.-Dionysius in 1430–31. According to the explicit at the end of the *De mystica theologia*, he completed the task between April of 1436 and March of 1437 in the monastery of Fontebuona in Camaldoli (Arezzo). Traversari's well-known explicit comes down to us through fifteenth-century copies of the autograph manuscript (now lost), among them MS Richardson 12, where it is inscribed on f. 107v.[3]

The manuscript was written in *littera antiqua*. The white vine-stem decoration was likely executed in Florence, around or shortly after 1460.[4] The frontispiece is framed by a three-sided decorative border (f. 4r), and initials in gold leaf mark the *incipit* of each tract and the *Epistolae*. In the lower margin of the frontispiece, a *clipeus* (roundel usually destined to house a coat of arms) holds instead an ownership note written in black ink "*CAR venetiarum*," which can probably be deciphered as *Cartusiae venetiarum*. The inscription raises the possibility that the book, at some point, perhaps in the fifteenth or sixteenth century, entered the library of the Carthusian monastery of Sant'Andrea della Certosa in Venice.[5] On the verso of the page opposite the frontispiece (f. 3v, see image at beginning of this chapter), a much larger *clipeus* encircles an inscription executed in gold in a traditional Florentine capital script. The inscription records the title of the first tract contained in the manuscript, the author's name (Dionysius the Areopagite) and that of Ambrogio, Florentine monk and translator from Greek into Latin: *Dionisii Areopagite Atheniensis episcopi et discipuli beati Pauli apostoli de celesti hierarchia per Ambrosium monacum florentinum ex greco in latinum traducto*. The *all'antica* motif of a title inscribed in a *clipeus* first appeared in Florence, where it is attested in humanist books of around 1460.[6] The Florentine humanists and artists were inspired by models encountered in late antique and medieval codices. There was at that time a ninth-century Greek manuscript of the works of ps.-Dionysius in the library of the Benedictine monastery of the Badia Fiorentina. At the front of the book is a spectacular *clipeus*—perhaps the archetype of a decorative tradition to which this manuscript belongs.[7]

Ada Labriola

1 Stinger 1977, 158–62.

2 Gentile 1997, 45–62. See also Pontone 2010.

3 *Absolvi Ambrosius peccator Dionisii opuscula in monasterio fontis boni. XV kalendis aprelis Anno dominice incarnationis MCCCCXXXVI* [March 18, 1437]. *Inditione XV. Emendavi et cum greco contuli in heremo III ydus aprelis* [April 11, 1436]. *laus deo sit semper. Amen.* Stinger 1977, 281n283; Dillon Bussi 1997b; Pontone 2010, 57n20. The date March 18, 1436 is in the Florentine style, therefore equates to 1437.

4 The mistaken belief that the monastery of Fontebuona was near Siena prompted scholars to place the production of cat. no. 197 (which in any case, contains a copy of the autograph written in Fontebuona) in Sienese circles. See de Ricci 1935–40, 1:958; *Arts of the Middle Ages* 1940, 12, cat. no. 36a; Wieck 1983b, 114. Kristeller 1963–97, 5:231 classified the manuscript generically as "written in Italy."

5 My thanks to Susy Marcon, curator of manuscripts and rare books at the Biblioteca Nazionale Marciana in Venice, for identifying this note. In 1422, Florentine Carthusian monks first settled in the Venetian monastery, which had previously belonged to an Augustinian community. During the era of Napoleonic suppressions (1806 and 1810), the library of the Carthusian monastery was completely dispersed. Similar ownership inscriptions are preserved in incunables published by Aldus Manutius: Venice, BNM, Aldine 375 (dated 1495) and Aldine 140 (dated 1499). See the website of the Marciana Library: *Cataloghi/Archivio dei possessori* (monastery of S. Andrea della Certosa).

6 Ames-Lewis 1984, 156–60, figs. 35–37. In the Medici's library, a copy of St. Jerome's Epistles written in 1462 and illuminated by the Maestro della Farsaglia Trivulziana, also known as Fiesole Master (Florence, BML, ms. Plut. 19.9) was the earliest dated example of a manuscript with the title enclosed in a *clipeus*. See also Caldelli 2010, 217–28.

7 Florence, BML, ms. Conv. Soppr. 202. The manuscript came from the collection of the Florentine humanist Antonio Corbinelli (1376/7–1425). The decoration is attributed to a Byzantine or southern Italian illuminator. The *clipeus* contains two epigrams dedicated to Dionysius the Areopagite. See Vicario 1997.

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2. Italian Princely Libraries

The Florentine humanist book fired the imaginations of Italian elites, causing an explosion in the number of manuscripts in private hands across the peninsula. Inspired by the fervent book collecting of Niccolò Niccoli (1364–1437) and fellow humanists in Florence, the wealthy banker and politician, Cosimo de' Medici (1389–1464), assembled a formidable private collection of deluxe *all'antica* codices. Evoking the municipal libraries of the ancient world, in 1444 Cosimo bestowed on his city a library located in the Dominican convent of San Marco. The first public library since antiquity, its collection included classical and patristic texts (cat. no. 194). Cosimo's munificence reinforced his position as de facto ruler of the Florentine Republic. The first Italian ruler to demonstrate the political power of humanist books, Cosimo provided the model for rulers vying to control Italy's numerous principalities. At Cesena, Novello da Malatesta (1418–65) imitated Medici, converting a Franciscan church into a civic library, which still stands with its collection of chained books largely intact (cat. nos. 1–4). Cosimo's purveyor of manuscripts, Vespasiano da Bisticci (1421–98), was commissioned by Italian and foreign potentates, including the French prelate, Jean Jouffroy (1412–73), to furnish their libraries with manuscripts in the new Florentine style (cat. no. 196).

The rulers of northern Italian city-states, who previously had outsourced the decoration of their books to Florentine monk-illuminators such as Don Simone Camaldolese (cat. no. 198), lured humanists, scribes, and miniaturists to their courts to work exclusively for them. Their magnificent libraries boasted deluxe manuscripts decorated with coats of arms, emblems, and mottoes made for their own use or received as gifts. The humanist Pier Candido Decembrio (1399–1477) presented a compilation of his historical works to secure a position at the court of Borso d'Este (1450–71), Duke of Ferrara, whose two-volume bible earned him fame as a bibliophile of particular discernment (cat. no. 199). Borso's successor Ercole d'Este (r. 1471–1505) asserted the legitimacy of his appointment by sending a manuscript glorifying himself in the guise of the mythical hero Hercules, with whom he shared a name, to the Duke of Milan Galeazzo Maria Sforza (1444–76). The Visconti-Sforza coat of arms, depicting a biscione (or snake swallowing a child) quartered with the imperial eagle, was added to the manuscript's borders (cat. no. 200, see opposite). The book's colorful floral decoration in the style of one of Borso's favorite illuminators, Guglielmo Giraldi, suggested continuity between their reigns, further supporting Ercole's dynastic claims. The marriage of Ercole's cultivated daughter Isabella d'Este (1474–1539) to Francesco II Gonzaga (r. 1484–1519), Marquis of Mantua in 1491, occasioned a prayer book from her husband's library to be adapted for her use by the celebrated Paduan scribe Bartolomeo Sanvito (cat. no. 232).

The papacy harnessed books as potent symbols of its authority in matters of faith, and of its historical and moral legitimacy. The Vatican Library, reestablished by the humanist pope Nicholas V (r. 1447–55) and augmented by his successors, became the largest repository of books in all fields of learning in Europe. Texts on the history of the Roman Empire found special favor as they supported the popes' claim to be the heirs of the imperial mission to civilize and unite (cat. nos. 201–2). Under the Medici pontiffs Leo X (r. 1513–21) and Clement VII (r. 1523–34), the papal scriptorium was a magnet for talented illuminators throughout Europe. Their collaborative efforts achieved new heights of sumptuousness in service books, enhancing the dignity and beauty of rites performed in the Sistine Chapel (cat. nos. 77–78, 221). In 1549 Paul III appointed a Frenchman Vincent Raymond the first official papal illuminator with life tenure (cat. nos. 203–4, 221). Paul's nephew Cardinal Alessandro Farnese (1520–89), whose book of hours and lectionary were illuminated by Giulio Clovio, epitomized the high-ranking prelate who styled himself as an erudite prince of the church (cat. no. 202).

In Venice, the doges' practice of sending patricians to govern the Serene Republic's mainland and maritime territories for brief sixteen-month periods fueled a local industry specialized in the production of manuscripts commemorating political appointments, often bearing a portrait of the officer-elect or other imagery of personal significance (cat. nos. 205–7). Manuscripts of the classics in the library of the illustrious Venetian diplomat, Bernardo Bembo (1433–1519), were fundamental to the publishing success of the printer Aldus Manutius (cat. no. 210). In 1530, his son, the learned Cardinal Pietro Bembo (1470–1547), who copied and edited texts for Aldine editions, was appointed head of the Marciana Library (cat. no. 249). The role put him in charge of the 1,024 manuscripts (mainly Greek) donated to Venice by the great Cardinal Bessarion (1403–72), which had remained closed in boxes since 1468. In 1537, the distinguished architect Jacopo Sansovino commenced grand designs for a public library suitable to house the gift and its location opposite the doges' palace at the heart of the Venetian Empire.

The Aragon Kingdom of Naples was also home to a spectacular library, founded by Ferdinand I (r. 1458–94) and his wife Isabella di Chiaromonte (1424–65) (cat. nos. 209 and 228). Their daughter Beatrice of Aragon (1457–1508) married King Matthias Corvinus of Hungary (1443–90) taking books with her to his court at Buda (cat. no. 239). They formed the Bibliotheca Corviniana, the second largest book collection in Europe after the Vatican, almost fulfilling Corvinus's ambition to outshine every other monarch with his library (cat. no. 211).

Anne-Marie Eze

cat. no. 200, f. 22v (detail)

198. Niccolò da Ferrara, Polistorio, Libro III
Don Simone Camaldolese (illuminator)

Mantua, Italy, c. 1396–98
Parchment, ff. ii + 179 + ii, 363 x 234 (263–65 x 167–69) mm
Harvard University, Houghton Library, MS Typ 329
Sale of Howell and Stewart, 1834; Thomas Phillipps (MS 6733); sold by W. H. Robinson, 1955; deposited by Philip Hofer, 1967, bequeathed, 1984.

f. 43r

The *Polistorio* (*World Chronicle*) is the only extant work of the Benedictine Niccolò da Ferrara, about whom very little is known. He is documented as abbot of the monastery of San Bartolo in Ferrara between 1390 and 1394, but had probably held that position since the previous decade.[1] Niccolò da Ferrara completed the *Polistorio* on September 25, 1387, and dedicated it to Niccolò II d'Este, Lord of Modena and Ferrara from 1361 to 1388.[2] In the four books that comprise the Italian text, the author—inspired by the *Historia scholastica* of the French theologian Peter Comestor (d. circa 1178)—outlined the history of the world from its creation to the year 1383. Cat. no. 198 contains book 3, which focuses on the period from the first Punic War to the reign of Emperor Augustus subdivided into 284 chapters. The script is in *littera textualis*. The opening rubric includes the author's dedication to Francesco Gonzaga (1366–1407), Lord of Mantua since 1382: "Qui comincia la tavola dil terzo ed il quarto libro de polistorio. Ad honore e stato dil nostro Magnifico Signore Signore Meser francesco da gonzaga Signore generale et cetera" (f. 1r).

The first two books of Gonzaga's copy of the *Polistorio* are preserved in a manuscript in Turin's Biblioteca Nazionale Universitaria, which was badly damaged in a fire that struck the collection in 1904.[3] Before the blaze, it was possible to read in its colophon, the signature of the scribe Antonio da Modena and the date, 1396 ("MCCCLXXXXVI Antonio de Modena scripse questa prima parte de Polistorio").[4] In the Turin manuscript's prologue, which remains legible (f. 15r), Niccolò da Ferrara, *maestro in la sacra theologia* (master of sacred theology), stated that he was, at that time, abbot of the monastery of Santa Maria di Gavello (then in the diocese of Adria, near Rovigo, in the Veneto). He also claimed to have created the work at the request of Francesco Gonzaga himself, following the latter's *comandamento* (orders). Thus the *Polistorio* was commissioned by the Lord of Mantua, and was probably completed before the summer of 1398, when Gonzaga left the Italian city to undertake a pilgrimage to the Holy Land, from which he returned at the beginning of the following year.[5] The Gonzaga manuscripts are the only known fourteenth-century copies of the *Polistorio* to come down to us; a few fifteenth-century examples also survive.[6] The fourth book of the *Polistorio* owned by Francesco Gonzaga is lost, or has yet to be identified.

The only illumination in the present manuscript is the frontispiece of chapter one (f. 43r). The page is framed by a floral border; in the initial of the *incipit* ("Quanto le parte") the author is pictured in the black robes of the Benedictine order, seated at a desk, intent on writing his text. An imperial eagle appears in the center of the upper horizontal panel (Francesco Gonzaga became Vicario Imperiale in 1383). The Gonzaga coat of arms is quartered with the white lion of Bohemia (seen also in the lower margin, surmounted by helmets, on either side of the insignia of two falcon wings with a ring)—a privilege granted by Emperor Wenceslas IV, king of Bohemia, on December 2, 1394. The triangular spaces between the frame and the three heraldic shields are covered in gold and silver leaf. The surface of the latter is decorated with fine white filigree.

Traditionally, this book's illumination has been attributed to an artist from northern Italy, likely active in Mantua.[7] It should, however, be recognized as the work of Don Simone Camaldolese, a Sienese illuminator, active primarily in Florence and Tuscany between 1370 and around 1400. Don Simone was the head of an important workshop occupied largely with the decoration of liturgical books and literary works for the early Florentine humanists. Close stylistic parallels can be drawn between cat. no. 198 and other secular manuscripts illuminated by him around 1390, such as a copy of Giovanni Boccaccio's *Genealogie deorum gentilium*, which once belonged to the chancellor of the Florentine Republic, Coluccio Salutati (1331–1406).[8] A letter sent by Salutati to Francesco Gonzaga from Florence on November 24, 1395 significantly records their correspondence on the subject of rare manuscripts.[9]

In the Turin *Polistorio*, the decoration of the frontispiece of the prologue (f. 15r) and the initial at the opening of book 1 (f. 21r) can also be attributed to Don Simone. Another artist, working in the Franco-Lombard style, executed the decorated initial at the beginning of the second book (f. 157r).[10] The *Polistorio* was probably written in Mantua, and may have been illuminated in Florence, whence it was sent to the Gonzaga court. It is, however, also possible that Don Simone may have operated outside Tuscany, in the service of the Lord of Mantua. Indeed, he was responsible for two other richly illuminated manuscripts made for Franceso Gonzaga: the *Histoire depuis le commencement du Monde*, datable to between 1389 and 1391 and bearing the earlier version of the Gonzaga arms quartered with the viper of the Visconti family;[11] and the Italian translation of Livy's *First Decade*, a manuscript likely coeval with the Houghton *Polistorio*.[12]

Ada Labriola

1 Pallotti 2013.
2 Muratori 1738, 24:697, cols. 699–848. Muratori obtained the date of the

work from the colophon of an untraced manuscript containing the fourth book of the *Polistorio*.

3 Turin, BNU, ms. N.I.11. See Meroni 1966, 76–77, cat. no. 10; Zanichelli 1997, 57; A. Quazza, in Carassi, Massabò Ricci, and Pettenati 2011, 121–22, cat. no. 95. The first two books of the *Polistorio* contained in the Turin manuscript, are recorded in the inventory of the Gonzaga library (1407). See Girolla 1921–23, 71, nos. 23–24.

4 The signature of Antonio de Modena is still legible on f. 14v: *Antonius de mutina scripsit et incepit principium libri et gratia dei faciet finem*.

5 Lazzarini 2001, 751–56.

6 Glasgow, UL, MS Hunter 41 (books 3 and 4); New Haven, Beinecke Library, Marston MS 31 (book 4) and MS 1142 (books 1 and 2, formerly in the gallery Les Enluminures of Paris, Chicago, and New York); Venice, BNM, mss. It. Z, 35 (book 1), It. Z, 36 (dated 1430, books 1 and 2), It. Z, 37 (dated 1426, books 3 and 4); Venice, BMCVe, ms. 766 (dated 1481, book 1). See Frati and Segarizzi 1909–11, 1:31–34; Thorp 1987, 140–41, cat. no. 79; Kristeller 1963–97, 5:284 and 6:271.

7 Wieck 1983b, 132; Zanichelli 1997, 55–58; Zanichelli 2004b, 892.

8 Chicago, U. Chicago Library, Ms. 100. Labriola 2004c; A. Labriola, in Natali, Neri Lusanna, and Tartuferi 2012, 250–51, cat. no. 76.

9 Salutati 1896, 3:102–5.

10 For a reproduction of f. 15r see note 3, above. The illumination on f. 21r (God the Father) and the decorated initial on f. 157r are unpublished.

11 Venice, BNM, MS Fr. Z, 2. See Bisson 2008, 6–10; G. Freuler, in Tartuferi 2008, 236–39, cat. no. 57. The manuscript was made for Francesco Gonzaga and his first wife Agnese Visconti, who was accused of adultery and executed at the behest of her husband in 1391. He maintained the heraldic privilege granted to him in 1389 by Gian Galeazzo Visconti until the end of October 1394. See Malacarne 1993, 50–68. Also, Paris, BnF, ms. lat. 364, and Arras, Bm, ms. 252 (both with the Postilla in Genesim by Nicolaus de Lyra), made for Gian Galeazzo Visconti between 1395 and 1402, are thought to be the products of ties between Florence and Mantua. See Avril and Gousset 2005, 138–41, cat. no. 64.

12 Turin, BNU, ms. N.I.6. See Giaccaria 1986, 22–23, cat. no. 11; Zanichelli 1997, 58.

199. Pier Candido Decembrio, Opuscula historica
Master of Ippolita Sforza (illuminator)

Milan, Italy, c. 1460–65
Parchment, ff. 98, 260 x 174 (160 x 95) mm
Harvard University, Houghton Library, MS Richardson 23
Borso d'Este; bought from Joseph Martini (cat. 16, 1920, no. 10) by Richardson and bequeathed in 1951.

This manuscript, written in an elegant humanist script, contains a collection of writings by the Milanese humanist Pier Candido Decembrio (1399–1477): *De laudibus urbis Mediolanensis, De vita Philippi Mariae tercii Mediolanensis ducis, De rebus gestis a Nicolao Picenino, De historia romana epitoma ad regem*. The contents are recorded in a short list on f. 1v and in a more formal rubricated index on f. 3v. These precede the dedication to Borso d'Este, first Duke of Ferrara, Modena, and Reggio (1413–71).[1] The frontispiece (f. 4r) bears the d'Este arms, an eagle quartered with three golden fleurs-de-lis on a blue ground, and the duke's initials, *B* and *O*. At the center of the insignia is a smaller shield, its decoration now erased, which must also have borne an eagle. Two angels, gowned in white with long colorful wings, hold the duke's arms on a rectangular field of blue framed in gold leaf. The text opens with a series of elegant capitals executed in gold leaf and an eight-line *A* ("Admirabilis quedam res") embellished with white vine-stems. Cat. no. 199, therefore, is a refined dedication copy, with which Decembrio presented himself to the duke, in the hope that—as in fact, did transpire—he would obtain a court appointment.

f. 4r

This manuscript, which has a meticulous script and layout, was illuminated by a Lombard artist known as the Master of Ippolita Sforza, who was active in the Sforza court in the third quarter of the fifteenth century. This artist worked in the style of the so-called Master of the *Vitae Imperatorum*, who, with his workshop, was responsible for most of the books in the library of Filippo Maria Visconti. Indeed, the Master of Ippolita Sforza likely undertook his apprenticeship in the older artist's workshop. The attribution of the miniatures in this manucript to the Lombard illuminator was first suggested by Cynthia Pyle, who compared them with those in a book containing Gugielmo da Pesaro's *De pratica seu arte tripudi* (Paris, BnF, ms. ital. 973).[2] Pyle published another of Decembrio's manuscripts, a copy of the *De natura avium et animalium* (Vatican City, BAV, ms. Urb. lat. 276), which was presented to Ludovico Gonzaga, possibly before December 1460.[3] The frontispiece of the Vatican manuscript is nearly identical to that illustrated here, with the Duke of Mantua's arms instead of those of Borso d'Este. Urb. lat. 276, certainly the earlier of the two books, served as a model for the Houghton manuscript, which likely was executed soon thereafter. Stylistic comparison with other manuscripts illuminated by the Master of Ippolita Sforza, especially the *Eclogues*, *Aenied*, and *Georgics* of Virgil with their Servian commentaries (Valencia, UV, BH Ms. 891), written in Milan in 1465,[4] seems to confirm the dating suggested by scholars for this copy of Decembrio's *Opuscula*.

Milvia Bollati

1 The dedicaton reads: "Opuscula P. Candidi que in hoc codice continentur et Illustrissimo Principi Domino Borsio Duci Mutine inscribuntur." De Ricci 1935–40, 1:961; Kristeller 1963–97, 5:231; Zaggia 1993, 237.

2 Pyle 1988, 194–98. The attribution has been cited in subsequent studies of the manuscript, including Mulas 1998, 483–84; Zanichelli 2004, 688.

3 Zaccaria 1956, 30.

4 Alexander 1994, 67, no. 11; Toscano 1996–97, 169–78.

200. Pietro Andrea de' Bassi, Le Fatiche de Hercule

Ferrara, Italy, c. 1471
Parchment, ff. 38, 362 x 262 (235–38 x 165) mm
Harvard University, Houghton Library, MS Typ 226
Harrach Library, Vienna; sold by W. H. Schab, 1954; gift of Philip Hofer in honor of Francis T. P. Plimpton, 1982.

f. 23r (detail)

This manuscript was made for presentation to Galeazzo Maria Sforza, Duke of Milan (r. 1466–76), whose coat of arms and emblems are painted on its title page and in some of the foliate borders (see beginning of this chapter for image).[1] Pietro Andrea de' Bassi (c. 1375–1447), an official of the Estense court, wrote *The Labors of Hercules* in the first thirty years of the fifteenth century. He dedicated this book to Niccolò III d'Este (1383–1441), Marquis of Ferrara, perhaps on the occasion of the birth of Niccolò's son Ercole (1431), the future Ercole I (1471–1505). The labors of the demigod denounce the author's interest in classical mythology, but are narrated with chivalrous spirit and encomiastic style, only marginally influenced by the humanist teachings of Guarino da Verona, active in Ferrara since 1429. Hercules, who, according to Bassi, performed twenty-three labors and not the classic twelve, is described in the text as an example of strength and temperance, virtues any good prince should have.[2] This richly illuminated codex, written in humanistic script, was therefore likely produced at the Estense court as a gift to the Duke of Milan, with whom Ferrara had diplomatic relations, on the occasion of Ercole I d'Este's appointment as Duke of Ferrara, Modena, and Reggio in 1471, following the death of his half-brother Borso d'Este (see cat. no. 199).[3] The first page is framed by a *bianchi girari* frieze similar to those of other codices realized for Ercole I in the early seventies.[4] Due to the mutilation of the final chapters, which occurred in the twentieth century, there remain only twenty vignettes, flanked by bar friezes adorned with filigree penwork and multicolored flowers. In the rocky landscapes full of trees, the expressive and moving figures, the fanciful images of centaurs and other mythical creatures, and the bright and vibrant colors, we recognize the hand of a less gifted artist, whose style approaches that of Guglielmo Giraldi, a Ferrarese illuminator very close to the painter Cosmé Tura (f. 23r).[5] Giraldi's is the illumination representing *Arcita e Palmone* in the *Teseida* with Bassi's notes (Houghton Library, MS Typ 227), a manuscript considered a twin of MS Typ 226 in content and writing. It too was executed for presentation to Galeazzo Maria Sforza whose coat of arms and name written in gold it bears.[6] This codex has been identified in the Estense documents with that, commissioned by Alberto d'Este, which was made and paid for in 1471, through the scholar and librarian Carlo da San Giorgio, to both the "cartolaio" Francesco dai Gigli and the scribe Niccolò de Passino.[7] It is not impossible that the coat of arms and the emblems of the two copies, realized with extreme precision, were added upon their arrival in Milan. The texts were copied in Ferrara from a manuscript dedicated to Niccolò III (Milan, Bibl. Ambros., ms. D 524 inf), which was written between 1435 and 1436 by the calligrapher Biagio Busoni from Cremona and illuminated by Jacopino d'Arezzo. From the same manuscript comes the printed edition published in Ferrara in 1475 by the press of Augustinus Carnerius.[8]

Federica Toniolo

1 Bassi 1971; Pellegrin 1969, 53 on the provenance from the Visconti and Sforza library; Wieck 1983b, 72–73, no. 35 with earlier bibliography.
2 Tissoni Benvenuti 1993, 773–92, with a comment on the content and the meaning of the book at the Estense Court; Looney 2012, 167–69.
3 Another codex with *The Labors of Hercules*, realized in Ferrara and most likely commissioned by Eleonora d'Aragona, wife of Ercole I, to be gifted to the Aragonese court of Naples where it was also illuminated, is the copy now at the Louvre, Edmond de Rothschild Collection, ms. 3. See Toscano in Avril, Reynaud, and Cordellie 2011, 101–8, no. 51.
4 For a comparison with other *bianchi girari* codices, executed for Ercole I d'Este, see Toniolo 1998, 229–31, no. 2, 42–43.
5 Guglielmo Giraldi's works valid for comparisons are those realized in the last years of Borso's rule and the first of the dukedom of Ercole I, when the artist was often assisted by a workshop: Mariani Canova 1995; for a bibliographical profile of the illuminator see Toniolo 2004, 305–10.
6 Manzari in Branca 1999, 2:301–3, no. 127.
7 Agostinelli 1985–86, 9–11. For the payment document see Franceschini 1993, 791–92, doc. 1288 i, o. Alberto d'Este can be probably identified with one of the illigitimate sons of Niccolò III (1415–1502).
8 Agostinelli 1985–86, 42–43; Azzetta in Ballardini, Frasso, and Monti 2004, 88–89, no. 18.

201. Andrea Domenico Fiocchi, De Romanorum Magistratibus

Rome, Italy, 1465
Parchment, ff. 34, 302 x 204 (195 x 115) mm
Harvard University, Houghton Library, MS Typ 496[1]
Leighton (London bookseller), no. 789 in an undated catalogue; Sotheby's, London, December 19, 1955, lot 57, and December 11, 1961, lot 170; bought by Curt H. Reisinger from Davis and Orioli, London (cat. 166, 1962, no. 43) and presented 1962.

Fiocchi (c. 1400–52) composed this highly successful work, also known as *De Potestatibus Romanis* (*On the Offices of the Roman Empire*), on the public officials, priests, and magistrates of ancient Rome in the mid-1420s, when tutor to Francesco di Giuliano de' Medici. His method was to paraphrase (often inelegantly) passages of classical authors known to him. The Roman Law Digest and writers such as Livy and Aulus Gellius are cited, but he neglected, for example, Cicero's Orations. Many manuscripts attribute the text to the Latin writer Fenestella (d. 19 or 32 CE) to enhance its authority (the printed edition of 1474 corrected this). The work was dedicated to Cardinal Branda Castiglioni, and a version of c. 1434 to Cardinal Francesco Condulmer. From 1430, Fiocchi worked for the latter's uncle, Cardinal Gabriele Condulmer, who became Pope Eugenius IV (1431–47); after 1431, Fiocchi gained rapid promotion and was

an apostolic secretary by 1452. In the 1430s, Fiocchi can be seen engaged in humanistic studies with other members of the Papal Curia, including Flavio Biondo and Poggio Bracciolini.

f. 32r (detail)

The portrait on f. 32r is of George Kastrioti (1404–68), known as Scanderbeg, a name meaning Lord Alexander in Turkish given him when serving the Ottomans. From the 1440s, Scanderbeg turned on his masters and sought to drive them from the Balkans and Albania. Scanderbeg had diplomatic relations with the papacy and Venice; from c. 1451 he was a vassal and loyal supporter of the Aragonese kings of Naples, to whom he described himself as the heir of the classical king Pyrrhus (d. 272 BCE) of Epirus, modern Albania. The initials "EV" (*Epirotarum Victor*), show papal Rome presenting him as the modern incarnation of a classical ruler, one that would drive the Muslims from Christendom.

The manuscript was originally bound with a copy by the same scribe, and with the same white-vine decoration, of Macrobius's *Saturnalia*, a work of c. 430 CE composed in Christian Rome (London, V&A, MSL/1952/1769) and evidencing nostalgia for the pagan past—a suitable complement to a work by Fenestella. The V&A manuscript has the arms of the Maffei family: Gherardo di Giovanni Maffei of Volterra (1398–1466) or his sons, all papal servants, would be candidates for identification as the first owner.

Rowan Watson

1 Mercati 1939; *Houghton Library Report* 1962, 2; Wieck 1983b, 135, 161, fig. 99; Laureys 1995; Pignatti 1997; Schmitt 2009; Watson 2011, 2:558–61.

202. Cassius Dio, Rhōmaïkē historia
Giovanni Onorio da Maglie (illuminator and scribe)

Rome, Italy, c. 1550
Parchment, ff. 73, 121 x 70 (80 x 40) mm
Harvard University, Houghton Library, MS Typ 144
Stefano Evodio Assemani, Vatican librarian; Guglielmo Libri (London, 1862, no. 198); sold by W. H. Schab in 1946, bequest of Philip Hofer, 1984.

p. 1

This elegant diminutive manuscript of Dio's *Roman History* was commissioned by Cardinal Alessandro Farnese (1520–89), the grandson of Pope Paul III. It is a product of the insatiable interest in everything Greek by Italians during the Renaissance, when many Greek émigré scribes and scholars fulfilled commissions from Italian secular scholars and clerical officials who wanted to own works of classical Greek authors.[1]

The present manuscript is distinctive in at least three ways. First, it contains a work by Cassius Dio (155–235 CE), who was of Greek origin and who wrote in Greek, but became a Roman consul and composed a history of Rome in eighty volumes. Second, it includes the text of Dio's *Roman History* in an abridged version, which was compiled by an eleventh-century Byzantine monk John Xiphilinus, a nephew of Patriarch John VIII of Constantinople. Third, it was executed by a renowned Greek calligrapher, Giovanni Onorio da Maglie, who was not a Greek émigré but

was born in the town of Maglie in Terra d'Otranto in southern Italy, where Greek culture and language were deeply rooted.

Giovanni Onorio da Maglie was an official *scriptor* of the Vatican Library from 1535 to 1563.[2] During this period he executed more than one hundred manuscripts, and his script is among the finest in post-Byzantine calligraphy. Onorio also restored manuscripts and was a skillful illuminator. MS Typ 144 displays decorative motifs that Onorio employed in many manuscripts, and there can be no doubt that he himself illuminated this one.

MS Typ 144 features two delicately executed *pi*-shaped headpieces (pp. 1 and 61). Each is outlined with a narrow frame in liquid gold, and, inside the field, irises (a Farnese heraldic device) flank a central cameo. On the lower part of these folios two putti hold a blue banner with the coat of arms of Cardinal Alessandro Farnese. Each coat of arms is topped with the cardinal's red hat, and, underneath, his name and title is written in gold ink: "Alex. Card. De. Farnesio. S.R.E. Vicecancel." The white ribbons around the puttis' waists display Farnese's motto: "Ὄλβιος ἀεί" ("Always fortunate").

Nadezhda Kavrus-Hoffmann

1 On this subject, see N. Wilson 1992.

2 *Scriptores* of the Vatican Library are not merely scribes but also scholars and secretaries; see, for example, Pasini 2011. For Onorio, see Agati 2001. MS Typ 144 is mentioned on pages 50, 69, 195, 255, 257.

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203. Septem Psalmi Penitentiales (prayer book of Pope Julius III)
Vincent Raymond di Lodève (illuminator), Federico Mario da Perugia (scribe)

Rome, Italy, 1550
Parchment, ff. 35, 255–58 x 175 (185 x 122 gilt frame; justification 168 x 110) mm
Harvard University, Houghton Library, MS Typ 276
Deposited at Houghton Library by Philip Hofer, 1967, and bequeathed by him in 1984.

The present manuscript is identified here for the first time as the prayer book of Pope Julius III (r. 1550–55), which has hitherto only been known to scholars through a payment record.[1] Since Léon Dorez's 1912 discovery that on August 17, 1550 twenty scudi d'oro were given to a miniaturist named Vincent for painting an "Uffiziolo di Sua Beatitudine," the book has been lamented as a lost late work of the distinguished papal illuminator Vincent Raymond di Lodève (d. 1557; see also cat. nos. 204, 221).[2] Originally from France, Raymond forged a successful career in Rome illuminating liturgical manuscripts for the Sistine Chapel and Sacristy, which spanned the papacies of Leo X (1513–21) to Paul IV (1555–59). His service to the Curia was rewarded in 1549, when Paul III appointed him the first official papal miniaturist with life tenure.[3] Specimens of Raymond's work from the 1550s are scarce; the Harvard manuscript is therefore an important addition to his œuvre. Furthermore, his receipt of additional payment for the prayer book indicates that it was a private commission paid for from Julius III's personal funds.[4]

Although Julius III's *uffiziolo* (or *offiziolo*) has been supposed to be a book of hours,[5] the Harvard manuscript contains no Office of the Virgin, calendar, or Gospel lessons, yet the price paid to Raymond for its decoration suggests that it is complete, and not a fragment of a prayer book.[6] It opens with the Seven Penitential Psalms, litany of the saints and collects, followed by offices of the Holy Cross, Holy Spirit, and Holy Trinity, and further prayers and accessory texts: *Conditor celi et terre*, *Obsecro te*, *O intemerata*, St. Augustine's *O dulcissime domine*, suffrages to the archangels Michael and Gabriel, St. Anselm's *Domine Deus meus*, and entreaties for safe travel and against demons.[7] Presumably the new pope already owned a sumptuous book of hours, and so commissioned a more portable book with a personalized selection of prayers. Nonetheless, it is a rare example of a book for private devotion belonging to a Renaissance pope.[8] The script is likely the "elegant and sober" hand of the papal scribe Federico Mario da Perugia (*fl.* 1538–51),[9] who regularly collaborated with Raymond to produce deluxe Vatican manuscripts, such as the magnificent psalter of Pope Paul III of 1542.[10] In 1550 they executed a canon of the Mass for Julius III, which is comparable to the Harvard prayer book.[11] Both Julian manuscripts are slim volumes with a similar mise-en-page and restrained decorative scheme, including a single miniature and gold capitals on grounds striated in light blue and/or red.[12]

f. 1r (detail)

Medal of Julius III, London, British Museum, M.6825

The first folio of MS Typ 276 bears an illusionistic golden frame with bead and reel molding at its sight edge, which encloses a plaque inscribed with the title in gold on a deep blue ground, and a bust portrait of an ecclesiastic in profile. Wearing a cope richly embroidered with holy figures standing in niches but no papal tiara, he is identifiable as Julius III (born Giovanni Maria Ciocchi del Monte) by the gold three-mountains charge from his family arms, which is repeated in the four corners between the circular and rectangular frames surrounding his image. The likeness displays a realism—particularly in its close observation of the pope's facial features, aged skin and hair—approaching, though not as accomplished, as that found in Raymond's only other work of pure portraiture, a full-page miniature of Paul III presenting the Constitutions of the Sistine Chapel to the College of Choristers which he painted in 1545.[13] This portrait of Julius III circulated among grandees of the papal court on the obverse of a medal produced by Giovanni Cavino of Padua (1500–70), which was struck in 1554 to commemorate the restoration of Catholicism in England, and reconciliation between the kingdom and the papacy instigated by the marriage of Queen Mary I to Philip II of Spain.[14] Though the papal vestments depicted in the miniature and medal are not identical, the latter preserves details that are now worn away in the manuscript, such as the ruby morse (or clasp) which survives as an oval of red paint. Cavino's hitherto unknown model for his medal is the source of its bead and reel border, which is unique in the Paduan's œuvre.[15]

The openings of the manuscript's offices and major prayers are marked by eight six-line historiated initials containing grisaille figures depicting the following subjects: Crucifixion, Pentecost, Throne of Mercy, Salvator Mundi, Virgin and Child, Virgo Lactans, St. Augustine, and St. Anselm. These are analogous with the monochromatic allegorical figures and portraits in cameos painted by Raymond in the borders of lavish service books in the late 1530s, such as the gradual-antiphonal of the Roman church of Santiago de los Españos and two antiphonals from the papacy of Paul III.[16] The twenty scudi d'oro paid to Raymond for Julius III's *uffiziolo* is an appropriate sum for the frontispiece papal portrait and initials painted by his hand in Ms Typ 276 by comparison to the hundreds of scudi he received for illuminating lavishly decorated Sistine Chapel service books for Julius's predecessor. [17]

The Harvard prayer book's decoration was previously attributed to the Veronese painter Gian Francesco Caroto (c. 1480–c. 1555) due to a misidentification of the book stamp in the lower margin of folio one.[18] The ex libris actually comprises the coat of arms of the Barotti family of Ferrara, and the words "IO. AND. BAROTTI FERRARIEN," indicating that it was owned by Giovanni Andrea Barotti (1701–72), a Ferrarese author, editor of Ariosto, and reformer of the University of Ferrara, who was also a founder, benefactor, and the first keeper of his city's public library.[19] Barotti's book collection was sold by his heirs to the university in 1784, but some volumes, including the present manuscript, ended up in London by 1817, where they were auctioned in the mysterious "Importation from Sicily" Sotheby's sale.[20]

Anne-Marie Eze

1 I am grateful to Francesca Manzari for drawing my attention to MS Typ 276 and for generously suggesting that I write this entry because I recognized its significance. I also thank William P. Stoneman and Peter Kidd for their research on the book's later provenance. Rome, Archivio di Stato, Camerlate I, Tesoreria Segreta, vol. 1295, 1550, f. 31v: "17 agosto 1550: scudi venti di oro a mastro Vincentio miniatore per dono che Nostro Signore gli fa per haverle miniato un Uffiziolo di S. B.ne." Dorez's discovery was published in Durrieu 1912, 156–57.

2 Talamo 1998, 146n100, 207; Talamo 2006, 616n11; Talamo 2007, 298; De Laurentiis and Talamo 2010, 311.

3 De Laurentiis and Talamo 2010, 18–19.

4 Talamo 2007, 298; De Laurentiis and Talamo 2010, 20.

5 See note 2.

6 I am grateful to Elena De Laurentiis for evaluating the *uffiziolo*'s price in relation to the type and number of decorations in MS Typ 276 in the context of the payments made to Raymond for the illumination of surviving Sistine Chapel service books in the late 1540s.

7 Peter Kidd has suggested that an indication that the book's content was personalized for the pope is the fifth collect after the litany (f. 12v), which reads "Omnipotens sempiterne deus miserere mei famuli tui…" instead of the standard "Omnipotens sempiterne deus miserere famulo tuo papae nostro…," or with the common variants "ministro nostro" and "pontifici nostro," for books of the use of Rome.

8 The only other papal prayer books known to me are those of the Antipope Clement VII (r. 1378–94) and Alexander VI (r. 1492–1503), Avignon, Bm, ms. 6733, and Brussels, BRB, ms. IV 480, respectively. De Forbin and Gaillard 1996, Manzari 2006, 211–16 and Serra Desfilis 2011.

9 Talamo 2007, 297.

10 Paris, BnF, ms. lat. 8880. Dorez 1909, ad indicem, esp. 5n1; Alexander 1994, no. 129; Talamo 1998, 125; Talamo 2006, 613–14; Talamo 2007, 297; and De Laurentiis and Talamo 2010, 15, fig. 35.

11 Vatican City, BAV, ms. Vat. lat. 5464. Talamo 2006, Talamo 2007, and De Laurentiis and Talamo 2010, 20, fig. 44.

12 The canon of the Mass has a miniature of the Resurrected Christ blessing on f. 15r.

13 Vatican City, BAV, ms. Capp. Sist. 611, f. 1r. Wieck 1989 and Talamo 1998, 128–30, fig. 170.

14 Cessi 1969, 50–51, no. 19 and Gorini 1973, 114, fig. 5. On the medal's reverse is a scene of Julius III raising a suppliant female personification of England before the Catholic monarchs, Charles V and Cardinal Reginald Pole. British Museum, M.6825. Giovanni da Cavino, Medal of Julius III, 1544. Bronze, 44 diam. mm. The image appears courtesy of the Trustees of the British Museum.

15 Cessi 1969, 51.

16 Respectively Madrid, BNE, MS Vitr. 16-1, and Vatican City, BAV, mss. Capp. Sist. 2, f. 3r, and Capp. Sist. 11, f. 1r. See Alexander 1994, no. 127; Talamo 1998, 91–92, 106–18, figs. 124 and 135. Saffiotti Dale 2004, 900.

17 For example, under Paul III, Raymond received 457 scudi d'oro in three installments in January, May, and June 1546 for illuminating Sistine Chapel service books. De Laurentiis and Talamo 2010, 309.

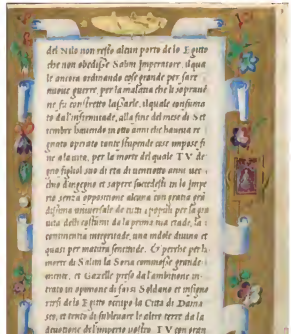
18 Sotheby's, London, December 7, 1953, lot 45.

19 *D'azur, à deux colombes d'argent, affrontées sur une roue d'or, accompagné en chef d'une comète d'or ondoyante en pal, et accostées de deux étoiles du même.* Farinelli Toselli 2006, 105n10, Bonazza 2008, ad indicem.

20 Pagnoni 1996, 16–17, Bonazza 2008, 359–60 and Sotheby's, London, April 19, 1817, lot 50 for 2s 6d. Another manuscript from Barotti's library in the 1817 sale, is London, BL, Burney MS. 254, a fifteenth-century Italian collection of classical and humanist texts. See the British Library online *Catalogue of Illuminated Manuscripts*.

204. Divo Solimano Invictissimo
Vincent Raymond di Lodève (illuminator)

Venice, Italy, c. 1532
Parchment, ff. 10, 200 x 140 (137 x 73–75) mm
Harvard University, Houghton Library, MS Typ 145
Sold by Maggs, London 1949; bequest of Philip Hofer, 1984.



ff. 6v–7r

This manuscript is a panegyric for the Ottoman sultan, Süleyman the Magnificent.[1] It was commissioned by Alvise Gritti (son of the reigning doge of Venice, Andrea Gritti) and Ibrahim Pasha, the sultan's grand vizier, to commemorate Süleyman's victory against the Habsburgs in Hungary and Austria.[2] The manuscript was part of a set of luxury objects designed for his 1532 triumphal parade. It was a costly diplomatic gift, reflective of Venice's strong political ties with Istanbul.[3] Its images and text offer a celebratory account of Ottoman military history. The eulogy begins with a provocative claim: since the sultan's empire has surpassed all others in grandeur, "all nations and peoples now await him to become World Monarch" (f. 1r). This is a veiled reference to the rivalry between the expanding empires of the Habsburgs and Ottomans in the early sixteenth century.[4]

The panegyric was written using a fine italic script characteristic of sixteenth-century Italian manuscripts known as *cancelleresca*. Vera Law attributed the manuscript to the Vicentine papal scribe and type designer Ludovico Vicentino degli Arrighi,[5] who published in 1524 the first manual on how to use *cancelleresca*, his famous *La Operina* (*The Little Work*). The calligraphy certainly points to Arrighi as the author, but the manuscript's dates make this attribution problematic because Arrighi presumably died in 1527 after the sack of Rome[6] and the manuscript refers to events that happened after this year, for instance Süleyman's siege of Vienna in 1529 and his military campaign against Hungary in 1532.

Like other humanist books from northern Italy, Süleyman's panegyric features a central scroll whose margins are adorned with classicizing motifs, cameos, and images of flowers, jewels, pearls, and precious stones.[7] Another reference to classical antiquity is its claim that the Ottoman dynasty descends from the Greek gods Apollo and Cassandra (f. 1r). The two folios illustrated here constitute a fine example of this classicizing style; f. 6v has a miniature cameo on the right margin with a Roman soldier painted in grisaille over a green background, while f. 7r has one with a winged victory. All folios have a small vignette painted in grisaille, closely related to the text. Folio 6v portrays Sultan Selim I's (Süleyman's father) victory over the Mamluk sultan Qanush al-Ghawri. Selim is on horseback while his enemies flee and the Mamluk sultan lies on the floor, defeated. Folio 7r narrates Süleyman's accession to the throne through an image of his coronation ceremony. Instead of using traditional Ottoman regalia the author painted an elaborate four-crown headgear that strongly resembles the papal tiara. It was an actual crown made by Vincenzo Levriero and Luigi Caorlini, Venetian goldsmiths from the Rialto district[8] and part of the pasha and Gritti's gift. Gülru Necipoğlu describes this Europeanized headgear as a symbol that "advertised the sultan's claim to universal sovereignty."[9] The crown figures prominently in the manuscript—it is depicted on eight of the manuscript's miniature paintings and there is a direct reference to it at the end of the text (f. 10r)—making it possible to suggest that both panegyric and crown were presented to Süleyman together prior to his triumphal parade.[10]

Regarding the manuscript's illuminations, Vera Law attributed them to Vincent Raymond di Lodève,[11] a French-born miniaturist who worked in Rome for popes Leo X (1513–21) and Paul IV (1555–59). There is a strong resemblance between the panegyric for Süleyman and other works by Raymond, for example the book of hours of Eleonora Ippolita Gonzaga.[12] The depiction of small classical cameos, grisaille miniatures, and the animals and flowers around the central scroll, for example, seem to have been painted by the same hand. In terms of its subject matter, this manuscript has no equivalent in Venetian illuminated manuscripts from that period although there is an anonymous epic poem dedicated to Sultan Selim I and Süleyman that is close to it in content. Written in northern Italy sometime between 1518 and 1520 and using a Veneto-Emiliana dialect, this work also praises the Ottoman sultans and their empire.[13]

The panegyric to Süleyman is reflective of the artistic cross-cultural exchanges between Venice and Istanbul, as well of their political ties. The early years of Süleyman's reign show an increase in Ottoman patronage of Venetian artists, due in no small part to Alvise Gritti and Ibrahim Pasha. A deluxe manuscript illustrated by Vincent Raymond and written either by Ludovico degli Arrighi or a skilled scribe who closely followed his style would have been highly valued by humanist scholars and heads of state, making it a splendid diplomatic gift for a powerful ruler.

Ana Pulido-Rull

1 Pulido-Rull 2015 includes a reproduction of the manuscript in full and an English translation of the text.
2 Süleyman and his army carried out three military campaigns in Hungary in an attempt to control this kingdom. The first one took place in 1526 and culminated in the Battle of Mohacs, when they killed King Louis II. Three years later, in 1529, the Habsburg king Ferdinand I occupied northern Hungary and Süleyman came back to the region to fight against him. The sultan carried out a third campaign against the Habsburgs in 1532, seeking to establish Ottoman control over the whole of Hungary (the western part belonged to the Habsburgs). He was not able to conquer Vienna, however, but did manage to gain control of the south. I discuss these events in ibid., 101.
3 Although their relationship was not always a peaceful one—for example during the Ottoman-Venetian wars of 1499–1503—the manuscript highlights the peace treaty signed by Andrea Gritti and Sultan Bayezid II in 1503.
4 Kumrular 2005, 21.
5 Law 1978, 371.
6 Alexander 1994, 242.
7 Ibid., 16.
8 Necipoğlu 1989, 402 and Kurz 1969, 249.
9 Necipoğlu 1989, 409.
10 There are four other sixteenth-century representations of this headdress: three woodcuts by an anonymous Venetian artist (from 1532 and 1535) and one engraving by the Venetian artist Agostino Veneziano from 1535. In the seventeenth century, an anonymous artist made three copper engravings that depict Süleyman on horseback wearing the crown. However, no other Venetian manuscript portrays Süleyman's headgear.
11 Law 1978, 374.
12 Oxford, Bodleian Library, MS. Douce 29, Italian book of hours, use of Rome (Hours of Eleonora Ippolita Gonzaga), c. 1530–38.
13 Lippi 2004, 87.

205. Commission of doge Andrea Gritti to Lorenzo Diedo as podestà of Monfalcone

Master of the Trees (illuminator), Mendoza Binder (binder)

Venice, Italy, November 22, 1533
Tufts University, Tisch Library, Special Collections, Ms. 6
Parchment, ff. 24, 221 x -150 (154 x 100) mm
Donated to Tufts University Library by alumnus Walter Frederick Welch Jr. in 1957.

This elegantly bound volume is a hitherto unrecorded example of the work of two major artists of Venetian book production of the first half of the Cinquecento, the so-called Mendoza Binder and Master of the Trees. In 1533 they embellished the *commissione dogale* of the Venetian patrician Lorenzo Diedo on the occasion of his appointment as podestà of Monfalcone, an important coastal town in Friuli located at the northeastern frontier of the Republic of Venice's mainland empire (see cat. no. 206).[1] Issued by the chancellery of doge Andrea Gritti (r. 1523–38), the manuscript contains the duties and regulations for the officer-elect's sixteen-month governorship. Written in Latin (ff. 1–15r) and Venetian (ff. 15r–24) by a ducal scribe, it was notarized on November 22, 1533 by Angelo Sanson, the chancellery secretary who oversaw the election of governors in the Great Council.[2]

f. 1r

The *commissione* was illuminated and bound at Diedo's own expense and so reflects his taste and ambitions. The frontispiece's decoration of a floral border inhabited by symbols of the state and of the governor is simple with conventional personalizing imagery (f. 1r).[3] Visible behind the trompe l'œil cartouche flaunting the Diedo arms "suspended" from ribbons fluttering in the breeze, a landscape with a hilltop fortress overlooking water on the horizon accurately depicts the military architecture and strategic location of the Rocca di Monfalcone.[4] Elevated above the Gulf of Trieste on the Adriatic Sea, it defended Venice's eastern border from land and sea attacks. Destroyed during the War of the League of Cambrai, the fortress was rebuilt in 1525 by podestà Giovanni Diedo, who may have been Lorenzo's elder brother.[5] Therefore, the diminutive but recognizable landmark commemorated Lorenzo Diedo's appointment and his family's recent achievements in Monfalcone.[6] Distinctive spindly trees with foliage of dappled greens identify the illumination as the work of the Master of the Trees, who specialized in painting *commissioni* in the 1520s–50s and so was a rival of Master T.° Ve (see cat. nos. 206–7).[7] The classical simplicity of the binding's gold-tooled lyre-shaped arabesques, flowers, and leaves framing circles enclosing Diedo's name and year of his appointment, is characteristic of the designs of the Mendoza Binder.[8] Master of the dominant bindery of *commissioni* from the 1520s–50s, he is named for his major foreign client the Spanish humanist and ambassador Diego Hurtado de Mendoza, who commissioned the finest bindings available in Venice during his ambassadorial sojourn in the lagoon city in the early 1540s.[9]

Anne-Marie Eze

1 Monfalcone came under Venetian rule as a result of the conquest of Friuli in 1420. Tagliaferri 1973, xxvi.
2 Neff 1985, 539–40.
3 The lion of St. Mark, the governor's onomastic patron St. Lawrence, and family arms. Unfortunately the miniature is worn in parts, especially the figure of

the saint and the lion symbolizing the Republic.

4 The illumination of the *commissione* of Alvise Loredan who was podestà of Monfalcone in 1522 does not include an image of the rocca, which had yet to be rebuilt (Paris, BnF, ms. lat. 4736). Szépe, forthcoming.

5 Gruppo Speleologico Monfalconese, n.d., 1. The fortification of Monfalcone and the rocca's structure from 1525–29 are described in great detail in the reports of three lieutenants of Udine under whose jurisdiction was the entire region of Friuli. Tagliaferri 1973–79, 1:4, 7, and 15.

6 In the Tufts manuscript, the usual patronymic is not given for Lorenzo Diedo, but he is probably identifiable with Lorenzo di Giacomo Diedo, of the San Lorenzo branch of the family. He married three times into the Loredan (1523), Sagredo (1538), and Canal (1552) families but apparently had no legitimate offspring. His brother Zuanne (Venetian for Giovanni), who married into the Armondo family in 1520, was Provveditore of Treviso in 1528 and died in 1546 (Venice, Biblioteca del Museo Correr, ms. Cicogna 2500, Marco Barbaro, Genealogia, ff. 118v–19r). I am grateful to Helena Szépe for this information.

7 Zuccolo Padrono 1972, 16–18, figs. 18–20. The master's eponymous manuscripts are Cambridge, UK, Fitzwilliam Mus., MS 188 item 3 and Marlay cutting It. 45. See Morgan, Panayotova, and Reynolds 2011, 1: cat. nos. 83 and 86.

8 Nuvoloni 2000, 82, pl. 2, 89, 93–101.

9 He is possibly identifiable with the bookbinder Andrea di Lorenzo (d. after 1548), a native of Verona, resident in the Venetian parish of San Fantin. A. Hobson 1999, 119 and 251.

206. Commission of doge Francesco Donato to Vincenzo Gritti as lieutenant of Udine

T.° Ve Master (illuminator), Emblematic Binder (binder)

Venice, Italy, July 27, 1546
Parchment, ff. 97, 232 x 160 (156 x 100) mm
Isabella Stewart Gardner Museum, 2.a.2.1
Purchased in 1903 by Isabella Stewart Gardner from Charles Eliot Norton as part of a group of Venetian manuscripts.

This document was given to the Venetian patrician Vincenzo Gritti, son of Piero, before he left for Udine, to formally commission him as lieutenant in that subject city, and to guide his actions through relevant regulations and statutes. It is one of thousands of such codices, called *commissioni ducali*, which were given to patricians elected to regional offices over the course of Venetian imperial rule (cat. nos. 205 and 207). Many of them were beautifully painted and bound to celebrate the Republic and the recipient, and were kept by the family as records of the achievements of illustrious forebears, and to consult in plotting civic career advancement.[1]

The lieutenant of Udine was one of the highest of Venetian rectors, and he oversaw not only the city, but the entire region of Friuli and the office of the patriarch of Aquileia. Although Friuli was sparsely populated and generally impoverished, its location at the extreme northeast of the Italian peninsula provided a buffer for Venice against invaders, and invaluable land routes of passage and trade north through the Alps (cat. no. 205).

The document text is phrased as if the reigning doge Francesco Donato (r. 1545–53) directly commissioned Gritti, but election to such posts typically took place in the Great Council under the supervision of a distinguished secretary, called "alle voci."[2] The document concludes with this secretary's signature, and with the salaries and allowances of Gritti and of his staff, signed by a financial notary of the *Governatori delle intrade*.

The opening miniature (f. 1r) is typical of the work of the so-called T.° Ve Master, named after the inscription "T.° Ve. Dep 1528" scratched in at the base of a detached *commissione* leaf of 1535, now in the Fitzwilliam Museum, Cambridge, UK. The notation in the Cambridge document clearly was made in an effort to attribute the illumination to the great master Titian, or Tiziano Vecellio. Indeed, while the work of the T.° Ve Master is distinctive, his palette emulates that of Titian in his early maturity of 1511 to 1540. The Master was one of the most prolific miniaturists of the sixteenth century, and at least eighty miniatures can be attributed to him and his workshop. Typical of his work are the side lozenges personalized with images of patron saints of the recipient, and the military spoils and cuirasses represented as if bronze relief sculptures in the borders.[3]

f. 1r

Gritti was elected lieutenant on May 9, 1546 and he probably received the manuscript on or shortly after July 28, when a notary of officials in charge of indirect taxes (*sopra Dazi*) added regulations (f. 93r). On that same day, in preparation for his sojourn abroad, Gritti published his testament under the notary Giuseppe Cigrini.[4] Indeed, although elected to serve for sixteen months, Gritti died shortly before the end of the year, after arriving in Udine in August of 1546.[5]

Vincenzo Gritti's *casa da statio*, or residential palace in Venice, was the Gothic structure (now Palazzo Gritti Morosini Badoer) in Campo Bandiera e Moro, next to the Church of San Giovanni Battista in Bragora.[6] He married a daughter of Cristoforo di Lorenzo Moro in 1511 and they had one surviving son, Piero (d. 1582), who presumably preserved his father's document in the palace among other important papers and memorabilia.

Helena Katalin Szépe

1 Szépe 2001 and 2013.

2 The monogram (notarial sign) and signature of the *Segretario alle voci* Girolamo Muriani appear on f. 93r as the dated *corroboratio* (on this secretary see Neff 1985, 2:483–84).

3 Commission to Pietro Tagliapietra as podestà of Vicenza, 1535. Cambridge, Fitzwilliam Mus., Marlay Cutting It. 43. Zuccolo Padrono 1971, 53 and 55; Morgan, Panayotova, and Reynolds 2011, 1:159, no. 84; Szépe 2013, 30–31.

4 Venice, Archivio di Stato (ASVe), Notarile, Testamenti, Atti Cigrini 208.213.

5 ASVe, *Segretario alle voci*, v. 2, ff. 120v–21r; Marco Barbaro, *Genealogie e origi-*

ni di famiglie venete patrizie, Venice, Biblioteca del Museo Correr, ms. Cicogna 2501 (v. IV), ff. 118v–19r; Girolamo Alessandro Cappellari Vivaro, *Il Campidoglio veneto*, Venice, Biblioteca Nazionale Marciana, ms. It. VII, 16 (=8305), f. 188v.

6 ASVe, Dieci savi alle decime in Rialto, Condizioni di decima, Redecima 1514, b. 78, S. Giovanni Decollato, 8.

207. Commission of doge Francesco Donato to Girolamo Morosini as captain of Brescia

T.° Ve. Master (illuminator), Mendoza Binder (binder)

Venice, Italy, July 17, 1547
Parchment, ff. 114, 222 x 148 (148 x 92) mm
Isabella Stewart Gardner Museum, 2.c.2.2
Purchased in 1903 by Isabella Stewart Gardner from Charles Eliot Norton as part of a group of Venetian manuscripts.

f. 1r

This is a commission to the Venetian patrician Girolamo Morosini to govern the town and territory of Brescia for sixteen months. It is one of many such documents, called *commissioni ducali*, featuring a portrait of the recipient (cat. nos. 205–6).[1] An inscription below the likeness states Morosini's age as forty-five (f. 1r). Because the manuscript also carries a date and official signatures, the portrait is presented as a visual document recording Morosini's appearance at a moment in time, which has been added to the textual one recording his achievement of a high office of state. The specificity of the portrait, which shows Morosini's hairline receding, prompts the question of whether the miniaturist was provided with a portrait model by another artist, or created one from life.

Brescia had become part of the Venetian Republic in 1426, a consequence of victory in the Lombard wars against Filippo Maria Visconti. It was an important city for Venetian security, and governance of it included a large territory requiring two elected Venetian rectors. Their responsibilities roughly broke down as follows: the podestà oversaw civil and judicial affairs, and the captain was in charge of finances and the military. Election in the Great Council to one of these offices was one of the highest civic achievements for a patrician, and although an honor, the office required considerable personal financial outlay as well as dedicated service far away from Venice.[2] Morosini went on to even higher recognition and power, for he was chosen in 1553 as one of the forty-one electors of the doge in 1553, and was elected lieutenant of Udine in 1557.[3]

The illumination can be attributed to the T.° Ve. Master, perhaps the most prolific artist of Venetian commissions, and who seems to have been active from around 1530 to 1565 (cat. no. 206).[4] The overall composition of a decorative frame with scrolling vines and flowers affirming the surface of the parchment, carved out to reveal views into landscapes beyond the page, is typical of the Master. The scheme of the patrician in prayer to the Virgin and Child in the clouds also was common in the Master's repertoire. But the image of the Throne of Grace (in German, *Gnadenstuhl*), with God the Father holding up the crucified Christ, is rare in these documents. It must have been requested by Morosini to honor a personal focus of his devotion.[5]

Charles Eliot Norton (1827–1908), who sold the manuscript to Isabella Stewart Gardner in 1903, identified the sitter as a Morosini whose father was buried in the church of San Giobbe.[6] But the name of the father of that Girolamo was Pandolfo, and the father's name of this one is identified in the election records as Cristoforo.[7] In fact, there were at least four contemporary patricians with the name Girolamo Morosini.[8] Portraits within such documents, correlated with information from election records, are important resources for more precisely identifying the sitters for monumental portraits. The documents and their images also offer invaluable insight into patrician lives and ideals.[9]

Helena Katalin Szépe

1 Szépe 2001 and 2013.
2 Tagliaferri 1973–79, 5:vi.
3 Venice, Archivio di Stato, *Segretario alle voci*, Elezioni in Maggior Consiglio, r. 2, ff. 139v–40r; Marco Barbaro, *Genealogie e origini di famiglie venete patrizie*, Venice, Biblioteca del Museo Correr, ms. Gradenigo Dolfin 81.5, ff. 204r and 214v; Tagliaferri 1973–79, 11:liii; 1:ix, 67–72 with Morosini's report (*relazione*) presented to the Senate April 20, 1559. Morosini, elected March 27, 1547, was to enter his post on July 24, 1547, and to leave October 1548.
4 Zuccolo Padrono 1971; Szépe 2013, 30–31.
5 Morosini may, for example, have been a member of the scuola (confraternity) of the Trinity. Vio 2004, 913–15.
6 The manuscript was inscribed by Norton on the inside of the upper cover, "Girolamo Morosini died 1570.v. Cicogna. Inscr. Venez. 6. 594."
7 More specifically, Girolamo Morosini, son of Cristoforo, of Nicolò, of Girolamo. As identified by the records of the *Segretario alle voci* and in Barbaro's *Genealogie*. See note 3. Girolamo di Cristoforo married Beatrice Venier, daughter of Nicolò di Girolamo, in 1523. They had one son, Nicolò (1525–82). His coat of arms (*or a fess azure*) in the lower register of the miniature denotes the "dalla Tressa" (Venetian dialect for fess) branch of the Morosini family. Girolamo di Pandolfo di Girolamo Morosini (1544–70), also served as captain of Brescia, but was elected much later, in 1565. On this patrician, see Norton's source, Cicogna 1824–53, 6:594.
8 There is a commission to Girolamo Morosini, son of Piero, as podestà and rettore of Murano, 1540, in Treviso. I would like to thank Dr. Ivano Sartor for taking images of the portrait for me, which clearly represents a different man from Girolamo di Cristoforo. Treviso, Bibl. Com., ms. 984. On this commission and its binding and miniature, see Tammaro de Marinis 1925, 2:96n1841bis and A. Hobson 1999, 244. Attributed to an artist close to Giacomo del Giallo in Zuccolo Padrono 1972, 25n27. The identification of this Girolamo Morosini as son of Piero is clear from the records of the acceptance by Morosini of the post in the Venetian Archivio di Stato (*Segretario alle Voci*, Accettazioni, Registro reg. 1).
9 These themes are the focus of Szépe, forthcoming.

3. Manuscripts of the Classics

In the Middle Ages, literacy entailed becoming *litteratus*, that is, educated in the Latin language and classical Latin literature. The first exposure to the classics came generally in the very first phases of elementary education, and indeed, the textbooks in which most students would be exposed to the language for the first time were themselves late antique works, the *Ars* of Donatus and the *Institutiones* of Priscian. After mastering the basics of the language, students would move on to poetry, including the *Distichs* ascribed to Cato and the *Eclogues* of Virgil. Afterward, they would advance to longer poetic texts, such as Virgil's *Aeneid*, and to prose texts, such as Sallust's historical monographs on Catiline and Jugurtha (cat. no. 210). Students who advanced further still would come to read a number of other texts, like the poetry of Ovid (cat. no. 209, see opposite) and Horace, the satirists Juvenal (cat. no. 208) and Persius, and the rhetorical works of Cicero.

This body of material—along with the curriculum of biblical and patristic texts in Latin—formed the common heritage of most people who received a standard literary education throughout the Middle Ages and into the Renaissance. Together—and along with the more technical treatises from late antiquity such as Macrobius (cat. no. 193)—they provided a comprehensive introduction to the liberal arts.

As private patrons and noble families began replacing monasteries and religious institutions as the primary collectors and commissioners of books in the late Middle Ages and the Renaissance, it was this core group of texts that was most highly sought after, and often sumptuously produced. In the earlier Middle Ages, costly decoration and luxurious production were primarily reserved for biblical, and sometimes liturgical, texts (though there are exceptions). Manuscripts of the classics from this period tended to be spare and practical, often heavily overlaid with paratexts and pedagogical aids. With the rise of humanism, however, manuscripts of classical authors were often heavily illuminated (e.g., cat. no. 212) and sometimes illustrated (cat. no. 209).

A few authors whose importance was marginal in the earlier Middle Ages did assume central importance in the Renaissance, including Livy (cat. nos. 188–89) and Lucretius. The more substantial transformation, however, was the introduction of the Greek classics into the West. Greek studies had a continuous, if extremely marginal, history during the Middle Ages. The first texts to be translated were theological; technical texts, especially on astrology and medicine, were added later, in the eleventh and twelfth century; finally, in the later twelfth and thirteenth century, philosophical texts were translated, most notably the whole Aristotelian corpus. The Renaissance expanded the focus of Western Hellenism from just these sorts of works to include Greek literature, and by the year 1500 there was a substantial body of the Greek literary classics available in Latin translation (e.g., cat. no. 212) as well as a Western market for books written or printed in Greek (cat. no. 213). A substantial private library in the Renaissance, the Bibilioteca Corviniana (to which cat. no. 211 might have belonged) and the Medicean library (to which cat. no. 213 might have belonged) being extreme examples, would have included three classes of classical texts: first, most of the extant ancient Latin literature (cat. nos. 208–10); second, a large selection of Greek authors in contemporary Latin translation, such as Plato in Bruni's translation (cat. no. 212) and Aelian, in the translation of Theodore Gaza (cat. no. 211); and finally a good selection of Greek authors in Greek, such as here the Orphic *Argonautica* (cat. no. 213).

The Middle Ages and the Renaissance were firmly possessed of the idea that the classics taken as a whole provided a sufficient guide to what human reason unaided by divine revelation could achieve, and that reading the classics was ethically formative for students. Ancient practical works, such as Aelian's work on military science, were treasured for their continuing practical relevance. Historical works, such as Sallust and Livy, and political works, like Onosander on the best ruler (cat. no. 211), provided models of civic and political engagement, as well as a ready store of positive and negative examples. Literary works, suitably interpreted to be sure, like Ovid's *Heroides* (cat. no. 209) or Juvenal's *Satires* (cat. no. 208), taught lessons in ethical behavior while charming the reader with their elegance; *docere et delectare*, "to teach and to delight" was a common Renaissance slogan adapted from Horace. Finally, ancient philosophers Aristotle, Plato, Cicero, and others offered those willing to undertake the formidable challenge of mastering them the heights of what human reason could achieve. Whether these lofty ideals were realized is quite another matter; the fact that they existed was enough to ensure the importance of the classics and to give them the prestige we can see reflected in the manuscripts that survive.

Justin Stover

cat. no. 209, f. 63r (detail)

208. Juvenal, Satirae
Boccardino il Vecchio (illuminator)

Florence, Italy, c. 1500
Parchment, ff. 110, 123 x 87 (83 x 55) mm
Harvard University, Houghton Library, MS Typ 322
David Lomellini, Genoa; Lathrop C. Harper, 1955; Thomas Marston, New Haven (Sotheby's, London, December 11, 1961, lot 192); sold by Quaritch, 1967; deposited by Philip Hofer, 1967, his bequest, 1984.

f. 1v

In his sixteen *Satires*, the Roman poet and rhetorician Decimus Junius Juvenalis, known as Juvenal (55/60–c. 130 CE) described and harshly condemned the moral decadence of imperial Rome at the beginning of the second century. The poem was popular throughout the Middle Ages. It was, however, in the climate of fifteenth-century humanism that Juvenal's work was subject to renewed interest and diffusion.[1] The exquisite program of illumination in MS Typ 322 makes it an exceptional case in the tradition of the text. No other extant copy of the *Satires* produced in Tuscany in the fifteenth century presents such a rich and extensive decorative scheme.[2] Two different images of Juvenal are juxtaposed on book's double-page frontispiece, which is worn though still legible: one in the robes of a rhetorician addressing an audience (f. 1v), and the other as an author with book in hand in the initial of the incipit of the first satire (*Semper ego*, f. 2r). The following fifteen satires are illustrated by a series of scenes painted in the lower margin and framed along the top and left side by a bronze rinceaux border of acanthus leaves and flowers on a background of pale green, red, or blue, shaded by faint diagonal hatching lines. The miniatures depict the corresponding episodes of the satires and Juvenal's scathing moral admonishments in a vivd and lively manner. The scenes are set in landscapes that fade into the distance or in simple domestic interiors, and unfold in one or two successive events.

The script, in *littera antiqua*, has been attributed to a Florentine scribe writing in the style of Sigismondo de' Sigismondi.[3] François Avril convincingly attributed the illuminations to Giovanni di Giuliano Boccardi, known as Boccardino il Vecchio of Florence (1460–1529).[4] Likely trained in the workshop of brothers Gherardo and Monte di Giovanni, Boccardino il Vecchio was a leading figure in the last period of Renaissance illumination in Florence, and one of the illuminators most involved from around 1485 in outfitting the library of Lorenzo de' Medici (1449–92).[5]

The coat of arms (*coupé de gueules sur or*) on the frontispiece (f. 2r), which scholars have mistakenly associated with the Frescobaldi of Florence,[6] should instead be identified with that of the Lomellini, an important aristocratic family from Genoa.[7] The book's buyer was almost certainly the rich merchant David Lomellini (d. shortly before 1527), whose connections with Florence are well documented for the last decade of the fifteenth century onward. His name (*DAVIT*) is written in the *clipeus* pictured in the upper margin of the frontispiece and—with the letters arranged in various patterns—on two other pages of the manuscript (ff. 20v and 62v). David Lomellini's crest is found in other illuminated manuscripts produced in Florence, one of which was made in the same workshop of Boccardino il Vecchio.[8] Lomellini's small, portable manuscripts, containing classical texts, may have been commissioned during some of his many visits to the Tuscan city around 1500.[9] The Genoese bibliophile's artistic and cultural points of reference were clearly Florentine. In MS Typ 322, the Medicean motto *GLOVIS*, enclosed in a *clipeus*, appears in the upper margin of the page with the incipit of satire 5 (f. 25r).[10] We can add that the narrative arrangement of the satires and the setting of the bas-de-page scenes resemble those adopted in the famous Greek manuscript of Aesop's *Fables* in the New York Public Library, which was probably commissioned by Lorenzo il Magnifico for his son Piero (1472–1503) around 1480–85.[11]

The first pages of MS Typ 322 (ff. 1v–2r) include elements typical of Boccardino's work: cameos, jewels, masks, marble reliefs of battles between human-plant hybrid figures. The ornamental exuberance and use of a vivid hue of red vermillion for the border is also found in illuminations painted by the artist in a book of hours executed in 1502 in celebration of the marriage of Laudomia de' Medici and Francesco Salviati (London, BL, Yates Thompson MS. 30).[12]

Ada Labriola

1 Dotti, in Giovenale 2013, 7–29.
2 The Medici library inventory compiled in 1508–10 by Fabio Vigili, who was librarian in Rome to Cardinal Giovanni de' Medici, son of Lorenzo il Magnifico, lists thirteen copies of Juvenal's *Satires*. Among these, the six that were illuminated in the fifteenth century have only simple white vine-stem decoration. For the list of these manuscripts now at the Biblioteca Medicea Laurenziana in Florence, see Rao 2012, nos. 327–28, 330–31, 339, and 549. The fifteenth century decorated manuscripts are: mss. Plut. 34.27, 34.32, 34.33, 34.35, 34.37, and 34.41.
3 Bond and Faye 1962, 77 no. 110 ("by a hand similar to that of Sigismondo de Sigismundis"); Wieck 1983b, 131–32 ("probably written by Sigismundus de Sigismundis"); Kristeller 1963–97, 5:236 ("script attributed to Sigismondo Sigismondi"). On Sigismondo de' Sigismondi, born in Carpi (Modena), documented in 1480 and died in 1525, see de la Mare 1985, 473–74, 534–36 no. 66. De la Mare does not count MS Typ 322 among the manuscripts written by Sigismondo.
4 Avril 1984, 367. The illuminations of MS Typ 322 were previously attributed to Gherardo and Monte di Giovanni. See Bond and Faye 1962, 77 no. 110; Wieck 1983b, 131–32.
5 Galizzi 2004b.
6 Bond and Faye 1962, 77, no. 110; Wieck 1983b, 131–32.
7 On the Lomellini coat of arms, see Spreti 1928–35, 4:140–42.
8 Berkeley, Bancroft Library, MS 142: Cicero, *Laelius, de amicitia; Cato maior, de senectute; Paradoxa*. The manuscript measures 130 x 88 mm. See Alidori

Battaglia 2011.

9 Padua, Bibl. del Seminario vescovile, ms. 169: Cicero, *De officiis* (dated 1501). In the colophon the scribe Antonio Sinibaldi claims to have written the work at the request of "David Lomellis." The illuminations are attributed to a follower of Attavante. The manuscript measures 137 x 93 mm. See Alidori Battaglia 2011.

10 "GLOVIS" alludes to the Medici theme of rebirth and of the continuity of the dynasty; and is also understood as an acronym of *Gloria, Laus, Onor, Virtus, Iustitia, Salus* (Glory, Praise, Honor, Virtue, Justice, Health). The motto was already used around 1485 in a group of manuscripts of classical authors created for Lorenzo de' Medici. See Cox-Rearick 1984, 27–31; Cummings 1991, 79–95; Dillon Bussi and Fantoni 1992, 138–39.

11 New York, NYPL, Spencer MS. 50. The illuminations in this manuscript are the work of a team of Florentine artists, apparently led by Mariano del Buono. See Labriola 2014, 475–91.

12 London, BL, Yates Thompson MS. 30, ff. 66v–67r, 117v–18r. Laudomia was the daughter of Lorenzo di Pierfrancesco de' Medici (cousin of Lorenzo il Magnifico). Other than Boccardino, the decoration of this manuscript is also attributable to the Florentine illuminators Attavante, Stefano Lunetti, and Mariano del Buono. See Garzelli 1985, 2:515, 662–72, figs. 853, 1058–69.

209. Ovid, Heroides
Cristoforo Majorana (illuminator)

Naples, Italy, c. 1490–1500
Harvard University, Houghton Library, MS Typ 8
Parchment, ff. 106, 166 x 93 (107–8 x 67) mm
Richard Heber (Evans, London, February 10, 1836, lot 1027); Thomas Phillipps; purchased from William H. Robinson with the Hofer fund, January 1947.

f. 2v

Ovid's (43 BCE–17 CE) *Letters of Heroines* are a collection of poems combining mythological sources, written in elegiac couplets in an epistolary form. They sing the love pains of nineteen women and heroines of the Greek and Roman antiquity, from Penelope to Sappho. The *Heroides* were largely imitated during the medieval and Renaissance periods and inspired such writers as Boccaccio and Octavien de Saint-Gelais.

This manuscript is among the most refined and sumptuous illuminated examples of the *Heroides* from the Italian Renaissance. It includes twenty-one epistles with corresponding full-page illustrations, except for the epistles 10 and 17, whose decoration was never executed. These miniatures either depict the protagonist in the act of writing a letter or illustrate the major events of the epistle. Their character of small-scale paintings is enhanced by *all'antica* frames decorated with classical mascarons, cornucopias, coupled dolphins, and trophies. The beginning of each epistle is further marked by an illuminated initial. In the first one, the initial is framed by a decoration with gold candelabra on multicolored grounds.

As pointed out by Tammaro De Marinis and confirmed by Roger Wieck, this manuscript was made for a member of the Aragonese royal family in Naples at the end of the fifteenth century and illustrated by Cristoforo Majorana, an illuminator long active for the celebrated Aragonese Kings Library.[1] The royal patronage can be inferred from the arms of the original owner (quartering Aragon), in part still visible under the overpainted coat of arms surmounted by the hat of an unidentified apostolic protonotary.

Majorana's work as illuminator is documented for the first time in 1472, likely at the beginning of his career and probably as a collaborator of Cola Rapicano, then the main illuminator working for the Aragonese court. Between 1480 and 1491, Majorana's name occurs several times in the payments made by the royal library.[2] His activity, however, can be traced after the end of the century, despite the lack of further documentation. Several illuminated manuscripts by his hand indicate that during the last decade of the fifteenth century he worked for courtier patrons such as Pascasio Diaz Garlon and for prominent bibliophiles such as Andrea Matteo III Acquaviva, the Duke of Atri. At the beginning of the sixteenth century he continued to work for the new Spanish conquerors of the Kingdom of Naples.[3]

Arguably, one reason behind Majorana's enduring success lies in the style he elaborated since the end of the 1470s, a reinterpretation of the antiquarian mode that coupled the Paduan-Roman *all'antica* vocabulary with a more archaic formal language acquired in the workshop of Cola Rapicano. In the first illustrated scene of this manuscript (f. 2v), Ulysses's wife Penelope is shown writing a letter in a large cross-vaulted hall, whose gray stones and building forms are typical of fifteenth-century Aragonese architecture in Naples, such as Castel Nuovo. In the foreground is the dog Argo, symbolizing Penelope's fidelity. On the right side, stand Laerte and Telemaco, Ulysses's father and son, dressed in antique-fashioned clothes but wearing fifteenth-century hats. The same mix of classical and contemporary elements can be seen in other scenes as well. In the illustrations to the epistles 18 and 19, for instance, the aediculae decorated with cadelabra frame the skyline of recognizably modern cities, also echoing the patrons' life setting.

The illuminated scenes are notable for the ample landscapes encircling the characters or opening up through the buildings. The monumental figures, the vivid light reddening on the horizon, and the cast shadows, all suggest that the manuscript was painted during the last decade of the Quattrocento, in proximity to works such as the vesperal for the royal chapel (Valencia, UV, BH Ms. 391), documented by payments of the royal treasury on April 9, 1491.[4] The close proximity of the two manuscripts is further suggested by the abundance of gold and silver lightening and by the rich candelabra on a multicolored grounds.

Some documents of the royal treasury and several manuscripts that belonged to the Aragonese royal library prove the interest of the Neapol-

itan court for the classical texts of Latin writers. According to the receipts of the Aragonese royal treasury, on August 11, 1492 the illuminator Nardo Rapicano received 4 ducats from Alfonso, Duke of Calabria (the future Alfonso II) for "the price of gold and blue capital letters added to a book of his Lord the Duke, entitled works of Ovid Naso."[5] Since the miniatures by Majorana were likely made around this time and the manuscript carried the quartering Aragon, it cannot be excluded that the present *Heroides* were among the works painted for the duke, whose coat of arms showed the quartering Aragon with the Cross of Jerusalem.

Teresa D'Urso

1 De Marinis 1969, 2:72; Wieck 1983b, 76, no. 37; Avril 1983, 367.
2 On Majorana, see De Marinis 1947–52, 1:150–56; Toscano 2004c; Sapienza 2006.
3 D'Urso 2014.
4 De Marinis 1947–52, 2:292–93, no. 770.
5 Ibid., 2:300, no. 849.

210. Sallust, De bello Catilinae; De bello Iugurthino
Bartolomeo Sanvito (scribe and illuminator)

Rome, Italy, c. 1487–88
Parchment, ff. 147, c. 138 x 89 (91 x 44–53) mm
Harvard University, Houghton Library, MS Richardson 17
Robert Branthweit (?), seventeenth century; Lord Mostyn (Sotheby's, London, July 13, 1920, lot 104); Quaritch; Chester Beatty (Sotheby's, London, May 9, 1933, lot 61); Maggs; William K. Richardson, his bequest, 1951.

f. 51r

This manuscript is the quintessential Italian humanistic book: it includes *The War with Catiline* and *The Jugurthine War* by the Roman politician and historian Sallust (c. 86–c. 35 BCE) copied in Rome by the famous Paduan scribe and illuminator Bartolomeo Sanvito (1433–1511)[1] for his friend and patron, the Venetian politician and humanist Bernardo Bembo (1433–1519).[2]

The texts relate events that occurred during the troubled century of difficult political transition in ancient Rome from an oligarchic republic to empire. Their author was a controversial figure himself: a provincial Sabine, Sallust was a *homo novus* in Roman politics and supported Julius Caesar (100–44 BCE) and his faction against the old senatorial aristocracy. He retired from politics and devoted himself to historiography after been expelled from the senate in 45/44 BCE on allegations of misconduct and plunder during his time as governor of Africa Nova.

De bello Catilinae recounts political upheaval at the time of Cicero's consulship in 63 BCE, whereas *De bello Iugurthino* is a chronicle of the war against the Numidian prince Jugurtha in 111–105 BCE. Written in characteristic concise and plain prose, they are the earliest Roman historical texts to survive intact from antiquity in codices of the early Middle Ages and were most popular among medieval and Renaissance readers.[3]

Probably commissioned during Bembo's embassy to Rome in 1487–88,[4] the manuscript shows Sanvito's famous cursive humanistic script, colored capitals and illuminated faceted initials modeled on classical inscriptions, and displays Bembo's arms, motto, and device, the winged horse Pegasus, symbol of wisdom and good repute (f. 51r; see also cat. no. 232).[5] Sanvito's note in red in the margin of f. 50v is one of many *notabilia* drawing attention to important passages.[6] Bembo and his son, Cardinal Pietro Bembo (1470–1547), also engaged with the texts and added marginal comments and *notabilia*.[7]

Bridging the gap between the classical and medieval past and the future, Sanvito's innovative use of the cursive script and diminutive size in this and other deluxe copies of classical texts in Bembo's library inspired the revolutionary Italic type and pocket-size design of Aldus Manutius's *enchiridia* editions from 1501 onward (see cat. no. 249).[8]

Laura Nuvoloni

1 For Bartolomeo Sanvito, see de la Mare 2002, de la Mare and Nuvoloni 2009, and Nuvoloni 2016, all with further bibliography.
2 Bembo and Sanvito knew one another since Bembo's time in Padua as a university student in the 1450s. Bembo mentioned Sanvito as "compatris mei" in his Zibaldone, now London, BL, Add. MS. 41068 A, f. 43v. For Bembo's life and humanistic interests, see Giannetto 1985, with further bibliography.
3 The texts survive in more than 500 medieval and Renaissance manuscripts: see L. Reynolds 1983, 345n24, and Ramsey in Sallust 2013, xvii and lii.
4 For Bembo's diplomatic mission to Rome in 1487–88, see Giannetto 1985, 47–48, 186–95.
5 Pegasus is mentioned in Bembo's Zibaldone (note 2 above), f. 286v. By the 1480s Sanvito had produced five other manuscripts for Bembo, which included his notes, arms, motto, and/or device: Paulus Diaconus, *Epitome* to S. Pompeius Festus, *De significatu verborum*, Milan, Bibl. Ambros., ms. V 5 sup (arms); Bembo's *Oratio Gratulatoria*, S. Lorenzo, R. Bibl. del Monasterio de El Escorial, Cod. f. IV. 11 (arms); Horace, *Opera*, Cambridge, UK, UL, MS Dd.xv.13, and Cambridge, UK, King's Coll., MS 34 (arms, motto, device). The copy of Eusebius, *Chronici canones*, London, BL, Royal MS. 14 C.III, with Bembo's arms, was probably commissioned as the same time as the Sallust. Two copies of Suetonius, *Vitae imperatorum*, Paris, BnF, ms. lat. 5814 (showing Pegasus on the opening leaf and datable to c. 1474), and Göttingen, SUB, Cod. Philol. 161 Cim (showing Pegasus on f. 139r and datable to c. 1478), may have also been connected with Bembo. See de la Mare and Nuvoloni 2009, cat. nos. 7, 24, 57, 64, 69, 82, 86, 87.
6 Sanvito's *marginalia* include a quotation from Tacitus's *Annals* as a gloss to the passage "humani corporis sanguinem vino permixtum in pateris circumtulisse" (*Bellum Catilinae*, 22.1) on f. 16r. The gloss was added at a later stage and possibly drawn from the unpublished commentary to the *Bellum Catilinae* by Pomponio Leto (1428–98), Roman humanist and founder of

the Academia Romana: see Ulery 2003, 24; Osmond 2010; Osmond 2011; Pade 2011.

7 Bernardo's notes include his characteristic *maniculae* (pointing hands), intended to draw attention to specific text passages, and a reference to his own decision to retire from politics in 1493 (f. 3r–v); see Hankins 1989 for more on Bernardo's notes. Pietro Bembo's annotations consist of *notabilia* (see f. 4r).

8 The dimensions and slender proportions of the present manuscript (c. 138 x 89 mm) are comparable to those of Aldus's first pocket-size editions: see Needham 1994, 131–35. In the dedicatory letter to Pietro Bembo in the Virgil of 1514 (f. a1v), Aldus recounts how he copied the format of his *enchiridia* from manuscripts in his father's library: see Dionisotti and Orlandi 1975, 1:152, 2:310, 376–77; Giannetto 1985, 78.

211. Aelianus Tacticus, De instruendis aciebus; Onosander, De optimo imperatore
Hubertus (scribe)

Florence, Italy, c. 1460–70
Parchment, ff. 85, 287 x 216 (164–68 x 115–17) mm
Harvard University, Houghton Library, MS Richardson 16
Count Anton Apponyi, Vienna and Pressbourg, until 1817; Count Louis Apponyi (Sotheby's, London, November 10, 1892, lot 9); Quaritch; Robert Hoe; sold by Anderson/American Art Association (New York, January 8, 1912, lot 2417); William K. Richardson, his bequest, 1951.

f. 40r

The present manuscript contains Latin versions of two ancient Greek military tracts: *On Military Battle Arrangements* and *The General*. The translations were undertaken in Naples shortly after the middle of the fifteenth century, in the intellectual circle of the court of King Alfonso I of Aragon (r. 1442–58). Theodore Gaza (1408/10–76), a Greek humanist who moved to Naples in 1455, translated a manual on military tactics (*Taktiké theoria*) which had been composed by Aelianus Tacticus between 106 and 113/17 CE. Gaza titled his translation *De instruendis aciebus* and dedicated it to one of the leading lights of Neapolitan cultural life, Antonio "Panormita" Beccadelli (1394–1471).[1] It was at Beccadelli's behest, that in 1456 the learned Greek diplomat Nicolaus Secundinus (or Sagundinus, 1402–64) began translating the *Strategikòs*, a treatise on the moral virtues of the ideal general written by Onosander in the mid-first century CE. Secundinus dedicated *De optimo imperatore* to the abovementioned Aragonese king.[2] Among manuscripts of the Latin versions of the two tracts, the sumptuously decorated MS Richardson 16 stands out for its exceptional elegance. The book was made in Florence.[3] Its *littera antiqua* script is attributed to "Hubertus," a northern scribe active in Florence in the 1460s–70s.[4] The illuminations have been convincingly ascribed by François Avril to a Florentine master working between 1460 and 1470.[5]

On the page facing the frontispiece, a large *clipeus* encircles an inscription executed in gold capitals stating the contents of the volume: "In hoc codice continentur Helianus De instruendis aciebus et Onosander De optimo imperatore" (f. 1v). The *De optimo imperatore* (ff. 42r–83v) opens with a simple white vine-stem decoration. The work of Aelianus (ff. 2r–41v) includes a rich pictorial apparatus consisting of a historiated initial (f. 2r), a narrative scene (f. 5r), forty-six decorated initials, and thirty-one pages with diagrams executed in gold, silver, and colored ink (red, blue, green). Illustrated here is the *Outflanking and "Over-Fronting" an Enemy Formation* (f. 40r).[6] The necessity of illustrating the tract with explanatory figures or diagrams, which act as visual aids to the verbal descriptions of tactics, was stressed by Aelianus himself in the preface of his work. The figures, which refer, above all, to the formation of the Macedonian phalanx, were a fundamental aspect of the Greek manuscript tradition of the tract, and were, consequently, elaborated in fifteenth-century Latin manuscript versions. Humanist copies, like this one, were generally illustrated with simply drawn diagrams enclosing graphic symbols referring to the insignia of various military units.[7]

The dedication by Theodore Gaza to Panormita at the beginning of the manuscript (f. 2r), opens with a historiated initial (*Carmen illud*) with soldier dressed in armor holding a sword and shield. Painted in the lower margin is the so-called crown and lily coat of arms (*party per pale sable and rose, a crown d'or surmounted by a lily d'argent*). The owner of this emblem, who has yet to be identified, was probably Hungarian. The same crest appears in another sixteen manuscripts datable to around 1460–70, six of which passed, without doubt, through the library in Buda of the Hungarian king, Matthias Corvinus (r. 1458–90).[8] The majority of the books bearing the crown and lily arms were produced in Florence, likely within the workshop of the bookseller Vespasiano da Bisticci (1421–98).[9] Their production was the result of the presence of an important community of Hungarian humanists in Florence in the 1460s. Friend to these emigrés was the Florentine man-of-letters Bartolomeo della Fonte (1447–1513), also known as Fonzio, who copied some of our unidentified bibliophile's manuscripts.[10] The Florentine manuscripts of the crown and lily group are decorated with white vine-stem; only two contain historiated initials: MS Richardson 16, and a copy of the *Third Decade* by Livy now in Verona, the frontispiece of which also includes an image of a soldier.[11] Although the illuminations of the two manuscripts cannot be attributed to the same hand, both masters exhibit affinities with the circle of Francesco di Antonio del Chierico (1433–84). The origins of their culture can be recognized in manuscripts assigned to Francesco di Antonio's early career, such as the three-volume *Decades* of Livy for the library of Alfonso I in Naples for which the miniaturist received payment from Vespasiano da Bisticci in 1455.[12]

Ada Labriola

1 Dain 1946; Bianca 1999, 740–41; Sestili 2011, 11–18. Aelianus Tacticus had dedicated his work to the emperor Trajan (98–117 CE).

2 Dain 1930; Mastrodimitris 1989, 21–38; Caselli 2012, ix–xxx. Onosander's treatise was dedicated to the Roman senator Quintus Veranius (d. 59 CE).

3 As was a manuscript with the same two Latin translations of the tracts in Fed-

erico di Montefeltro's (1422–82.) prestigious library in Urbino, which was likely made in Florence around 1460–70 (now Vatican City, BAV, ms. Urb. lat. 881). The Urbino manuscript contains white vine-stem decoration and is without any historiated illuminations. See Stornajolo 1902–21, 2:616–17.

4 De la Mare 1985, 505, no. 32/20.

5 Avril 1984, 368. Previously, the manuscript was dated to around 1480. See de Ricci 1935–40, 1:959–60; Miner 1949, 68, cat. no. 186; Csapodi 1973, 112–13, no. 4; Wieck 1983b, 114.

6 C. Matthew 2012, 125, pl. 32.

7 Hale 1988, 280–98; Eramo 2012, 35–62. Diagrams constructed of simple lines (very similar to those in MS Richardson 16) illustrate, for example, MS Urb. lat. 881 of the Biblioteca Apostolica Vaticana. See note 3 above.

8 On the "crown and lily" manuscripts identified to date see Pächt and Alexander 1970, 30, no. 313, and 86, no. 852; de la Mare 1985, 456; Mori Beltrami 1987–88, 255–72; C. Adami, in Bono and Dillon Bussi 2002, 201–4, cat. nos. 24–25; D. Pócs, in Farbaky, Pócs, and Scudieri 2013, 108–9, cat. no. 23. The only dated manuscript (1468) is Besançon, Bm, ms. 832 (Justinus, *Epitoma historiarum philippicarum Pompei Trogi*).

9 MS Richardson 16 is not documented in the library of Matthias Corvinus, despite the presence of the ownership note "Ex bibliotheca Corviniana," which was added to the first flyleaf at some point in the nineteenth century. In 1875 the manuscript was in the library of the Hungarian family Apponyi in Nagy-Appony. See Csapodi 1973, 112–13, no. 4.

10 Daneloni 2001, 293–309; Daneloni 2013, 186–91.

11 Verona, Bibl. Cap., ms. CXXXVI (124), f. 3r. This manuscript was also copied by "Hubertus." See C. Adami, in Bono and Dillon Bussi 2002, 201–2, cat. no. 24.

12 Florence, BN, mss. B. R. 34–36. Ames-Lewis 1978, 390–93; Labriola 2009, 10–11.

212. Epistolae Diversorum Graecorum
Mariano del Buono (illuminator), Gonzalo Fernández de Heredia (scribe)

Florence, Italy, c. 1473–74
Parchment, ff. 169, 201 x 129 (120 x 70) mm
Harvard University, Houghton Library, MS Typ 178
Sold by Olschki, Florence to Philip Hofer, 1948; deposited by Hofer, 1967, his bequest, 1984.

Two putti support a laurel-wreathed shield devoid of arms at the foot of a *bianchi girari* border heralding the *Epistles of Plato*, the first in a collection of letters of four celebrated ancient Greeks (f. 1r). The manuscript's unpainted shield and compilation of best selling humanist Latin translations from the Greek indicate that it was not commissioned but produced speculatively for an anticipated buyer.[1] The commercialization of Florentine humanist manuscripts from the 1440s was an innovation of the *cartolaio* Vespasiano da Bisticci (1421–98).[2] He was the first to sell new trade books in the Florentine style to casual visitors to his shop, while also supplying bespoke volumes to an elite international clientele (see cat. no. 196).

Beginning with the letters of Plato in the first Renaissance translation by Leonardo Bruni (1370–1444) for Cosimo de' Medici,[3] there follow the epistles of Hippocrates translated by Rinuccio Aretino (c. 1395–1450) for Pope Nicholas V,[4] and the first Latin translations of the letters of Diogenes "the Cynic" of Sinope,[5] and of the sixth-century BCE Agrigentine military ruler Phalaris,[6] by Francesco Griffolini of Arezzo (c. 1420–65) for Pope Pius II and Malatesta Novello, respectively.[7] During the Renaissance these epistles were highly valued for their insights into Greek achievements revered as unsurpassed and also read as models for conduct and letter-writing.[8] Their translators were the first generation of native Italian Hellenists and their dedicatees the founders of the foremost Italian repositories of Greek manuscripts: the San Marco, Vatican, Piccolomini, and Malatestiana libraries. Therefore, this compilation of ancient texts on conflicting contemporary philosophical doctrines,[9] medicine and statesmanship rendered accessible to readers of Latin and associated with pre-eminent humanists, was judiciously selected to cater to popular demand.

f. 1r

Albinia de la Mare attributed the manuscript's humanistic cursive script to Gonzalo Fernández de Heredia (1450–1511) and the white vine-stem decoration marking the opening of each set of epistles on ff. 1r, 53r, 77r and 105r to Mariano del Buono (1433/4–1504) around 1470.[10] The Spaniard de Heredia worked as a scribe in Florence while studying canon law at the University of Pisa in 1473–74.[11] Del Buono was a sought-after illuminator and head of a prolific workshop in Florence during the second half of the fifteenth century.[12] The frontispiece's frame of *bianchi girari* animated by putti with muscular paunches, an idealized, psychological portrait of the celebrity translator Bruni in a medallion,[13] a naturalistic reclining stag, and lively birds is characteristic of Mariano's *prima maniera* before the mid-1470s, when he specialized in adorning classical texts for humanists.[14] The decoration, however, is a simplified version of his illuminations painted in contemporary deluxe manuscripts for prestigious clients and was probably executed by an assistant.[15] Since Vespasiano monopolized the market in new Florentine humanist manuscripts in the 1470s, and both the scribe and illuminator are known to have been contracted by him during this period,[16] it is likely that this manuscript was produced for him and reflects the famed bookseller's typical stock.[17]

Anne-Marie Eze

1 Its contemporary and apparently original Florentine blind-tooled leather binding is fine but generic, also lacking signs of having being made for a specific owner.

2 De la Mare 1985, 398, 404–5.

3 For an English translation, see Post 1925 and with parallel Greek-English text, Plato 1929, 383–627. Bruni's translation composed around 1427 augmented and superseded medieval translations. Hankins 2007, 7.

4 For Greek-English parallel text, see Hippocrates 1990, 48–125. In the rubric

of the Houghton manuscript for Aretino's preface, the thirteenth-century Pope Nicholas IV is erroneously named as dedicatee (f. 53r). For Aretino, see Hankins 2003, 99–100.

5 English translation by Benjamin Fiore in Malherbe 1977, 92–183. Latin translation edited by R. Hercher in 1873, see Emeljanow 1968, appendix. Emeljanow dated Griffolini's translation and the *editio princeps* incorrectly (1).

6 A later, second version with additional letters (64, 68, 72–73) was dedicated to Alfonso I of Naples. Benedetti 2002. There is no modern critical edition of the text. For a list of the epistles, see Muratore 2001, 129n541. For the positive reception of Phalaris's rule in the Renaissance, see Bianchetti 1987, 1–2.

7 Also named Francesco Aretino, Griffolini has long been confused in the historiography of this translation with the famous jurist Francesco Accolti of Arezzo (c. 1416/17–88). For example, M. Clément 2005, 47–50. See Benedetti 2002.

8 Attested to by the hundreds of extant Latin manuscripts, the texts' diffusion in editions appearing soon after the advent of printing, and early vernacular translations. The letters of Phalaris were the most popular, surviving in 130 Greek manuscripts, 180 Latin manuscripts, and thirty incunable editions dating from 1468–69, and Italian translations from the fifteenth century onward. Phalaris's letters were only a little less in demand than Cicero's letters to his friends. Clough 1976, 44, 56–58, appendix 4.4. See Hankins 2003, 282, for the wholesale Latin translations of Greek texts and appropriation of Greek heritage in the fifteenth and sixteenth centuries.

9 For the conflict between Diogenes and Plato, see Emeljanow 1968, 16–18, 23.

10 De la Mare 1985, 462, 503–4, no. 31, and Hankins 1991, 69n20.

11 De Heredia, who later became bishop of Barcelona in 1478 and of Tarragona in 1490, exemplifies the foreign and well-to-do non-professional scribes of the period, "who could address their clients as equals." He also copied another manuscript with the same compilation of epistles and an unpainted shield (Florence, BR, ms. Ricc. 128). De la Mare 1985, 418, 503, no. 8, and Alexander 1994, 98, no. 35.

12 Mariano's career was first outlined by Levi D'Ancona (1962b, 175–81) and expanded upon by Garzelli (1985, 1:189–215). See Galizzi 2004c for a summary of more recent scholarship.

13 For Bruni portraits in Florentine manuscripts of the 1470s and the visual privileging of humanist translators over classical authors in the decoration of incipits to texts, see Lazzi 1991, 116–18, particularly analogous are Florence, BML, mss. Plut. 76.43, f. 1r; Plut. 79.6, f. 1r; Plut. 65, 8, f. 1r. Lazzi 1991, appendix nos. 5, 6, and 12, pls. 5, 13, and 11, respectively.

14 From the mid-1470s Mariano's style took a new direction due to the influence of Girolamo da Cremona, one of the artists with whom he collaborated between 1473 and 1477 to decorate a breviary for the Ospedale di Santa Maria Nuova (Florence, Mus. Bargello, ms. 68). Levi D'Ancona 1962b, 175–78, Garzelli 1985, 1:203–5 and Galizzi 2004c, 729.

15 Compare to manuscripts for János Vitéz (d. 1472), Hungarian bishop and courtier of Matthias Corvinus: a three-volume set of Livy's *Roman Histories*, c. 1469–70 (Munich, BSB, Clm 15731 and Clm 15733); for the Florentine banker Francesco Sassetti (1421–90): Aulus Gellius's *Attic Nights*, early 1470s (Manchester, Chetham's Library, MS 27900 [E.8.23]); Quintilian's *Institutiones oratoriae*, late 1460s (Florence, BML, ms. Plut. 46.6) and *Collection of Orations*, 1477 (Florence, BML, ms. Plut. 47.35); for King Matthias Corvinus of Hungary (r. 1469–90): Livy's *Roman Histories*, late 1470s (New York, NYPL, Spencer MS. 27) and possibly for his wife Beatrice of Aragon: Plutarch's *Lives* in Latin, 1469 (Modena, Bibl. Est. Univ., ms. Lat. 429). The works from the late 1470s are largely in the style of Mariano's *prima maniera*. Garzelli 1985, 1:192, 194, 200 and 2: figs. 676–81, 689, 690–92, 693. For color images of the Vitez manuscripts, see Alexander 1994, 150, no. 68 and Bauer-Eberhardt 2014, 225–30, nos. 210–12. For the Sassetti manuscripts, see Dillon Bussi 2002, 108 (ill.), 107. For the Corvinus-Aragon manuscripts, see Dillon Bussi 2002, 104 (ill.), 108 and Milano 2002, 74.

16 Vespasiano engaged their services for the following manuscripts: de Heredia copied a Strabo, translated by Guarino, for Federico da Montefeltro, after 1469 (Vatican, BAV, ms. Urb. lat. 280); Jerome on Prophets and Aristotle's *Ethics*, translated by Argyropoulos for Duke Alfonso of Calabria, later King Alfonso II of Naples (Valencia, UV, BH Ms. 893 (773) and Paris, BnF, ms. lat. 6309, respectively). De la Mare 1985, 413n129, 452n238, 503–4, nos. 31.14, 31.16 (Valencia manuscript erroneously cited as Ms. 839 [773]), and 31.21. Del Buono decorated the abovementioned Munich Livy for Vitéz in collaboration with ser Ricciardo di Nanni (see above note 15) and with Francesco d'Antonio del Chierico, St. Augustine's *City of God*, c. 1470–75 for Íñigo d'Avalos (d. 1484), grand chamberlain of King Ferdinand I of Naples (London, BL, Add. MS. 15246). Alexander 1994, 150, no. 69.

17 De Heredia's double expressions of gratitude in the Houghton manuscript—"LAUS DEO." (f. 51r) and "LAVS XPO [Christo]" (f. 169r)—for completing the copying of the letters of Plato, and then the remaining epistles, suggest that he was paid in two installments.

213. Ps.-Orpheus, Argonautica
Benedetto di Silvestro (illuminator), Ioannes Rhosos (scribe)

Florence, Italy, c. 1470–80
Parchment, ff. i (paper) + i (parchment) + 146 + i (paper) + i (parchment), 212–214 x 132–34 (144–46 x 75–80) mm
Houghton Library, Harvard University, MS Typ 18
Theodore Williams (Stewart, Wheatley & Adlard, London, April 5, 1827, lot 1276); Thomas Phillipps (MS 3503) through Singer; sold by William H. Robinson, 1947; gift of Philip and Frances Hofer in honor of Mrs. Frederick Winslow, 1948.

f. 1r

Ioannes Rhosos (*fl.* in Italy, 1447–97), a Greek Cretan émigré to Florence and one of the most celebrated scribes of the Renaissance, copied this anthology of Greek poetry, perhaps for the Medici library at San Marco in Florence.[1] The manuscript includes writ-

ings by ps.-Orpheus (the *Argonautica* and others), Proklos, Moschos, Musaeus, Aratus, and Eratosthenes. These texts would have likely appealed to a member of the Medici family, great benefactors and contributors to the library, or to the humanist Giorgio Antonio Vespucci, who donated several Greek manuscripts to the esteemed institution.[2]

Set within an initial *omega* (Ω) on f. 1r, the legendary musician-poet Orpheus sits on a rock in a bucolic landscape. The music of his viola (more traditionally depicted as a lyre) attracts birds and beasts alike, most noticeably lions and stags. At the bottom of the page, a golden medallion encloses the Argo, famed ship of the heroic Argonauts who sought the Golden Fleece. These small illuminations have been attributed to Benedetto di Silvestro (active between 1445 and 1473), an illuminator who collaborated on a set of choir books for Florence Cathedral with Francesco d'Antonio del Chierico, Filippo di Matteo Torelli, Battista di Niccolò da Padova, Zanobi Strozzi, and Francesco Rosselli, as well as the anonymous Master of the Hamilton Xenophon and Master of the Edili Trinity 150 (the last of which is sometimes identified as Benedetto di Silvestro).[3] The Houghton miniature has been compared with a cutting in the Free Library of Philadelphia (Lewis E M 46:8), attributed to a follower of del Chierico.[4] A relationship to Benedetto di Silvestro was suggested in the treatment of the border and landscape in a book of hours (use of Rome) of about 1450, currently owned by Les Enluminures (at present attributed to an artist influenced by Battista Niccolò da Padova).[5] A copy of Julius Caesar's *Commentary on the Gallic Wars* from about 1460–70 at the J. Paul Getty Museum (Ms. Ludwig XIII 8), attributed to del Chierico and an associate and commissioned by the Baglioni-Simonetti family in Florence, features a small-scale historiated initial of similar dimensions to the present Orpheus scene: the artists of both miniatures ambitiously fit an elaborate narrative within the curves and descenders of initial letters following the tradition of finely painted humanist texts that abounded and were popularized in late Quattrocento Florence.[6]

Bryan C. Keene

1 For the most recent bibliography and discussion concerning the paleographic evidence behind the attribution to Ioannes Rhosos, see Kavrus-Hoffmann 2011, 2, 11–16. See also Barbour 1981, 16, cat. no. 60; Vian 1979, 3. Several digitized (full or partial) Harley manuscripts at the British Library are associated with Ioannes Rhosos and with prominent Florentine families, and serve as strong comparisons with the Houghton manuscript in script and decoration: Harley MSS. 5600, 5658, 5669, 5672, 5737, 5790, 6322, and 6325. For the Ioannes Rhosos manuscripts in the San Marco library inventory of 1500, see Ullman and Stadter 1972, 15–28, 38–43, 264.

2 Kavrus-Hoffmann 2011, 2, 11–16.

3 The Florence Cathedral choir books—one antiphonal and three graduals—are housed in the Biblioteca Laurenziana (Edili 148–51). See Tacconi 2005, 144–67; Dillon Bussi 1997, 79–96; Fabbri and Tacconi 1997, 217–25, cat. nos. 78–81 (entries by Marica Tacconi).

4 Kavrus-Hoffmann 2011, 13. This attribution was provided by Albinia C. de la Mare in a note in the Houghton curatorial file.

5 Suggested by Freuler (online).

6 Kren and Barstow 2015, xvi, 68–69, ill.

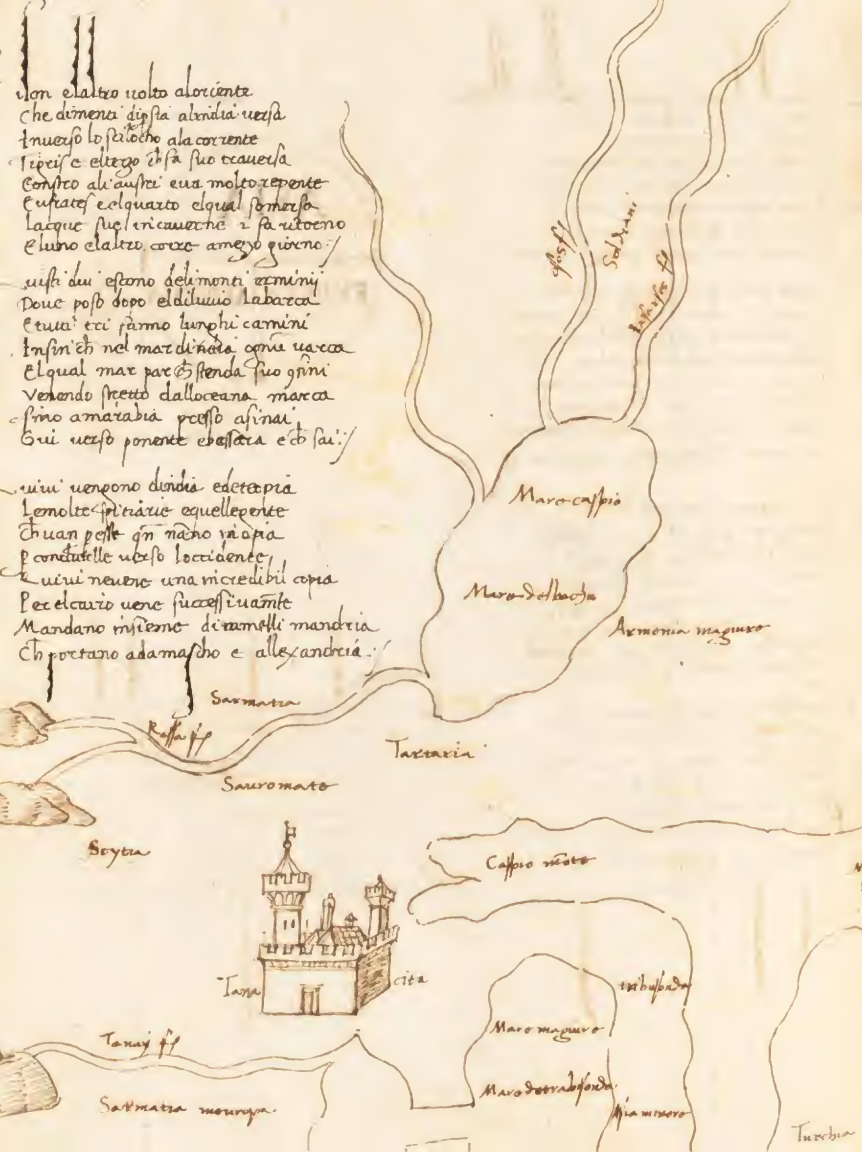
IVGVRTHINO

ALSO QVERITVR DE NATVRA sua humanũ genus qđ imbecilla atq; æui breuis forte potius, q̃ uirtute regatur. Nam contra reputando neq; maius aliqd, neque præstabilius inuenies: magisq; naturæ industriam hoĩum q̃uim aut Tempus deesse. Sed Dux atq;

Non elaltro uolto aloriente
Che dimenti dipsia alindia uersa
Inuerso lo scilocho ala corrente
Tigris e eltergo ch fa suo trauersa
Constro ali austri eua molto repente
Eufrates e elquarto elqual somersa
Lacque sue in cauerne i fa ritorno
Eluno elaltro corre amezzo giorno

Uisti diu escono delimonti erminij
Doue poso dopo eldiluuio labarca
Etutti tri fanno lunghi camini
Insin ch nel mar dindia ogni uarca
Elqual mar par ch stenda suo confini
Venendo stretto dalloceana marca
Sino amarabia presso asinai
Gui uerso ponente ebessera e ch sai

Uiui uengono dindia edetropia
Lemolte spitiarie equellegente
Ch uan pesse qn nano in opia
Pconduttelle uerso loccidente
Euiui neuene una incredibil copia
Per elcairo uene successiuamte
Mandano insieme dicamelli mandria
Ch portano adamascho e allexandria



4. Humanist Texts

Turning to "humanist texts" implies forsaking the "medieval." So does the term "Renaissance," meaning rebirth. The great German historian Jakob Burckhardt emphasized these contrasting terms through his influential essay published in 1860, *The Civilization of the Renaissance in Italy*. The expression "Renaissance man"—referring to someone who possesses a wide variety of talents—owes much to Burckhardt's inspiration. Burckhardt distinguished "many-sided" individuals, like the Florentine statesman and patron of the arts Lorenzo de' Medici, from those he regarded as the true prototypes of modern genius, whom he characterized as "all-sided" or "universal." In his estimation, chief among the latter stood Leon Battista Alberti (1404–72). Noted for his gymnastic feats and prowess in horsemanship as a youth, Alberti learned music without a tutor and mastered painting, sculpture, and ultimately architecture while distinguishing himself in mathematics and physics along the way (see cat. no. 217). A master of Latin composition, he dispensed advice and portents to rulers. "Men can do all things if they will" was his indelible motto; Leonardo da Vinci, his emulator.

The emergence of such "many-sided" and "universal" prodigies issued from deeper and more pervasive shifts in the intellectual, aesthetic, and social dimensions of the cultural revival that swept over Italy, and eventually much of Europe, beginning in the mid-fourteenth century. These shifts included a radical rethinking of individual identity, a new emphasis on civic virtue, critical interest in human and political (as opposed to salvation) history, fresh insight into natural causes (in contrast to divine creation) and, not least, an idealization of classical antiquity as a source of wisdom and knowledge to complement, if not challenge, the Bible.

Infused by a new sense of human possibility, fame, freedom, and destiny, as well as new forms of mercantile organization, Italian city states provided a forum for intense cultural, commercial, and political rivalry. Among the first figures of this new age was Dante Alighieri (1265–1321), who exercised great influence in the literary, political, philosophical, and even theological spheres. His *Divina Commedia* (cat. no. 214) recounted a visionary journey through hell, purgatory, and paradise in a novel interlocking verse form that represented an unprecedented employment of the spoken vernacular language of his native Florence to create a verbal masterpiece of universal significance. By choosing the Roman poet Virgil to be his guide through the otherworldly realms, Dante helped stimulate the reappraisal of classical antiquity, prompting successors to pursue similar acts of recovery and reappropriation in their writings, as, for example, in Francesco Colonna's *Hypnerotomachia Poliphili* (cat. no. 240).

Petrarch (1304–74) reappropriated the classical wreath of laurel leaves literally by having himself crowned the first poet laureate in Rome in more than a millennium. He tried to outdo Dante in use of the vernacular with his *Canzoniere* (a collection of 366 poems dedicated to his beloved, Laura, through which he perfected the sonnet form) and his *Trionfi*, or *Triumphs*, a lengthy allegorical poem in six moralizing motifs (Love, Chastity, Fame, Death, Time, and Eternity) that reprised Dante's *terza rima* verse form (cat. no. 215). Still more accomplished and influential were Petrarch's numerous Latin writings, which included collections of letters, dialogues, eclogues, and epic poetry—the latter represented by his *Africa*, a rewriting of Virgil's *Aeneid* (cat. no. 190)

Petrarch's great contemporary, Giovanni Boccaccio (1313–75), likewise straddled the classical and vernacular, the antique and modern worlds. Yet instead of trying to legitimate the latter through the former, he situated himself contentedly in his surroundings and celebrated everyday life and love. His most famous work, the *Decameron*, presented a fictional account of how ten young Florentines (seven women and only three men) attempted to escape the Black Plague of 1348 by secluding themselves in a hillside villa, where they passed the time by telling each other stories over ten successive days (cat. no. 187). Some tragic, most bawdy and otherwise comical, the one hundred tales exhibited the versatility of colloquial Italian. Later in life, under Petrarch's influence, Boccaccio penned a number of Latin works, including the first compilation of biographies of notable women, *De mulieribus claris* (cat. no. 216).

Despite having gained a foothold, the vernacular would be eclipsed by Latin in succeeding centuries as the new humanistic movement gained traction through the recovery and systematic study of ancient texts, including Greek works imported by scholars, such as Manuel Chrysoloras, who migrated westward from the Byzantine Empire (cat. no. 194). One such treatise that eventually made its way to Boston is *Stichoi peri zōōn idiotētos* (*On the Characteristics of Animals*), a lengthy didactic poem by Manuel Philes of Ephesus in imitation of Hellenistic Roman models (cat. no. 219).

Humanism also had a profound impact on scientific thinking and method. Ptolemaic cosmology and cartography (cat. no. 194), only recently rediscovered in the Greek-speaking world, was rapidly introduced to the Latin West. It inspired Gregorio Dati to compose a poem in Italian, adopting Boccaccio's eight-line stanza form, titled *La Sfera* (*The Spheres*), which, if not accurate in its geographical content, nevertheless contained useful trade and navigational information for the expanding merchant class (cat. no. 218, see opposite). More importantly, humanistic science incited explorers such as Christopher Columbus to navigate firsthand the unknown parts of the terrestrial globe, discovering in the process a new continent that later would be named after another protégé of the Italian Renaissance, Amerigo Vespucci.

Christian Y. Dupont

cat. no. 218, f. 12v

214. Dante Alighieri, La chomedia di Dante Alighieri da Firenze
School of Santa Maria degli Angeli (illuminator)

Florence, Italy, c. 1410–20
Parchment, ff. 135, 250 x 180 (163 x 115) mm
Isabella Stewart Gardner Museum, 2.c.1.5
Purchased by Isabella Stewart Gardner in 1901.

f. 7r

The *Divine Comedy* has earned Dante Alighieri (1265–1321) renown as the most important poet of the late Middle Ages. Written between 1314 and the year of his death, his masterpiece is considered the finest achievement of the literary imagination composed in the Italian language and the first work of modern literature. The poem is a spiritual autobiography in the form of a pilgrimage through the three realms of the afterlife, Hell, Purgatory, and Heaven, to God. Conceived as a Christian epic, it is not only the story of conversion from sin to grace, but also of the progress of the soul aided by reason and faith.[1] No other work in literary history was so frequently copied in such a short space of time as the *Comedy*.[2] Soon after it was finished the first copies and commentaries appeared, initially in Florence, and later in other Italian cities. This manuscript was written and illuminated in the poet's native Florence within a century of his death, and is noteworthy for its collection of early commentaries. Acquired by Isabella Stewart Gardner in 1901 to complement her collection of rare printed editions of the *Comedy*, it is the oldest, most lavishly decorated, and textually rich, intact copy of the poem in the Boston area.[3]

The Gardner Dante contains an index of the cantos (ff. 1r–3v), a prologue (ff. 4r–5v), all three canticles of the poem (ff. 7r–93r), and five fourteenth-century commentaries (ff. 93v–129r), all of which are written in Italian and tackle various themes, including allegory, philology, theology, philosophy, historical references, and textual sources.[4] The manuscript's rubrics attribute four of the auxiliary texts to some of the *Comedy*'s most popular early glossators, who were considered major authorities on the poem due to their close relationship to Dante or learnedness:[5] Iacopo Alighieri (c. 1300–c. 1348), Dante's third son and author of the first commentary, composed a year after his father's death; Bosone Novello da Gubbio (b. after 1260–d. before 1377), an Umbrian politician, *literato* and art-lover; and Giovanni Boccaccio (1313–75), the greatest Dante scholar of his day, biographer of the poet, first paid public lecturer on the *Comedy*, and a celebrated author in his own right (see cat. no. 216).[6] In reality the authorship of the commentaries is more complex. The second text assigned to Boccaccio (ff. 99v–107r) has been identified by modern scholars as a mixture of the *Capitoli* of Cecco di Meo Mellone Ugurgieri of Siena and the *Esposizioni* of Mino di Vanni d'Arezzo, both written around 1350.[7] Whereas the sources of the unascribed final commentary (ff. 109r–29r), simply entitled "le chiose" (or "glosses") in the manuscript, is still disputed. It is said to draw on commentaries of the 1320s and 1330s written either by an anonymous Florentine, who claimed to have discussed the poem with Dante himself, and is known as the "Ottimo Commentatore" for his superior and linguistically pure explanations; or by the Bolognese writers Iacopo della Lana (b. after 1278–d. after 1328) or Grazioli Bambaglioli (1291–1342).[8] Though some of these commentaries circulated in pairs, such as the works of Alighieri with Bosone, and Vanni with Ugurgieri, they are rarely found together in this combination in early manuscripts of the poem.[9] The early commentaries compiled in the Gardner Dante attest to the unprecedented place of the *Divine Comedy* in the history of Western literature as the first work of vernacular poetry to be parsed by numerous commentators with a reverence that had been previously reserved for sacred or classical texts.[10]

The unique compilation of commentaries, fine parchment, elegant text written by a single professional scribe, and high-quality illumination indicate that the manuscript was commissioned by a wealthy and cultivated person. Its owner, however, is unidentifiable since the coat of arms in the border with a historiated initial *N* containing a portrait of Dante at the beginning of *Inferno* (f. 7r) has been mutilated irreparably. The manuscript's format, decoration and earliest known provenance indicate that it was made in Florence in the early 1400s and remained in the city until the nineteenth century.[11] It is a medium-sized, tall book with parchment leaves, two columns of text written in a Florentine cursive script with mixed Gothic and early humanistic features, and has figurative and ornamental decoration confined to the first initial of each canticle and commentary.[12] Its archetype was a new format of book designed with an iconography devised especially for the novel poem by Florentine bookmakers in the 1330s.[13] Known as the "antica vulgata" model, it was hugely successful for bespoke and speculatively produced manuscripts of the *Comedy*, and remained fashionable until the 1480s (see cat. no. 247). The Gardner Dante's illumination has been attributed to the so-called School of Santa Maria degli Angeli in Florence on stylistic grounds, specifically, its chromatic tones and ornamentation.[14] Its palette of vibrant orange and blue with subdued pink, green, and ocher, and decorative motifs such as zoomorphic foliate borders with sinuous-necked birds grasping acanthus leaves with their long beaks, recall the decoration for the celebrated series of choir books and secular manuscripts painted by the Camaldolese illuminator-monks in the late fourteenth and fifteenth centuries. Though assigned to the end of the fourteenth century by paleographers, a later dating of the Dante manuscript to around 1410–20 is preferable due to the apparent modeling of Christ Blessing at the opening of *Paradiso* (f. 64v) on the pose and physiognomy of the figure of the same subject from the central pinnacle of the Monte Oliveto altarpiece.[15] Both Redeemers were

depicted at slightly less than three-quarter length with a subtle contrapposto stance, emerging from distinctive lozenge-shaped clouds. They have a head turned to one side, eyes askance, a downward-turned mouth, scraggly beard, and back-swept long hair with curls hanging onto the shoulders. The polyptych was completed in 1410 by Lorenzo Monaco, Santa Maria degli Angeli's leading artist, for the Benedictine monastic church of San Bartolomeo a Monte Oliveto outside Florence's Porta San Frediano, and influenced both minor painters and major Renaissance artists far into the Quattrocento.[16]

The manuscript's earliest confirmed owners are the Discalced Carmelites of the Florentine convent of San Paolo Apostolo, known as San Paolino, whose book-stamp appears twice on the first folio. The terminus post quem for their ownership of the book is 1618 when Grand Duke Cosimo II granted them permission to found a convent at San Paolino, which had been in Franciscan and Dominican hands since the thirteenth century.[17] Further confirmation that the manuscript was in the possession of the Carmelites and not their predecessors at San Paolino, is the fact that the book is not listed in surviving inventories of the convent's property prior to their arrival.[18]

Anne-Marie Eze

1 Higgins 1993, 17, back cover.
2 Hollander 2007, 270.
3 Purchased at the Ashburnham-Barrois sale, Sotheby, Wilkinson & Hodge, London, June 10, 1901, lot 153, on the advice of Charles Eliot Norton. Eze 2012, 82. For Gardner's Dante collection, see Cunningham 1973.
4 Hollander 2007, 274. For a summary of the commentaries and literature on the texts of the Gardner Dante, see Malato and Mazzuchi 2011, 1.1:126, 138, 246, 258, 310, 321, 362, 399, 460–61.
5 Hollander 2007, 272–74.
6 Bellomo 2004, 62–77, 171–83, 192–203; Malato and Mazzuchi 2011, 1.1:121–34, 241–49, 316–27.
7 Cioffari 1983, 91–93; Bellomo 2004, 342, 384; Malato and Mazzuchi 2011, 1.1:137–40, 361–62.
8 Sandkühler 1967, 280; Cioffari 1983, 93; Bellomo 2004, 119; Malato and Mazzuchi 2011, 1.1:460.
9 Malato and Mazzuchi 2011, 1.1:361–62. Only Florence, BML, ms. Strozzi 161, written in Florence in the last quarter of the fourteenth century, has the same collection of commentaries, plus ps.-Dante, *I' fui' ferma Chiesa e ferma fede per dare correzione e vero lume*. Boschi Rotiroti 2004, 123, no. 111; Malato and Mazzuchi 2011, 1.2:644–45.
10 Hollander 2007, 272.
11 Eze 2012, 82, 92n13.
12 Maddalena Signorini, verbal communication, 2011. *Bastarda cancelleresca* and simplified *littera textualis* with elements of *cancelleresca*, according to Boschi Rotiroti 2004, 111 and Malato and Mazzuchi 2011, 1.1:460, respectively.
13 Pasut 2012, 156–59.
14 Eze 2012, 82–84.
15 Ibid., 84, figs. 3 and 6; Boschi Rotiroti 2004, 111, also assigned the decoration to the fifteenth century.
16 Florence, Galleria dell'Accademia. Eisenberg 1989, 46–47, 100–101, figs. 22 and 27.
17 De Ricci 1935–40, 1:932, no. 11; Eze 2012, 82.
18 Florence, Archivio Arcivescovile Firenze, VP 5 (Visita Pastorale di Giulio de' Medici, 1518), ff. 383r–85v; and Florence, Archivio del Capitolo di Santa Maria del Fiore, B-143, ff. 37v–40v and B-144, ff. 51r–55v, dated from 1574–80 and 1603–11, respectively. I am grateful to Alexander Röstel for indicating the detailed inventories to me.

215. Francesco Petrarch, Canzoniere e Trionfi

Veneto (?), Italy, c. 1450–70
Parchment, i (paper, conjugate of pastedown) + ii (paper) + 1 + 184 (numbered) + 1 + ii (paper) + i (paper, conjugate of pastedown), 243 x 162 (163 x 75) mm
Wellesley College, Margaret Clapp Library, Special Collections, P485
San Giorgio Maggiore, Venice; Sagredo Collection Venice, c. 1746; Duke of Hamilton Collection, 1882; Quaritch 1889; owned by George A. Plimpton; given to Wellesley College in memory of his wife Frances Taylor Pearsons Plimpton in 1904.

f. 7r

Francesco Petrarch's (1304–74) *Rhymes and Triumphs* were extremely popular in fifteenth-century Italy, surviving in over 600 manuscripts and twenty-five printed editions.[1] Many copies were illustrated with images of Petrarch's six triumphs and portraits of Petrarch and Laura.[2] This manuscript, like many others of this period, is attractively decorated, but its imagery does not illustrate the text or depict its author.[3] The illumination is north Italian, but to date has resisted closer localization.

Scholars have noted that a number of the poems in cat. no. 215 are in an unusual order, especially the *Triumphs* which begin with the second chapter of the Triumph of Death, instead of the normal Triumph of Love.[4] In the *Canzoniere*, the so-called Babylon poems, nos. 136–38 (ff. 68v–69r), have been effaced; in these sonnets Petrarch "attacked the luxury of the Papal Court at Avignon."[5] By the sixteenth century the Plimpton Petrarch had passed to the Benedictine monastery of San Giorgio Maggiore in Venice, gifted by a postulant Tita Meratti as he states in an appended sonnet (f. 184v).[6]

The borders of the opening folio are broad and rather dark, almost overweighing the delicate humanistic script of the first two sonnets (f. 7r). Against a deep blue ground, coiling pale vines, shaded with red, form roundels within which a variety of creatures appear in tiny landscapes. Most

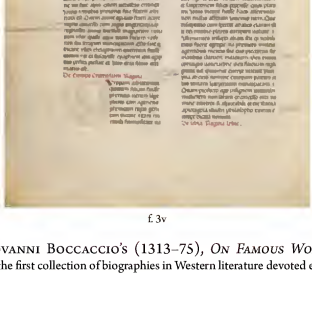
appropriate for Petrarch's love poems is a boyish Cupid in the uppermost outer margin; semi-nude with red wings, he holds up his bow and a large arrow as if they were trophies. The other roundels encircle a dragon with a human head, birds including a peacock, a deer, and a rabbit. Centered in the upper margin are a putto and another bird, drawn in pen and colored with watercolor. At the bas-de-page two angels support a mantled coat of arms, *per pale gules and argent*, that has been identified as Bon of Venice.[7] Although this is correct for the Bon family, the blazon is not complex and may also have been used by another family, outside of Venice. These angels and another initiating the Triumphs (f. 147v), are fragile and almost boldness, their Gothic swaying poses contrasting to the Renaissance format of the borders.

Lilian Armstrong

1 Feo 2003, 40–48, 170–76.
2 Trapp 1996 in Trapp 2003, 1–117.
3 De Ricci 1935–40, 1:1072–73.
4 M. Jackson 1929, 423–24; Wilkins 1946.
5 Wilkins 1946; Dutschke 1986, 272–74.
6 M. Jackson 1929, 424.
7 Morando di Custoza 1979, 487.

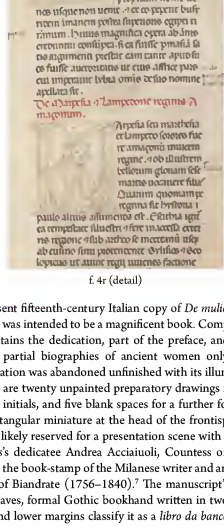
216. Giovanni Boccaccio, De mulieribus claris

Lombardy, Italy, 1490s
Parchment, ff. 10, 331 x 250 (245 x 168–69) mm
Harvard University, Houghton Library, MS Richardson 41
Ercole Silva, Count of Biandrate, Milanese writer and architect; sold by his great-nephew Carlo Ghirlanda Silva, Italian patriot, at Paris, Maison Silvestre, February 15, 1869, lot 284; with W. H. Schab by December 1940; purchased by William K. Richardson, his bequest 1951.



f. 3v

Giovanni Boccaccio's (1313–75), *On Famous Women* was the first collection of biographies in Western literature devoted exclusively to women.[1] It was composed in 1361–62 during the mature phase of Boccaccio's career when, influenced by Petrarch's humanist ideals, he abandoned writing vernacular courtly literature for erudite encyclopedias and compendia in Latin. *De mulieribus* comprises 106 lives of mainly Greek and Roman mythological and historical figures, plus a small number of biblical women and Renaissance contemporaries, renowned for both exemplary and infamous deeds. A panegyric of feminine achievement proposing female pagans for emulation by Christian women, *De mulieribus* was unprecedented in Latin literature. During the Renaissance it enjoyed a wide readership, especially in French and Italian courtly circles.[2] Widely diffused through vernacular translations and printed editions, the text influenced authors throughout Europe, including Chaucer, Christine de Pizan, and Giacomo Filippo Foresti (see cat. no. 239).[3] *De mulieribus* was overshadowed only in the modern era by the *Decameron*, now Boccaccio's best known work (cat. no. 187).[4]



f. 4r (detail)

The present fifteenth-century Italian copy of *De mulieribus* is a fragment of what was intended to be a magnificent book. Comprising just ten leaves, it contains the dedication, part of the preface, and twenty-eight complete or partial biographies of ancient women only.[5] The manuscript's decoration was abandoned unfinished with its illumination never begun. There are twenty unpainted preparatory drawings in pen-and-ink for inhabited initials, and five blank spaces for a further four initials and one large rectangular miniature at the head of the frontispiece.[6] The latter was most likely reserved for a presentation scene with Boccaccio and *De mulieribus*'s dedicatee Andrea Acciaiuoli, Countess of Altavilla, but later received the book-stamp of the Milanese writer and architect, Count Ercole Silva of Biandrate (1756–1840).[7] The manuscript's large format, parchment leaves, formal Gothic bookhand written in two columns and wide outer and lower margins classify it as a *libro da banco* derived from medieval university books, indicating that it was made for scholarly reading and annotation.[8]

Despite its fragmentary condition, MS Richardson 41 is fascinating for the beauty and unusual iconography of its underdrawings, and contemporary marginalia which present tantalizing clues to its provenance.[9] Most of the initials are inhabited by half-length, elegant female figures in profile, three-quarter, and frontal views.[10] Other than the initials for Arachne (weaving, f. 9v), Minerva (a teacher and pupil representing wis-

dom, f. 2r), Thisbe (giving a love token to Pyramus, f. 4v), and Flora the prostitute (dancing with a client, f. 8v), the depictions of the women are generic or seemingly incongruous with the biography they introduce. Simple attributes, such as a mirror or crown and scepter denote famous beauties (Venus, f. 2r) and queens (Isis, f. 3r). Books, however, are assigned randomly (Jocasta and Medea, ff. 6v and 9r, respectively), and many figures have one or more accessories unrelated to their tales. Most unusually, with loose hair, upward gaze and arms crossed over her chest, Europa is fashioned as the penitent Mary Magdalene (f. 3v). Similarly, Dido (f. 10v), Hercules's wife Iole, the cunning seductress-avenger (f. 6r), and Marpesia and Lampedo, warrior-queens of the Amazonians (f. 4r), are all depicted as gentle nuns or pious laywomen.[11] The representation of pagans as Christians, which contradicts Boccaccio's privileging of the ancients in the belief that saints had been sufficiently celebrated in hagiography, suggests that the book belonged to a religious institution.[12] The parallels drawn between Amazonian matriarchy and female cloistered life, and between the chaste Carthaginian dowager and Christian widowhood, point to a nunnery.[13]

Based on the architectural, foliate, and zoomorphic forms of the initial letters and the figures' dress, Susy Marcon dated the drawings to the end of the fifteenth century—possibly executed decades after the text was copied—and assigned them to a Veronese artist in the circle of the Dai Libri.[14] This manuscript's figures, however, bear little relation to those in preparatory drawings attributed to Girolamo da Libri around 1500.[15] Their naturalistic and expressive facial types, characterized by subtle glances, inclined heads and supple hair modeled in chiaroscuro, recall trends in monumental painting that developed in Milan under the influence of Leonardo da Vinci at the turn of the Cinquecento.[16] They are comparable to Protasio Crivelli's coeval illuminations for a choir book for the important Benedictine convent of San Maurizio al Monastero Maggiore in Milan.[17] A Milanese origin accords with the manuscript's nineteenth-century provenance.[18]

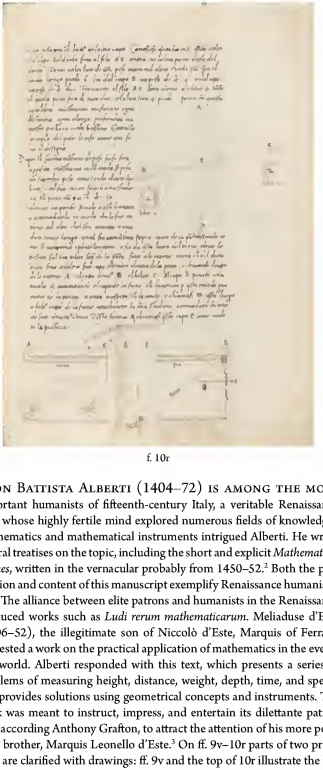
An interest in classical philology and edification motivated one of two readers, who annotated the manuscript's margins in a clear humanist hand.[19] In addition to identifying Boccaccio's classical sources and the Greek etymologies of Latin words,[20] this individual highlighted four moral and didactic passages on the temperament and education of young women with a distinctive monogram for the Latin word "Nota" (meaning "take note").[21] It is to be hoped that further research on the library at San Maurizio might reveal whether this book provided guidance for novices and unmarried girls from Milan's nobility cloistered there.[22]

Anne-Marie Eze

1 Boccaccio 2001, xi.
2 Buettner 1996, 15–16 and Daniels 2009, 142.
3 Boccaccio 2001, xxii.
4 The text survives in more than 100 manuscripts. Vernacular translations in Italian, French, German, English, and Spanish appeared soon after the Latin text was circulated in the later 1300s. It was printed three times in the 1470s–80s and in 1539. Boccaccio 2001, xx–xxii.
5 The manuscript was already fragmentary in 1869 when it was described as having eleven leaves and some excised initials. Potier, Paris, February 15, 1869, lot 284. Before 1940 it had lost a leaf, presumably the one from which cuttings had been taken.
6 Daniels 2009, 143 believed that the intended decorative program of MS Richardson 41 (referred to as Cm) included "no full-scale miniatures," most likely because she did not examine the manuscript itself but studied details of eighteen initials reproduced in Marcon 1999b.
7 For the Silva library, see Ferrari and Navoni 2007, 230–31.
8 The Houghton copy of *De mulieribus* is classified as large format by comparison with the examples surveyed by Daniels 2009, 140–41 tables 4.1a and 4.1b, 144.
9 Visible guide letters in the framing area reserved for gilding indicate that the drawings were not intended as independent, monochrome penwork initials.
10 The dedication opens with a full-length portrait of Boccaccio seated and reading from a book held open by a putto. The author is unusually depicted as longhaired and bearded, but is recognizable from the hooded habit of his minor orders. Kirkham 1999, 1:134.
11 The visual classification of women into four broad types is akin to that found in a French copy of the *De mulieribus*, Paris, BnF, ms. fr. 599, where bust portraits depict virtuous women, courtesans, warriors, and poetesses. Tesniere 1999, 64–66, no. 19.
12 See Daniels 2009, 154 on religious material evidence in manuscripts for readership of *De mulieribus* among the clergy.
13 For Boccaccio's non-Virgilian presentation of the widowed Dido as exemplary for committing suicide to protect her chastity before Aeneas's arrival, see Boccaccio 2001, 490.
14 Marcon 1999b.
15 Verona, Bibl. Cap., ms. DCCLVIII. Castiglioni 2008, 84–85, no. 14.
16 I am grateful to Federica Toniolo and Ada Labriola for discussing the style of the drawings with me.
17 Formerly identified as the Master of the Wildenstein Solomon, his corpus mainly consists of cuttings from the San Maurizio choir book that are dispersed in many collections. Levi D'Ancona 1970, 107–11, pls. xxv–xxvii. MS Richardson 41's drawings are stylistically closest to Paris, Mus. Marmottan, Coll. Wildenstein, no. 26, initial *N* with St. Maurice and the Theban League. Levi D'Ancona 1970, 109, pl. xxvi; London, BL, Add. MS. 18197 *G*, initial *C* with St. Helen. Eze 2010b; and initial *R* also with St. Helen (location unknown, formerly New York, Lehman Collection, ms. A. 6.). Palladino 2003, 142, fig. 36. Mulas 2004, 187 dates the choir book to the mid-1490s, but a later dating in the early 1500s would make more sense as a new set of choir books were probably commissioned for use in the convent's new church built from 1503–09. For the church's construction, see Gatti Perer 1967, 153.
18 The convent was suppressed on November 20, 1798 though it continued to be occupied by laicized nuns until the 1860s when its buildings were sold or demolished. Pertot 1997, 1–2.
19 The other reader's response was typical for this text, limited to noting key names and paraphrasing useful facts from the biographies (Daniels 2009, 151–52). For example "unde libia pars affrice dicta sit" ("after which Libya in Africa is named") beside Libya (f. 4r).
20 For example, on f. 3v: ϐισσ/divinos, διαϐολος/dyabolo, στομωτα/stemmatibus, φιλοσοφοσ/philosopho, and on f. 4r τιραννοσ/tira[m]num. An excerpt from the beginning of book 25 of Sallust's *The War with Catiline*, regarding the Roman noblewoman Sempronia, is quoted in the interior margin of the life of Europa (f. 3v). It translates as "In birth and appearance, in her husband too and children, she was quite favored by fortune; she was well versed in Greek and Latin literature, and at dancing more skillfully than a virtuous woman needed to." Sallust 2013, 60–61.
21 The sentences in the following biographies are highlighted. See Boccaccio 2001 for the Latin in the parallel translation.
1. Europa, f. 3v, second column, lines 8–10. For an English translation, see Boccaccio 2001, 48–49, §3.
2. Hypermnestra, f. 5r, second column, lines 8–12. Boccaccio 2001, 60–61, §13.
3. Niobe, f. 5v, second column, lines 34–38. Boccaccio 2001, 68–69, §6.
4. Hypsypile, f. 9r, first column, lines 38–41. Boccaccio 2001, 70–73, §6.
22 Neither of the extremely detailed post-suppression inventories of the convent's property compiled in 1798 and 1828 mention a library let alone books. Pertot 1997, 11–17 and 19–65, respectively. Pedralli 2002, 256 lists three liturgical manuscripts made for the convent and *Manus OnLine: Censimento dei manoscritti delle biblioteche italiane* lists a further two service books which are thought to have belonged to San Maurizio. It could be particularly fruitful to compare MS Richardson 41 to manuscripts from the library of Ippolita Sforza Bentivoglio (1481–1521) and her husband Alessandro Bentivoglio, major patrons of the convent who are memorialized in the celebrated wall frescoes of Bernardo Luini in the church of the faithful (1522). Their daughters were nuns there and included Abbess Alessandra. Ippolita and her sister Angela inherited a forty-four volume library, comprising devotional and spiritual texts, as well as school books and literary works. Pedralli 2002, 47, 135, 186, 581–82. The eloquence, classical training and poetic skill of Sempronia in the abovementioned Sallustian excerpt inscribed in the Houghton manuscript (see above note 20) perfectly describes Ippolita. An erudite poetess, schooled in Latin and hostess of a humanist salon in Milan, she was a major cultural figure before her premature death. Trento 2000, 37, 40–41.

217. Leon Battista Alberti, Ludi rerum mathematicarum

Rome, Italy, c. 1475–1500
Paper, ff. 17, 276 x 203 (195 x 120) mm
Harvard University, Houghton Library, MS Typ 422.2
Adriana R. Salem; deposited by Mr. and Mrs. Ward M. Canaday, 1955, presented, 1964.



f. 10r

Leon Battista Alberti (1404–72) is among the most important humanists of fifteenth-century Italy, a veritable Renaissance man whose highly fertile mind explored numerous fields of knowledge.[1] Mathematics and mathematical instruments intrigued Alberti. He wrote several treatises on the topic, including the short and explicit *Mathematical Games*, written in the vernacular probably from 1450–52.[2] Both the production and content of this manuscript exemplify Renaissance humanism.

The alliance between elite patrons and humanists in the Renaissance produced works such as *Ludi rerum mathematicarum*. Meliaduse d'Este (1406–52), the illegitimate son of Niccolò d'Este, Marquis of Ferrara, requested a work on the practical application of mathematics in the everyday world. Alberti responded with this text, which presents a series of problems of measuring height, distance, weight, depth, time, and speed, and provides solutions using geometrical concepts and instruments. The work was meant to instruct, impress, and entertain its dilettante patron and, according Anthony Grafton, to attract the attention of his more powerful brother, Marquis Leonello d'Este.[3] On ff. 9v–10r parts of two problems are clarified with drawings: ff. 9v and the top of 10r illustrate the use of a measuring instrument called an *equilibra*, respectively to level water and to weigh unequal loads; the bottom of f. 10r concerns the problem of weighing heavy loads like a cart.[4] The manuscript's content typifies the dialogue between the mechanical arts and theoretical learning in the Renaissance. Alberti employed the theories of geometry to raise the status of the mechanical arts, most famously of painting, to the level of the liberal arts, yet through the behest of elite patrons like Meliaduse, who sought to articulate power through technical knowledge, he also promoted the intrinsic value of the mechanical arts.[5] Moreover, in its recourse to Antique authorities, the text of *Ludi rerum mathematicarum* represents the best-known characteristic of Renaissance humanism. Alberti's ideas rely on ancient studies of mathematics especially by Euclid, Vitruvius, and Columella, as well as the medieval works of Savasorda and Fibonacci.[6]

The most recent study of *Ludi rerum mathematicarum* identifies thirteen copies of Alberti's lost original, of which four, including this manuscript, date to the fifteenth century.[7] The similarity of the drawings in the copies has led to the inference that Alberti furnished the originals. The inclusion of illustrations—rare in Alberti's manuscripts—may indicate that the author anticipated a limited audience, but the number of copies and its first print edition of 1568 evince a wider readership.[8]

Stephanie C. Leone

1 Gadol 1969 and Grafton 2000.
2 Williams, March, and Wassell 2010, 1–5. This most recent treatment of the treatise includes the first published translation into English, based on Galileana 10 manuscript in the Biblioteca Nazionale Centrale, Florence, and an in-depth commentary by Wassell with references to earlier scholarship. On the Harvard copy, Bond and Faye 1962, 277; Kristeller 1963–97, 5:237; Wieck 1983b, 133; Hankins 1989, 8. Although the title is in Latin, the text is in Italian, which, according to Mercanti and Landra 2007, 19–20n16, is common for Renaissance texts. In Italian the manuscript is referred to as *Ludi matematici*. On the manuscript's dating, Vagnetti 1972, 175; Mercanti and Landra 2007, 16–17; Williams, March, and Wassell 2010, 75.
3 Grafton 2000, 207–8, 221–24; Wassell, "Commentary on *Ex ludis rerum mathematicarum*," in Williams, March, and Wassell 2010, 75–81.
4 Williams, March, and Wassell, 2010, 44–49, 106–19. For further study of the *equilibra*, Williams and Bevilacqua 2013.
5 Long 1997, 22–25, and 23n47, on *Ludi rerum mathematicarum*.
6 Williams, Marsh, and Wassell 2010, 2, 77–78.
7 Ibid., 215. Previously, only eleven copies had been identified. For an important analysis of them and their dating, Cecil Grayson's commentary in Alberti 1973, 352–60.
8 Williams, March, and Wassell 2010, 76–77.

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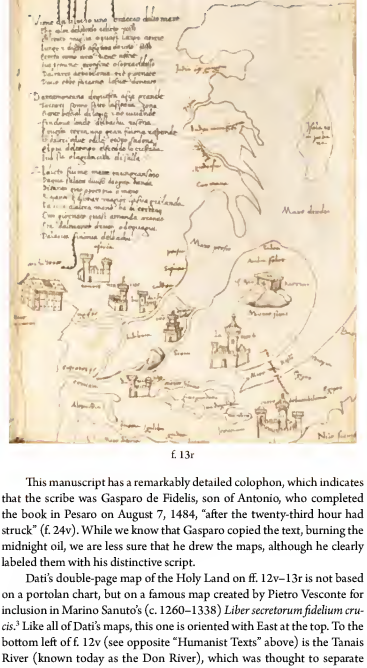
218. Gregorio Dati, La Sfera Gasparo de Fidelis (scribe)

Pesaro, Italy, August 7, 1484
Paper, ff. i + 24 + i, 285 x 207 (195 x 90) mm
Boston Public Library, MS f Med. 125
Acquired by BPL around 1953.

Much is known about the life of Gregorio Dati, author of *The Spheres*, because like many Florentines he kept a *ricordanza* to record financial transactions and his family history.[1] A successful Florentine silk merchant, Dati eventually held a series of important public offices in Florence. He married four times, surviving all but his last wife, and had twenty-six children. After living abroad in Valencia, he returned to Florence with a female slave named Margherita, who bore him a son, Thomas. In 1393, he was captured by pirates while on a trading venture; he lost a good deal of personal and company property and had to pay a ransom for his own release. Dati died in 1435, leaving the last eight years of his life unrecorded. In addition to his *ricordanza* and the *Sfera*, Dati is also the author of a history of Florence.

Dati's *Sfera* links the celestial movements of the sun, moon, and planets with terrestrial knowledge of the Mediterranean world that would have been useful for merchants. Each of its four books includes a program of marginal diagrams or illuminations to amplify the original Italian rhymed verse (*ottava rima*). The fourth book contains maps of the Mediterranean based on portolan charts, which accurately detail the coastline, that have

been broken into short segments to accommodate the narrow margins surrounding the text blocks.[2]



f. 13r

This manuscript has a remarkably detailed colophon, which indicates that the scribe was Gasparo de Fidelis, son of Antonio, who completed the book in Pesaro on August 7, 1484, "after the twenty-third hour had struck" (f. 24v). While we know that Gasparo copied the text, burning the midnight oil, we are less sure that he drew the maps, although he clearly labeled them with his distinctive script.

Dati's double-page map of the Holy Land on ff. 12v–13r is not based on a portolan chart, but on a famous map created by Pietro Vesconte for inclusion in Marino Sanuto's (c. 1260–1338) *Liber secretorum fidelium crucis*.[3] Like all of Dati's maps, this one is oriented with East at the top. To the bottom left of f. 12v (see opposite "Humanist Texts" above) is the Tanais River (known today as the Don River), which was thought to separate Asia from Europe. The clumps in the left margin resembling trees are in fact mountain ranges, traditionally depicted as large rocks. Close to the gutter on f. 13r (shown above), Noah's Ark (square in shape as described in Genesis 6:15) rests near Mount Hermon between Turkey and Armenia, a window carved in its roof as God commanded Noah. To the lower right are the Tigris and Euphrates rivers leading to the Persian Sea and the Indian Ocean. Two structures fill the Arab Peninsula. Closest to the Indian Ocean is the monastery of St. Catherine on Mount Sinai (here misplaced on the Arabian Peninsula). Represented here as a tomb and labeled with a distinct script to mark the map's only Christian edifice, St. Catherine's was built in the sixth century and has the world's oldest continually operating library. To the left (north) of St. Catherine's is Mecca, depicted as a medieval castle to the east of the Red Sea. The illustrator has reversed the positions of the two sites in order to fill the empty space in the Arabian Peninsula and not crowd the relatively populous area of Egypt and Palestine, sacrificing accuracy for presentation.

That a silk merchant would author such a complex work in Italian verse demonstrates that the humanistic impulse was felt by more than the learned intellectuals of the Medici court. Often without Greek and perhaps not so deeply learned in Latin, Florentine merchants shared with their better educated compatriots the same curiosity about the natural world and the love of language that are hallmarks of Renaissance culture.[4] This copy, one of 200 surviving manuscripts, indicates the popularity of Dati's work during the fifteenth century for the education and reading pleasure of the merchant class in Renaissance Italy.

Raymond Clemens

1 Brucker 1997. For an analysis of what Dati's *ricordanza* reveals about his understanding about his place in the world, see Epurescu-Pascovici 2006.

2 Good introductions to the development of portolan charts include T. Campbell 1987 and Gautier Dalché 1995.

3 Pietro Vesconte was the earliest mapmaker to routinely sign and date his maps. He was active between 1310 and 1330 and seems to have produced most of his maps in Venice. Marino Senuto's *Liber secretorum fidelium crucis* was a call to arms for Europeans to reclaim the Holy Land and included several maps by Vesconte to assist crusaders as they traveled to Palestine to fight to regain areas significant in the history of Christianity.

4 On literacy and learning in Florentine schools during the Renaissance see Gehl 1993 and Black 2007.

219. Manuel Philes, Stichoi peri zōōn idiotētos
Angelos Vergikios (scribe)

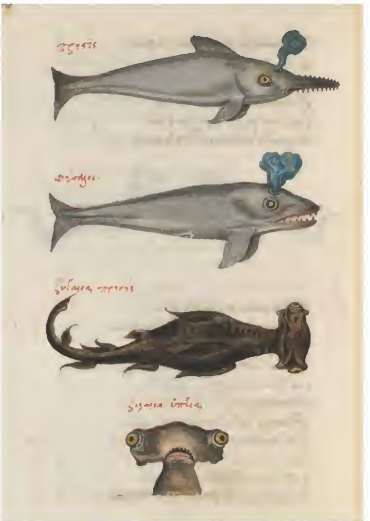
Paris, France, 1565
Paper, ff. iii + 61 + ii, 235 x 162–63 (152 x 70–75) mm
Harvard University, Houghton Library, MS Typ 222
Chester Beatty (MS Gr. 10); bequest of Philip Hofer, 1984.

On the Characteristics of Animals reflects the growing interest of European intellectual elites in natural history during the Renaissance. The manuscript contains a poem in three parts describing various animals ("birds," "land-dwelling," and "water-dwelling"). The poem was composed by the Byzantine poet Manuel Philes (1275–1345) and was dedicated by him to Michael IX Palaiologos (co-emperor with Andronikos II Palaiologos, 1294/95–1320). A cultural reverberation is noteworthy: Philes's poem was a product of the so-called Palaiologan renaissance, a period in Byzantine history when many Byzantine scholars and intellectuals were collecting, copying, paraphrasing, and annotating works of classical Greek authors.[1] Indeed, *On the Characteristics of Animals* is primarily based on the work *De natura animalium* (*On the Nature of Animals*) by Aelianus (c. 175–c. 235 CE).

The manuscript was copied by a renowned Greek calligrapher Angelos Vergikios, who left his name and the date of the manuscript's completion in the colophon. Born in the beginning of the sixteenth century in Crete, Vergikios followed in the steps of many Greek scribes and scholars who immigrated to Italy during the Renaissance. Vergikios lived in Venice (1535–37) and Rome (1537) and in 1538 moved to France, where he worked on the library catalogue at the royal library in Fontainebleau until his death in 1569.[2] Vergikios employed humanistic cursive minuscule with many flourishes, which was popular among scribes and patrons at the time.

The manuscript is beautifully illuminated. The three chapters open with headbands ornamented with griffons, masks, and cornucopia motifs. And the beginning of the first chapter opens with an illuminated initial executed in French humanistic style. There are 106 meticulously executed colored drawings illustrating each animal mentioned in the poem. Most of the animals described and depicted in the manuscript are real, but some

are imaginary, such as a unicorn and a dragon. Three aquatic animals are depicted on f. 45v: a sawfish, a whale, and two images of a hammerhead shark. The sawfish drawing naturalistically renders the saw-like snout of the creature, but the artist also depicts a blowhole, which sawfish do not have. Sawfish evidently were thought to be a kind of whale. A whale with a blowhole is pictured below the sawfish, and under the whale are two drawings of a hammerhead shark. The artist presented a rather naturalistic image of this peculiar shark. The unusual shape of this shark's head inspired the artist to depict the shark in two positions: a full body lying on its belly and the head of the shark lying on its back.



f. 45v

Vergikios copied several virtually identical manuscripts of *On the Characteristics of Animals* from 1554 to 1568 in Paris, most likely for sale to wealthy patrons. All of these manuscripts were very probably decorated by the same artist, but his or her identity is not known. There has long been speculation that Vergikios's daughter illuminated her father's manuscripts. Although repeated in many publications, this legend has not been corroborated with convincing evidence.[3]

Nadezhda Kavrus-Hoffmann

1 On this subject, see Kazhdan et al. 1991, 3:1783 (with previous bibliography); Fryde 2000.

2 On the scribe Angelos Vergikios, see Vogel and Gardthausen (1909) 1966, 2–6; *RGK* 1A:25f., no. 3 and 1C:3; *RGK* 2A:25, no. 3; *RGK* 3A:27, no. 3 (all three volumes of *RGK* provide extensive bibliography on this well-known and prolific scribe).

3 Hofer and Cottrell 1954, 331.

cat. no. 214, f. 7r

Comincia la chomedia di dante
alighieri da firenze / il quale
tratta delle pene ꝯ punimenti de vitij
ꝯ de meriti delle virtu. Cap. primo della
prima parte detta inferno / nella quale
l'autore fa proemio a tutta lopa. Cap. j.

del chamin di nostra uita.
mi ritrouai per una selua scura.
che la diritta uia auea smarrita.
Et quanto a dir quellera cosa dura. a.
esta selua seluaggia aspa ꝯ forte.
che nel pensier rinoua la paura.

siuol
Cosi la
siuol
chenõ
Poche
ripres
sicche
.d. Et ecch
una l
che di
Et nõn
anci
chi fu
.e. Tempe
el sol n
cheru
a Dosse
.f. sicha
di quel
Lom de
.g. manõ
la uist
Quelli
colla t
sicche
.h. E una l

Tr. ii. ad
p. a. Ser
uite d. pc.
Eatus
uir q
non a
byt in
cōsilio
impiorꝫ: et in uia pcc̄orꝫ
nō stetit. et i cathedra pe
stilētie nō sedit. Sed
in lege dñi uolūtas eius.
et in lege eius meditabitur
die ac nocte. Et erit

5. Renaissance Liturgical Books

Despite a popularly held notion that the Italian Renaissance favored secular humanistic studies and an emphasis on individuals living in the here and now, a large proportion of Renaissance works of art, including illuminated manuscripts, were created in the service of the Christian faith.[1] The following eight exquisitely decorated books were all made for use in churches and monasteries, commissioned primarily by or for highly placed clergy. A second contradictory aspect of liturgical manuscripts in this period is that many were written and illuminated by hand after the invention of printing had been firmly established in Italy,[2] thus confirming that manuscripts could more readily be adapted than printed editions to meet specific liturgical preferences of individual religious establishments.

The following chapter includes examples of most of the essential liturgical texts used in the Renaissance. These books tend to be large, so that they could be more easily seen when opened on altars or high lecterns.[3] The Holy Eucharist, or the Mass, was the most solemn service in Christian churches—requiring the celebrant to perform self-purification beforehand (cat. no. 221)—and the necessary texts appear in missals.[4] The prayer of consecration, known as the canon of the Mass, is central to the Eucharist and in illuminated missals was usually preceded by an image of the Crucifixion; the first words of the canon are *Te igitur*, and the initial *T* was often historiated with an image of a priest celebrating Mass (cat. nos. 78 and 242).[5] Complementing the missal is the gradual, the liturgical book containing the musical chants sung at Masses throughout the year. Choir book commissions were often so elaborate that more than one miniaturist worked to complete them. For example, Wellesley College's Durant Gradual was extensively illuminated in Venice in the 1430s by two principal miniaturists (cat. no. 224). In its cycle illustrating the Christological feasts, the Pentecost was illuminated by the Master of the Donato Commission with the Dove of the Holy Spirit hovering over a crowd of apostles and the Virgin Mary.[6] A second artist, now called the Wellesley Master, depicted the Resurrected Christ standing on his tomb on a splendid page initiating the chants for Easter (cat. no. 224, f. 189r).

The cycle of eight services known as the Divine Office, which was recited daily in monastic institutions, also required specialized books: the breviary for the texts and the antiphonal and psalter (*psalterium*) for the musical chants. A breviary illuminated in Venice or Padua by a miniaturist known as Petrus V---, is one of the most spectacular Renaissance manuscripts in America (cat. no. 223). The imagery at the opening of its psalter does reverently portray King David in prayer, but the glittering gold architectural border and the illusionism of the "torn" vellum page seems to appeal to a patron with sophisticated knowledge of the art of classical antiquity.

Cathedrals and prosperous monastic institutions commissioned elaborate sets of graduals and antiphonals. The exhibition includes two choir books, an antiphonal and a psalter, that are among fourteen surviving from the Benedictine monastery of San Sisto, Piacenza (cat. nos. 225–26). In the antiphonal, a delicately rendered Annunciation inhabits the initial *M* of *Missus est Gabriel*, the chant for vespers before the First Sunday in Advent. The familiar scene is appropriately used to initiate the Christological cycle in this temporale, whereas the same iconography was often used in a sanctorale to illustrate the Feast of the Annunciation (March 25). The frontispiece of the psalter is even more richly decorated: in the initial *B* of *Beatus vir* (psalm 1) are David the Psalmist and below him St. Jerome in his study, signaling the monks' knowledge of Jerome's commentaries on the Psalms (cat. no. 226, f. 1r, see oppposite). In the complex border are portraits of St. Benedict, founder of the order, and many other saints revered by the monks of San Sisto. Elsewhere in the psalter, the monks of San Sisto themselves—most interestingly an African monk and another carrying a banderole with his name, Frater Ambrosius—are portrayed instead of more usual images of prophets or saints (cat. no. 225, ff. 6r and 10r). The persistence of manuscript choir books even into the seventeenth century is verified in a huge antiphonal recently recognized as one of eleven choir books made for the Dominican convent of Santa Maria dell'Arco at Sant'Anastasia near Naples soon after 1600 (cat. no. 227).[7] For the Feast of the Conversion of St. Paul (January 25), the miniaturist has portrayed the saint collapsed by his horse, shielding his face from the vision of Christ in the clouds above.

Special Masses and other ceremonies that would only be celebrated by a bishop are contained in manuscripts known as pontificals. In the richly illustrated "Calderini Pontifical," a bishop is charmingly depicted blessing cheese, milk, and honey; and in another initial, he blesses grapes on the Feast of the Transfiguration (cat. no. 220, ff. 32v–33r). The miniature in a second pontifical shows a bishop blessing a queen at her coronation (cat. no. 222, f. 125v). The margins are further decorated with exquisite vari-colored penwork leaves and birds, having no necessary relationship to the text, but greatly enhancing the beauty of the page.

Lilian Armstrong

1 Many examples appear in Alexander 1994, 49–62, 227–38, and 239–56.

2 The first printing press operating in Italy was established in 1465 at Subiaco near Rome, and the industry rapidly grew rapidly elsewhere in Italy. For an overview, see Hirsch 1974, 1–26.

3 As depicted in the miniature of clerics in front of a lectern in a Kyriale at San Giorgio Maggiore, Venice, illuminated by the Pico Master (see Marcon 1999b).

4 For definitions of liturgical books, see Lisa Fagin Davis, "Guides to Good Living" in this catalogue. For further discussion of liturgical books see: Harper 1991, passim.

5 The paired images can be seen in the Vallumbrosan Missal printed on parchment in Venice in 1503 and illustrated with woodcuts (cat. no. 242).

6 Armstrong, forthcoming 2017 and Minazzato 2004.

7 Eze 2012, esp. 87–94.

cat. no. 226, f. 1r

220. Pontifical of Andrea Calderini Master of the Calderini Pontifical and Bartolomeo Varnucci (illuminators), Stefano dell'Aquila (calligrapher)

Rome, Italy, c. 1385; Florence, Italy, c. 1439
Parchment, ff. ii + 146 + i, 370 x 265 (225 x 160) mm
Harvard University, Houghton Library, MS Typ 1
Sotheby's, London, July 28, 1814, lot 163; Proser; Chardin sale (Sotheby's, London, May 24, 1819, lot 425); Bossange; Henry Yates Thompson (Sotheby's, London, June 3, 1919, lot 15); Pickering & Chatto; Frank Brewer Bemis; purchased in 1943 with Hofer fund from the Rosenbach Corporation.

f. 1r

This richly illuminated manuscript contains a reworking of the pontifical of Guillelmus Durandus composed of a selection of the chapters from this text, interpolated with chapters from the thirteenth-century pontifical of the curia.[1] The vast iconographic project, comprising two large historiated panels, twenty-three miniatures, sixty-two historiated initials in tempera and gold, numerous decorated initials and foliate borders with birds, animals, and putti, was not carried out in a single campaign. It was completed at a later date by a Renaissance illuminator, who finished painting the incomplete leaves, mainly using the drawings by the first artist.[2] The illuminations illustrate the ceremonies officiated by the bishop in detail, with great attention to vestments and implements.

An inscription on the second flyleaf (ANDREAE CALDERINI EPISCOPI CENETENSI IMPENSA) asserts that the expenses for its production were paid for by Andrea Calderini, who was bishop of Ceneda, in the Veneto, between 1378 and c. 1385.[3]

The book's connection with a diocese in the Veneto had initially determined the attribution of the first stage to an illuminator active in northern Italy,[4] while the second campaign was assigned to a Florentine illuminator.[5] François Avril identified this artist as Bartolomeo Varnucci (c. 1412–c. 1479), trained in the workshop of Battista di Biagio Sanguigni,[6] and connected the pen-work initials made in the first stage to Stefano dell'Aquila, a calligrapher active in Rome at the end of the fourteenth century.[7] It has been possible to further confirm that the book was produced in Rome during the Great Schism, thanks to the identification of the first illuminator (the Master of the Calderini Pontifical) with the author of a leaf representing the Resurrected Christ (Toledo, Bibl. Cap., MS. 39.1, f. 69r), detached from a gradual from the Sistine Chapel.[8]

The elegant sprays of naturalistic leaves, often shaded or painted in shell gold by the calligrapher Stefano dell'Aquila, whose activity in Rome as a copyist for the popes began under Urban VI (r. 1378–89), occur throughout the pontifical.[9] The Master of the Calderini Pontifical, responsible for the preparatory drawings throughout the manuscript and for the tempera illuminations can also be recognized as an artist trained in the Abruzzi, and precisely as a pupil of one of the illuminators of the Missal of Santa Maria Paganica at L'Aquila (Vatican City, BAV, ms. Ross. 276).[10] It is from this more old-fashioned artist that the elaborate decorative motifs in the pontifical's borders derive;[11] moreover the later production of manuscripts connected with the court of Boniface IX (r. 1389–1404) also clearly depends on this style, first introduced in Rome by the artist of the Calderini pontifical.[12]

Although Andrea Calderini's presence in Rome at the court of Pope Urban VI[13] appears to agree with the manuscript's production in this context, the inscription with his name cannot be dated to the end of the fourteenth century, because this type of epigraphic lettering was not used before the last quarter of the fifteenth century and did not become broadly employed before the sixteenth.[14]

Furthermore, the heraldry in the manuscript has been systematically altered, as a coat of arms (*d'azure a deer's skull d'argent, a chief d'argent*) under a bishop's miter has been painted over what seems to be the preparation for an earlier coat of arms on gold-leaf ground.[15] The over-painted coat of arms had been identified in the past with that of the Meschatin de la Faye family,[16] a member of which, Guillaume de Meschatin, was bishop of Gap, in Provence (r. 1677–79), but this suggestion is not satisfactory, because the Meschatin de la Faye arms actually have different colors (*a deer's skull d'or* and not *d'argent*).[17] In addition, it is possible to connect the represented arms with those of the Calderini family itself: although these are sometimes shown as quartered with eagles and usually comprise a rose above the skull,[18] an earlier version, illuminated in a manuscript dating from the last decades of the fourteenth century (Bologna, Mus. Civ. Med., ms. 4109, f. 78v),[19] shows that the arms portrayed in the pontifical actually correspond to those used by Andrea Calderini's family at the end of the fourteenth century.[20] This is further confirmed by a description of Andrea's seal as bishop of Volterra, dated 1371.[21]

If the manuscript was indeed paid for by Calderini at the outset, it might originally have been intended as a gift to Pope Urban VI (r. 1378–89), as his coat of arms contained a blue eagle on a gold ground, which would explain the original presence of gold ground in all the areas prepared for the heraldry. A detail in an illuminated border, representing a blue eagle on gold ground (in the upper margin of f. 117v), overlooked during the heraldic repainting, seems to confirm this hypothesis, which is further supported by the book's illustrative project.[22]

The pontifical displays an unusual iconographic feature which makes it entirely suited for a papal destination: two very large medallions portraying St. Peter are painted in the lower margins of the openings of the chapters introduced by the two largest miniatures, portraying the coronations of a pope and an emperor (ff. 99r and 107v). Furthermore, a second eagle is illuminated in the upper margin of the second image, above the pope crowning the emperor, in a very conspicuous position (f. 107v): although this eagle is painted in gray and not blue, this leaf was completed in the second stage, when the heraldic allusion was probably lost and the illuminator simply recognized an eagle and painted it an appropriate color.[23]

If the book was intended for Urban VI, however, it was left unfinished and probably never did reach the pope. It is possible to speculate that the manuscript may have arrived in Florence on the occasion of the Council of Florence in 1439: a possible candidate for taking it there is one of Calderini's successors in the diocese of Ceneda, Antonio Correr O.P. (1378–1445), bishop of that diocese from 1409 until his death, who was a cousin of Pope Eugene IV (r. 1431–47) and who might have been present at the Council.[24]

A date close to 1439 also agrees with the second stage of illumination, as the closest comparisons may be found in a manuscript illuminated by Bartolomeo Varnucci around 1437: the copy of the *Monarchia, sive tractatus de potestate imperatoris et papae* dedicated to Emperor Sigismund (1368–1437) by its author Antonio Rosselli (1381–1466).[25] Bartolomeo's typical faces, with large eyes and wide foreheads, are recognizable in both, and the fashion displayed in them with great accuracy also indicates an early stage of Varnucci's career, still strongly influenced by Masolino and Masaccio.[26]

The correction of the heraldry in the manuscript, nonetheless, cannot be dated to the first campaign, nor to the second, as it is clear that all of the arms, and the miters above them, were painted on top of border decorations illuminated in both stages. The motifs in the circular medallion enclosing the coat of arms in the marginal decoration beneath the historiated initial of the Confirmation on f. 1r, (the only place where decoration was added in the same stage as the repainting of the arms), however, confirm a date well into the sixteenth century, as clearly conveyed by the shape and type of the shield's frame, and its mannerist, grotesque masks.

If the addition of an inscription remembering the patronage of a late fourteenth-century bishop in the first half of the sixteenth century sounds very unusual, the systematic repainting of all the coats of arms, and the addition of the miter above all of them, at that date seem incredible, all the more considering that the Calderini coat of arms was different at the time and that the arms without the rose correspond to a stage contemporary with Andrea's years.[27]

A possible explanation to these enigmatic additions to the Calderini pontifical might come from a third sixteenth-century element observable in the manuscript. Among the textual corrections added in the margins at different dates, are a considerable number of notes in a sixteenth-century hand (in particular on ff. 56v–84r).[28] If the manuscript was not corrected to be used by a specific bishop, who would have added his own coat of arms and not the late fourteenth-century Calderini arms, it is possible that the whole campaign of sixteenth-century additions—inscription, heraldry, and notes—all presumably done in the same stage, might be associated with an interest in the pontifical's text and with a project to publish it. In this light, the inscription remembering Calderini's patronage and the insertion of his heraldry, both of which must have been recorded in the manuscript, perhaps on the original binding and flyleaves,[29] might be the result of a wish to emphasize the antiquity and importance of the pontifical as a textual source.

Francesca Manzari

1 I would like to thank Mercedes López-Mayán for her analysis of the textual contents of the manuscript.

2 Of the sixty-nine illuminated leaves, forty-two were completed by the first workshop and the other twenty-seven, each often comprising more than one illumination, were finished in the second stage. Many of the margins in these were already painted, so the second illuminator—who only appears after f. 41r—simply added what was missing, while he seems to have made more relevant changes in the illuminated scenes, in particular in the architectures, although even in these it is obvious that he often re-employs earlier compositions. For a detailed distinction of the two phases, see the description of the manuscript on BeyondWords2016.org.

3 This prelate, from a Bolognese family, also known as Andrea di San Girolamo or Andrea Codoni, was bishop of Volterra from 1363, of Tricarico from 1374, and of Ceneda from 1378: Fantuzzi 1781, 257–58; Bernardi 1845, 183–85.

4 Mariani Canova 1975, 97.

5 Jonathan Alexander had suggested Battista di Biagio Sanguigni (Alexander and de la Mare 1969, 35n3), comparing the illuminations with those in a manuscript with the *Regola della Schuola di Sancto Giovanni Evangelista*, now attributed to Bartolomeo Varnucci (Ciardi Dupré dal Poggetto 1971, 42).

6 On the two Florentine illuminators: Pasut 2004b; Kanter 2004. On Varnucci see also De Floriani 1996. Varnucci seems to have trained with Battista di Biagio, so although in some illuminations it seems possible to recognize Biagio's hand, as for example on f. 42v, this is probably simply due to the close contact between the two artists in the early stages of Bartolomeo's career. It must further be considered that the fifteenth-century illuminator was undoubtedly relying on the drawings made in the first stage.

7 Avril 2012 (based on a 1990 conference), 51–52, 54. In fact François Avril had already pointed out the manuscripts production in Rome at the time of Urban VI in his review to the 1983 exhibition at the Houghton Library (Wieck 1983b), saying that he would discuss this attribution in a further contribution: Avril 1984, 368.

8 Manzari 2014c, 419–22.

9 Avril has traced his career in Rome: Avril 2012. For other manuscripts close to Stefano: Manzari 2012, 73–78.

10 Manzari 2012, 73–74; Manzari 2014b: precisely with the illuminator I have identified as the second artist active in this manuscript.

11 Manzari 2014c, 421.

12 Manzari 2008, 123–33; Manzari 2010; Manzari 2014c.

13 The bishop did not go to his see, but resided in Rome with the pope, to whom he was very close: Manzari 2014c, 420.

14 As already noticed by Mariani Canova (1975, 97). The script is possibly datable to the first half of the sixteenth century, as suggested by Francesca Santoni, whom I would like to thank for all her help with this manuscript.

15 The gold leaf was applied throughout the manuscript in the first stage of decoration, but possibly the heraldry was never completed in that phase, as nothing seems to be visible under the upper layer.

16 H. Thompson 1907–18, 2:11.

17 *D'azur, à un rencontre de cerf d'or, au chef d'argent*. Rietstap 1988, 2:207.

18 Dolfi 1670, 226.

19 Benevolo 2002, 114–15.

20 The history of Andrea Calderini and of the Calderini arms lacks a systematic study. Although it has been asserted that the rose was only added to the arms in the 1390s (Benevolo 2002, 115), when a member of the family, Gaspare Calderini, was given the golden rose by Pope Boniface IX (1389–1404), the source of this information is Fantuzzi, who does not give any documented evidence for it (Fantuzzi 1783, 11).

21 Fantuzzi 1781, 258.

22 Although the gold leaf around the eagle on f. 117v is decorated with punchings forming a halo, this passage (the emperor's oath) has no connection with the eagle of John the Evangelist; the presence of the halo is probably simply due to the ambivalence of this kind of image, as frequent in late Gothic manuscripts.

23 In any case it is clearly not the holy dove which is portrayed in these two images, as the illuminator draws very naturalistic birds and the dove can be seen in the Trinity on p. III. The presence of the eagle on the top of this leaf does not have any other explanation than an allusion to the pope's heraldry.

24 This prelate must not be confused with the homonymous cardinal (1369–1445), who was also his cousin. Nonetheless there is no clue in the book confirming this connection.

25 Paris, BnF, ms. lat. 4237: Avril and Załuska 1984, 115–16.

26 As for example in the array of costumes in the Coronation scene on f. 115r of the pontifical and in the image with the Presentation of the book at the opening of the *Monarchia* (f. 1r). Bartolomeo's earlier work is more accurate than his later production, for which he relied heavily on his workshop: Ciardi Dupré Dal Poggetto 1971, 41; Avril and Załuska 1984, 116. There is no connection, however, between the illuminations in the Calderini pontifical and a group of much earlier Florentine detached leaves, now in various collections, as suggested by Freuler (2013, 2:590–94).

27 Dolfi (1670, 228), in fact, mentions a second Andrea Calderini, who would also have been nominated bishop of Ceneda by Pope Paul II (1464–71): as the see of Ceneda was held by a different bishop in those years (Pietro Leoni), and no further mention of a double of this kind appears, the author must have made a mistake, perhaps confusing him with Domizio Calderini, a prominent member of the court of Paul II.

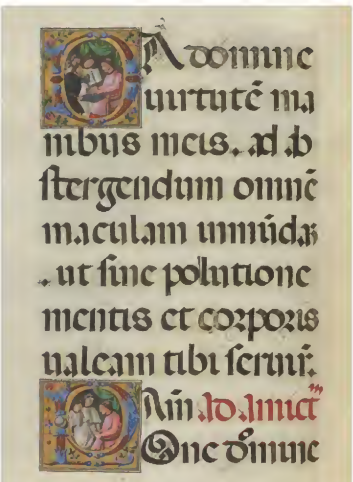
28 Although both the inscription at the beginning and these notes have a wider

range of dates than the first half of the sixteenth century, they are both compatible with this date, corresponding to that of the added heraldry. I would like to thank Emma Condello, Francesca Santoni, and William Stoneman for all their help with the palaeographical analysis of this manuscript.

29 The binding was still in use in the second quarter of the nineteenth century (Soulié 1833, 187). The repainting of the coat of arms, furthermore, cannot be the consequence of a nineteenth century antiquarian falsifications because it is already mentioned in 1789 ("Antichità sagre" 1789, 200).

221. Praeparatio ad missam pontificalem
Vincent Raymond di Lodève (illuminator)

Rome, Italy, c. 1535–47
Parchment and paper, ff. 3 (ff. 1–3) + 62 (ff. 4–65), 379 x 256 (230–33 x 152–53) mm
Harvard University, Houghton Library, MS Typ 136
Bought by Philip Hofer from A. S. W. Rosenbach in 1947 and deposited by him in 1967, his bequest, 1984.



f. 23v

This manuscript is a fine example of the Preparation for Mass to be used by the pope or a bishop prior to officiating Mass in the Sistine Chapel. Long thought to be a pontifical,[1] largely on account of its missing *incipit*, which would have provided the title,[2] the *Praeparatio ad missam pontificalem* is a different kind of liturgical book, generally comprised of only a few quires containing prayers for the preparation and dressing of the *Pontifex* (bishop) or *Summus Pontifex* (pope) before celebrating Mass. The lack of the frontispiece, which must been lavishly painted and would have borne the heraldic insignia of the patron or owner, prevents us from linking the manuscript to an individual. Nevertheless, certain aspects of its decoration immediately identify the Houghton Preparation for the Mass as a luxury book created in Rome between 1530 and 1550, and undoubtedly part of the liturgical manuscripts made for the papal court. It is a work of refined production, with only ten lines of text on each page and around three words per line.

The decorative program comprises sixteen large historiated initials (equal to two lines of text), another eleven decorated initials, and sixty-five small initials in gold on fields of red and blue with golden arabesques. The hyper-detailed historiated initials portray the bishop assisted by deacons and laymen putting on the diverse liturgical paraphernalia (socks, sandals, amice, alb, cincture, pectoral cross, stole, tunic, dalmatic, gloves, chasuble, miter, ring, and maniple) while reciting the prescribed prayers. Identifiable by their civilian dress, his lay assistants are present only in the first four initials depicting the putting on of stockings, the putting on of sandals, the removing of the cope, and washing of hands (ff. 22r–23v). Each historiated initial is embedded in the incipit of the corresponding prayer, directly connected to the liturgical text. After putting on stockings and sandals, and removing his cope, the bishop tasked with celebrating the Mass, would wash his hands while saying the prayer specified, as is pictured in the initial *D* (*Da Domine*) on f. 23v of this manuscript. After the ablution of the hands, the dressing began in earnest with the placement of the amice as shown in the initial *P* (*Pone*) on the same folio. The amice is a rectangular linen cloth that was placed first on the head and then allowed to fall to the shoulders. While dressing, the bishop spoke a prayer in which the amice was explained, referencing the Letter of St. Paul to the Ephesians (6:17), as "the helmet of salvation" that protected against the temptations of demons.[3] The initial *D* (*De alba*) on f. 24r with vesting the alb, depicts two deacons, one holding an open book, the other handing to the bishop an alb—a long white robe that symbolized the sacred grace received through baptism.

It is characteristic of the historiated initials that the scenes inhabit the interior bowl of the letter, while decorative elements such as pearls and masks make up its body, which floats on a field of "shell gold," or powdered gold applied with a brush giving the effect of a dull patina. The letters are surrounded by flowers, small birds, strings of pearls, and gems that hang from nails or are tied to it.[4] The manuscript was first assigned to northern Italy,[5] and later—by Jonathan Alexander—to the style of the Carvajal Missal,[6] which was illuminated between 1520 and 1521 by a student or follower of Matteo da Milano (active in Rome between 1512/13 and 1520).[7] The miniatures in MS Typ 136, which draw on the same decorative repertory as the Lombard master, are attributed here for the first time to the Frenchman Vincent Raymond di Lodève, who was one of the most important illuminators of the papal scriptorium, active in Rome from the pontificate of Leo X (1513–21) until his death in 1557 (see cat. no. 203).[8] Although Vincent adopted in the initials the same decorative motifs of Matteo da Milano with an imitative technique that is at times impeccable, his hand can be recognized above all in the faces of the figures that have features distinct from those known to have been painted by Matteo,[9] or by the Master of the Missal of Cardinal Bernardino of Carvajal (see cat. no. 78).[10] Vincent employed a different typology in the decorated initials, which combined a great variety of motifs drawn from diverse models.[11] Some of these initials, done in the style of Matteo da Milano, appear in various choral books in the Biblioteca Apostolica Vaticana, for example the Antiphonal of Paul III of 1535 (ms. Capp. Sist. 2, fol. 153r, initial *C*),[12] and in the antiphonal of the Proper of Saints of 1539 (ms. Capp. Sist. 11, fol. 86r, initial *D*).[13] Furthermore, in a gradual dated 1541 and signed by the scribe Galeazzo Ercolano da Bologna, there is, in the outer margin of the frontispiece, a medallion with Paul III in prayer (ms. Capp. Sist. 28, f. 1r).[14] The scene's composition closely resembles that of the historiated initials in MS Typ 136: a figure seated in profile beneath a curtain. Further comparisons are offered by the Antiphonal of Charles V, written by Juan de Escobedo around 1537–40 and now held in the Biblioteca Nacional de España, Madrid (ms. Vitr. 16-1). On f. 5v, enlivened by an illumination of the Last Supper enclosed in a frame with medallions in monochrome green and red with scenes of the Passion of Christ, are two decorated initials *M* (*Magnificum*) and *I* (*Clbavit*), which clearly recall the decorative vocabulary of Matteo da Milano.[15]

Finally, the Houghton Preparation for the Mass can, very probably, be identified with a book described on the inventory of the Sistine Chapel sacristy of 1547 as: "A book of preparation, beginning: *Antiphona* in red letters, and a miniature on the first folio, and ending *secula seculor*[um]."[16]

Elena De Laurentiis

1 Bond and Hofer 1955, 30, no. 107, pl. 60; Bond and Faye 1962, 262; Wieck 1983b, 78–79, no. 38; Baroffio 2011, 79, no. 3985.

2 The book is made of parchment to which three paper folios (ff. 1–3) derived from another manuscript were added at the front. On the first folio (now lost) there must have been written, in addition to the title (*Quando Pontifex parat se ad celebrandum, dicit...*), the antiphon (*Ne reminiscaris...*) and the incipit to psalm 83 (*Quam dilecta...*).

3 In the *Preparatio ad missam* of Pope Leo X now in the Morgan Library & Museum, New York (MS H.6), on f. 14r there is, in the bowl of the letter *P* (*Pone*), a profile bust of Leo X, tonsured, his head draped with an amice. For this Sistine Chapel manuscript dated to 1520 and illuminated by Attavante degli Attavanti, see De Laurentiis and Talamo 2010, 341, 346, with previous literature, and Wieck 2014a, 25, cat. no. 16.

4 The initials *I* (*Indue*) and *I* (*Iugum*), on ff. 27r and 28v respectively, are embellished with pairs of decades of a rosary with red coral beads, gold crosses ending in green tassels—a color distinct to the episcopal office. The prayer cord consisted of a string of eleven beads and was used to recite ten Hail Marys and one Our Father.

5 Bond and Hofer 1955, 30, no. 107, pl. 60; Bond and Faye 1962, 262; Wieck 1983b, 78–79, no. 38.

6 Alexander 1992a, 45n38; De Laurentiis and Talamo 2010, 220.

7 On the missal with the Mass of the Epiphany of Cardinal Bernardino de Carvajal, tempera pigment on parchment, ff. 90, 441 x 316 mm, see Sotheby's, London, December 11, 1984, lot 44 (formerly Dyson Perrins collection, MS 116), which was sold to Hans Peter Kraus for £49,500; and De Laurentiis and Talamo 2010, 219, with previous literature.

8 Saffiotti Dale 2004; De Laurentiis 2016 with additions to the illuminator's catalogue.

9 See, for example, the missal of Cardinal Lorenzo Pucci, in which on f. 14r the cardinal is pictured kneeling before Leo X (Vatican City, BAV, ms. Chig. C. VIII. 228; Morello and Maddalo 1995, 288–94, cat. 71, fig. 181), or the missal of Cardinal Giulio de' Medici, dated to 1520 and now in Berlin (SMPK-KK, Cod. 78 D 17), in which on f. 183r Cardinal Giulio is pictured in prayer (Alexander 1994, 239, no. 128 and fig. on 241). For an interesting hypothesis suggesting that the two Franciscan friars are true and accurate portraits of as yet unidentified contemporary figures, see Dillon Bussi 1998, 312.

10 For a preliminary catalogue of the Master of the Missal of Cardinal Bernardino of Carvajal, see De Laurentiis and Talamo 2010, 219–20, 278, 349 and Eze 2012, esp. 84–87 and plate 8 on page 13. I add here the missal of Cardinal Esteban Gabriel Merino, commissioned around 1513 on the occasion of his being named the archbishop of Bari, which is now housed in the cathedral of Jaén, Spain (Archivo Histórico Diocesano, no shelfmark). The decoration was undertaken in close collaboration with Matteo da Milano, Attavante, and the Illuminator-goldsmith of Leo X. The decoration of f. XXIIv (initial *E* with the Massacre of the Innocents) and of f. LXXXIXv (initial *R* with the Resurrection) are the work of the Carvajal Master. Hidalgo Ogáyar 1980, 63–73, figs. 6–7.

11 See Vatican City, BAV, mss. Capp. Sist. 2, 3, 8, 9, 11, 13, 17, 18, 19, 28, 213, and 611. Talamo 1998, ad indicem.

12 Talamo 1998, 91–98, fig. 129.

13 Ibid., 106–18; Saffiotti 1998, 35 and fig. 9.

14 Talamo 1998, 121–23, fig. 163.

15 Alexander 1994, 238, no. 127, fig. on page 237 (f. 20v). The manuscript is fully digitized and images are available online at the Biblioteca Nacional de España's *Biblioteca Digital Hispánica*, "Antifonario de Carlos V": http://bdhrd.bne.es/viewer.vm?id=0000008379&page=1.

16 See De Laurentiis and Talamo 2010, 318.

222. Pontificale Romanum ("Broadley Pontifical") Alberto de' Maffei (scribe and calligrapher)

Venice, Italy, c. 1490
Parchment, ff. 324, 284 x 195 (173–75 x 114–15) mm
Harvard University, Houghton Library, MS Typ 217
Thomas Edwards of Halifax (Stewart, Wheatley & Adlard, London, May 15, 1828, lot 854); Henry Broadley; John Harrison-Broadley (Sotheby's, London, February 14, 1922, lot 310); Sabin; Chester Beatty (MS W. 124; Sotheby's, London, May 9, 1933, lot 67); sold by Quaritch in 1933; deposited by Philip Hofer, 1967, his bequest, 1984.

f. 125v

The Broadley Pontifical, named after its nineteenth century owner, contains chants, rubrics, prayers, and readings for rituals over which only a bishop could legitimately preside, according to the Roman pontifical realized by Agostino Patrizio Piccolomini and Johannes Burkard, masters of ceremony at the papal court in Rome, and printed for the first time in Rome in 1485. In the colophon of the present manuscript, Patrizio and Burkard and their edition are mentioned, making it likely that the calligrapher copied from a printed volume.[1]

On the page dedicated to the confirmation (f. i recto), framed by a rich *candelabre* frieze, the bottom margin, illusionistically painted with an interior open to a landscape, bears, in the foreground, two putti flanking a coat of arms surmounted by a bishop's miter. The same shield, without the miter, is also painted on the bas-de-page of the rectos of ff. cclxxiiii and cclxxxvii within *all'antica* scenes with satyrs or objects of Roman inspiration.[2] The most likely hypothesis, already proposed by scholars, is to identify the coat of arms (*or, on a chief gules three quatrefoils d'argent*) with that of the Paruta Venetian family.[3] The patron may be Bartolomeo Paruta, abbot of the San Gregorio abbey in Venice from 1455 to 1496 and a somewhat important figure in the Venetian ecclesiastical hierarchy. Another possible client, although less famous, is Marco Paruta, to whom Bartolomeo, his uncle, ceded his seat in 1496.[4]

The decoration of the manuscript is very rich. Twenty-four initials and four vignettes, in tempera and gold, depict the bishop performing rituals for people (confirmation, blessing of an abbot and of an abbess, coronation of a king and queen) or buildings, places, and objects (reconsecration of a church or cemetery, blessing of an altar-shrine, chalice and paten). The pages with figural initials as well as those with decorated letters (almost two hundred), bear filigree friezes with multicolored flowers and leaves, enriched by putti and dolphins that sometimes depart from golden bars. On three pages, the friezes look like large bands on blue, purple and gray fields, adorned with racemes and golden *candelabre* and oculos with *all'antica* scenes. The peculiarity of the manuscript, however, is the delicate penwork borders, executed in purple, red chartreuse, and brown ink, which embellish many of the leaves. These friezes run along the intercolumnar space or lean against a text column, drawing racemes or architectural features such as arches, lintels, and parts of columns that seem to imitate the monumental architecture. They are always enriched with birds, often intent on pecking grapes and sometimes placed inside cages. At times, there are dolphins, fruit, and vases. These very fine penwork borders have led scholars to compare the Broadley Pontifical to a group of manuscripts produced in Venice in the last decade of the fifteenth century and beginning of the sixteenth (Oxford, Bodleian Library, MS. Canon. Liturg. 272 and Melk, StiftsB, Cod. 1831, and ff. 167v and 208v of MS McClean 34 of the Fitzwilliam Museum in Cambridge, UK), identifying in the decoration the hand of a single calligrapher.[5] Susy Marcon has broadened the group to include other codices from the Biblioteca Nazionale Marciana in Venice, such as the *"Giuramento" of Nicolò Lion as Procuratore di San Marco de Ultra* (ms. Lat. X, 239 [= 35109]), with pen friezes identical to those of the pontifical, and, above all, a copy of Niccolò da Correggio's *Cephalo e Aurora* made for a member of the Ariani family in Venice, dated 1497, and signed by the scribe Alberto de' Maffei (London, BL, Add. MS. 16438). According to Marcon, Alberto de' Maffei was not only the calligrapher of the latter manuscript, but also the decorator of the London volume and other codices related to it, although the *Cephalo e Aurora* of London was written in humanistic minuscule and does not contain any of the peculiar borders seen in the Pontifical and in the other manuscripts. The architectural frame of its single illuminated page (f. 2r) includes birds delicately painted in a style identical to that seen in the borders of the pontifical. She suggests that the context in which Maffei worked was that of the calligraphers, notaries, and humanists who gravitated around San Marco in Venice and that Maffei employed various types of writing as well as pen friezes. Therefore, Maffei would be the writer and pen decorator of MS Typ 217.[6] Although suggestive, this identification remains a hypothesis. It should also be noticed that in the Broadly Pontifical, the figurative scenes and the friezes are perfectly integrated, which prompts the conclusion that the same artist painted both (e.g., the scenes with the crowning of a queen (f. 125v) and the blessing of an abbot, both of which are inseparable from the friezes). Moreover, in the painted decoration, the birds, dolphins, and heads closely resemble those in the pen friezes, typical of the whole group of manuscripts gathered around the name of Maffei. In the London manuscript, Maffei painted an architectural frieze with oculi containing profile portraits not dissimilar to the vignettes in the Broadley Pontifical.[7]

The rich and varied figurative and ornamental style of the illuminator finds convincing comparisons in Venetian illumination of the 1490s, particularly with work by the Second Master of the Grifo *Canzoniere* and Benedetto Bordon, the two principal illuminators of proto-classicism. In their work, albeit of higher quality, friezes are colored in blue with golden candelabra and racemes, masks, jewelry, and even *all'antica* scenes.[8] MS Typ 217 demonstrates that the illustration of liturgical codices also participated in the refined taste of mature Venetian humanism of the end of the fifteenth century.

Federica Toniolo

1 For a general history of the *Pontificale Romanum*, see Vogel 1986, 184; on this specific copy Wieck 1983b, 74–75, no. 36 with previous bibliography; Borders 2007, 184.

2 There are no quatrefoils on the shield on the recto of f. cclxxiiii.

3 On the coat of arms see: *Cronache delle famiglie nobili veneziane, fino al 1490* (Venice, Biblioteca Nazionale Marciana, ms. It. VII, 33 [= 7804]) and Morando di Custoza 1979, no. 2341. The coat of arms is almost identical to those illuminated in the Broadley Pontifical. The only differences are the flowers that, in MS Typ 217, are quatrefoils, not six petal flowers, and silver instead of gold. Even the coats of arms in the internal pages have flowers with four petals which were once silver, but in the others are painted yellow, as a substitute for gold. A coat of arms equal to those of MS Typ 217 can be found in a pontifical (Oxford, Bodleian Library, MS. Canon. Liturg. 375), which is also attributed to Bartolomeo Paruta (Pächt and Alexander 1970, 36–37, no. 368, pl. 36). In my opinion, the execution of the Oxford pontifical could be executed in Rome and in particular be ascribed to the illuminator Niccolò Polani, in the initial with the bishop and, in the friezes, to another illuminator of the Roman papal court.

4 Bartolomeo Paruta was appointed abbot of San Gregorio in Venice by the bishop Filippo Paruta, his relative. In this role, he worked hard to rebuild the church of the monastery. He ran, unsuccessfully, for the office of patriarch of Venice in 1464, for the episcopate of Padua (1481, 1485) and for those of Treviso (1485) and Aquileia (1497). In February 1496, he resigned from the abbey of San Gregorio in favor of his nephew Marco Paruta of Domenico. See: Cornelio 1749, 358–59; Piana and Cenci 1968, 396, 410, 419, 422, 431; Varanini 1996, 866. It has been suggested that the letters "LD," placed inside an *all'antica* table, inserted within a bar with a palmlike termination, supported by two satyrs that departs from the crest Paruta at f. cclxxxvii recto, could be the initials of the name of the owner of the manuscript. Although the hypothesis is not to be excluded, the antiquarian context in which are the two letters could also allow a different reading of the initials as L(egem) D(at) in reference to the powers given to the bishop by God. The inscription is common in images of the *Traditio legis*.

5 The group, including MS Typ 217, was identified for the first time by Pächt and Alexander 1970, 57–58, no. 383. For Cambridge, Fitzwilliam Mus., MS McClean 34, see Morgan, Panayotova, and Reynolds 2011, 151–52, no. 77.

6 For the reconstruction of the corpus of Alberto de' Maffei as calligrapher and author of the pen friezes, see: Marcon 1987, 121–44 and Marcon 2004d.

7 A reproduction of the illuminated page of the London manuscript with *Cephalo e Aurora* signed by Maffei can be found in Wardrop 1963, 38, pl. 42.

8 I refer to works attributed to the Second Master of the Grifo *Canzoniere* such as f. 233r with the Triumph of Venus from Antonio Grifo's *Rime* (Venice, BNM, cod. It. Z, 64 [= 4834]) or the title page of the *Liber quinque praedicabilium* f. i [i1] (second foliation) in the Porphirius, *Isagoge*, Venice, Andreas Torresanus de Asula and Bartolomeo de Blavis, 1483 (New York, PML 21195). On Benedetto Bordon see especially Luciano, *Opera* (*Vera historia* translated into Latin by Lilius Castellanus) Venice, Simone Bevilaqua 1494 (Vienna, ÖNB, Inc. 4.G.27).

223. Breviarium Romanum Petrus V--- and the Douce Master (illuminators)

Venice or Padua, Italy, c. 1478–80
Parchment, ff. 515, 291 x 213 (176 x 137) mm
Harvard University, Houghton Library, MS Typ 219
Comte Alexis de Golowkin; Prince Galitzine (Paris, March 3, 1825, lot 10); Payne & Foss (London, November 6, 1826, lot 2843); Triphook; Duke of Newcastle (Clumber sale, Sotheby's, London, December 6, 1937, lot 939); sold by H. P. Kraus, 1954; gift of Philip Hofer in honor of Thomas Stilwell Lamont, 1967.

This breviary is one of the most lavishly illuminated Italian manuscripts of the late fifteenth century.[1] Its spectacular frontispieces, dozens of painted historiated initials, and hundreds of pages with elaborate flourishing ensure that it was commissioned for a prominent patron, as yet not identified. The presence in the calendar of seven saints especially revered in Padua suggests that the patron may have been a

highly placed cleric in that city whose bishops were invariably noble Venetians.[2] The two miniaturists, Petrus V and the Douce Master, are known to have worked in Venice, Padua, and Rome, all important centers of ecclesiastical patronage.

The texts of the Houghton breviary are standard: calendar, temporale, psalter, sanctorale, and Common of Saints. What is striking, however, is how extensively the temporale has been provided with historiated initials, thirty-two in addition to the four saints and the Annunciation represented on its frontispiece (f. 8r).[3] More expected are the numerous historiated initials of the sanctorale, but nevertheless, fifty-five make a hefty total; the images of David and prophets in the psalter add to the sumptuous program. The unusual presence of Sts. Roche and Sebastian on the opening folio of the sanctorale (f. 269r), saints invoked for protection from the plague, when combined with the known careers of the artists, indicates a date soon after 1478 when a severe outbreak of the plague occurred in Padua and Venice.[4]

f. 215r

The principal miniaturist responsible for the frontispieces and many initials in the Houghton breviary is known as Petrus V, active in Venice and Rome, c. 1475–c. 1495.[5] He is named for a partially legible inscription, *Opus Petri V…*, on a frontispiece dated 1476, but the inscription is now thought not to be original; lacking another name, "Petrus V" is still serviceable.[6] The second miniaturist is known as the Douce Master, active in Padua in the 1470s and 1480s; he illuminated many historiated initials and bas-de-page roundels in the breviary.[7]

The extraordinary illusionism of the frontispieces is the manuscript's most striking visual aspect.[8] For the opening of the psalter (f. 215r), Petrus V has depicted a classicizing architectural structure in front of which appear to hang two torn sheets of parchment on which is written the text. Piers decorated with glittering gold classical vases and vines support a heavy gilded entablature; on the bases are classical profile busts. Beneath the hanging parchment, David kneels in a stony landscape, hands folded in prayer. His discarded lute is protected by a white dog, who gazes at his master. A capital *B* (initiating *Beatus vir...*) in the second column of text is composed of horns, a snail, and the body of a putto; through its apparently open center appear God the Father and a landscape whose features—bare rocks and clumps of trees—continue those depicted below. Clutching the piers are sturdy winged putti, while an owl and other birds rest on a tree atop the cliff at the side. A further evocation of classical antiquity is the stained purple vellum page facing the psalter frontispiece; Renaissance patrons understood purple vellum to have been reserved for imperial books in the Roman era and wished emulate their status.[9]

The stunning illusionistic ensemble marks a highpoint in the development of the so-called architectural frontispiece, a type of composition that insists on the contrast between Renaissance perspectival rendering of three-dimensional objects in space and the inherent two-dimensionality of thin parchment pages. The classical architectural vocabulary presumes the patron's admiration for ancient art. The architectural frontispiece evolved in Venice and Padua in the later 1460s and became popular all over Italy by the end of the century, eventually passing into woodcut title-pages for printed books.[10]

Closely related stylistically to the Houghton breviary is Petrus V's illumination of another breviary, a copy on vellum of the *Breviarium Romanum* printed in Venice in 1478, now in the University of Glasgow Library; its owner was Leonardo Botta (c. 1431–1513), Milanese ambassador to Venice.[11] Figures of David and saints and of vigorous putti in the Botta breviary miniatures are close relatives of the Houghton breviary figures, and are similarly set in rocky landscapes. Petrus V's later commissions for Celso Maffei, rector general of the Regular Lateran Canons, for Pope Sixtus IV, and for Mattias Corvinus, king of Hungary, assure that his work was in demand by the highest levels of Renaissance society.

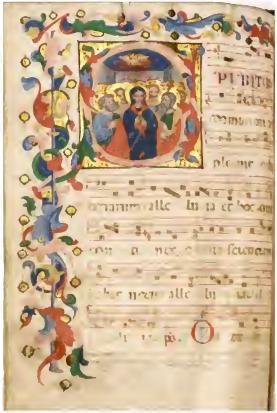
Lilian Armstrong

1 Bond and Faye 1962, 271; Wieck 1983b, 70, 129; Alexander 1969, 12–13, 20n15 (Alexander 2002, 106–33); Armstrong 1990b, 397–400, 410–411 (Armstrong 2003, 1:355–59, 401–2); Armstrong 1994a.
2 In the late fifteenth century the bishops of Padua were: Jacopo Zeno (1460–81); Pietro Foscari (1481–85); Hieronymus Lando (1485–87); Pietro Barozzi (1487–1507).
3 Armstrong 1994a, 180.
4 Lowry 1991, 162.
5 Marcon 2004e.
6 Armstrong 1990b (emended in Armstrong 2003, 1:405).
7 Gnaccolini 2004b.
8 Meiss 1957, 61–63, 93n24, fig. 69; Armstrong (as in note 1).
9 Longo 1998.
10 Corbett 1964; Armstrong 1981, 19–26; Armstrong 1990a, passim (Armstrong 2003, 1:233–338 passim); L. Andrews 1999; Herman 2011.
11 Glasgow, UL, Sp Coll Hunterian Bf.1.18: Armstrong 1990b, 394–97, 410, no. 4; figs. 9–12 (Armstrong 2003, 1:350–55, 400–401, no. 4, figs. 9–12, and col. pl. 7).

224. Graduale Romanum, temporale ("Durant Gradual")
Master of the Donato Commission and the Wellesley Master (illuminators)

Venice, Italy, c. 1430
Parchment, ff. 296, 555 x 380 (385 x 270) mm
Wellesley College, Margaret Clapp Library, Special Collections, MS 2
Belonged in the fifteenth century to the church of St. Nicholas at Sacile (near Udine), inscription on f. 1r: "Hoc liber est deputatis ecclesiae S. Nicolai de Sacile;" sale of William G. Medlicott, Longmeadow, MA, 1880, lot 2701; Henry Fowle Durant; given to Wellesley College by Mr. and Mrs. Henry Fowle Durant before 1935.

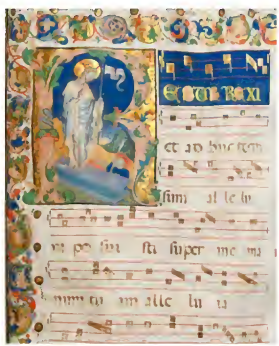
The Durant Gradual is typical of the huge choir books produced for Italian cathedrals and monastic institutions in the late Gothic and Renaissance periods.[1] It contains the music and texts for the Christological cycle of Masses throughout the liturgical year, known as the temporale. A cathedral or convent would also require music for the cycle of liturgical feasts with fixed dates, known as the sanctorale. The author has recently discovered that a gradual, sanctorale, which is the requisite counterpart of the Durant Gradual, exists in the British Library (Add. MS 18161).[2] The miniatures of the two graduals have not been previously published.[3]



f. 224v

In the upper margin of the first folio recto of the Wellesley and the British Library volumes is a partially legible inscription in a late fifteenth-century hand: "...est deputat[u]s ec[c]l[es]i[a]e S[anct]i Nicolai de Sacille" ("assigned to the church of San Nicolò, Sacile"). A second inscription in an added gathering of the British Library volume reads: "Ego ṕsbit ianes d'mōte regali sacilēsis hūc / v'siculij[?] imposui año dñi. M.CCCC°. lxxxviij" ("I, Johannes de Monte Regali, priest of Sacile, added this to the lines/verses/chants, in the year of our Lord, 1488").[4] Large red letters highlight the feast of St. Benedict in the British Library sanctorale (f. 47r), and its final historiated initial represents the funeral of a Benedictine nun (f. 164r). Based on the inscriptions and the style of the decoration, one can postulate that the graduals were created for a Venetian Benedictine convent, and later transferred to San Nicolò in Sacile, near Pordenone, north of Venice.

The principal miniaturist of the Durant Gradual is the Master of the Donato Commission, named for his illumination of a ducal manuscript dated 1427 in the Biblioteca del Museo Correr, Venice (ms. Classe III 775).[5] In the scene of the Pentecost (f. 224v), St. Peter has a characteristically full curly gray beard, a broad forehead, and pinched eyebrows giving him an intense expression. The Virgin's features are softer with a slightly rounded nose and small full lips. Male and female hands are boneless and not highly articulated. The rich decoration of the initial *S* and the margins consists of lush curving acanthus leaves in brilliant red, pink, blue, and green. A second miniaturist—the Wellesley Master—illuminated several narrative scenes including the handsome Resurrected Christ on the page initiating the chants for Easter (f. 189r).



f. 189r (detail)

Other illuminations by the Donato Master include historiated initials in a gradual created for a Venetian Carthusian monastery in the early 1430s;[6] the artist with whom he collaborated was Cristoforo Cortese, the most dominant miniaturist active in Venice from around 1400 to 1444.[7] The collaboration assists in establishing the production location and date of the Durant Gradual.

Lilian Armstrong

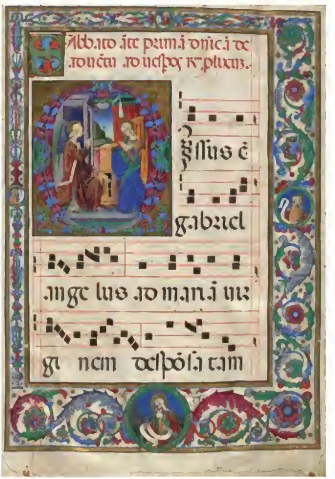
1 De Ricci 1935–40, 1:1067.
2 I am extremely grateful to Anne-Marie Eze for suggesting that I view the cuttings in the British Library (Add. MS. 22310), which led to the discovery of the gradual, sanctorale (Add. MS. 18161).
3 References have been made to Add. MS 18161 in the scholarly literature, earlier calling it a *Sanctuarium* (*Catalogue of Additions* 1868, 83), and in recent scholarship, mistakenly calling it an antiphonary: Mariani Canova 1988, 36; Mariani Canova 1989, 217; Minazzato 2004. See Armstrong, forthcoming 2017.
4 I gratefully thank Mary Pedley for assistance with the Latin of the inscriptions.
5 Minazzato 2004.
6 Produced for Sant'Andrea della Certosa (Venice, BNM, ms. Lat. 18 [= 2283, 2284]): Mariani Canova 1998, 12–65.
7 Marcon 2004b.

225. Antiphonal, from the first Sunday in Advent to Palm Sunday
Francesco da Castello (illuminator)

Benedictine abbey of San Sisto, Piacenza, Italy, 1475
Parchment, ff. 158, 610 x 420 (425 x 280) mm
Boston Public Library, MS pf Med. 120
Michele Cavaleri, Milan, 1864; Enrico Cernuschi, Milan and Paris; Hiersemann; purchased from L'Art Ancien in 1940.

226. Ferial psalter
Master of the Gradual of San Salvatore (illuminator)

Benedictine abbey of San Sisto, Piacenza, Italy, c. 1495
Parchment, ff. 190, 600 x 425 (425 x 300) mm
Boston Public Library, MS pf Med. 97
Michele Cavaleri, Milan, 1864; Enrico Cernuschi, Milan and Paris; Hiersemann; Jacques Rosenthal Catalogue 27, 1902, lot 37; Maurice Kann, Paris; Robert Forrer, Strasbourg; purchased from Julius Hess, Bern, his catalogue 1 (1935), lot 5.



cat. no. 225, f. 1r

Both of these manuscripts belong to a set of liturgical books created for the Benedictine abbey of San Sisto in Piacenza. They are listed in an inventory of volumes housed in the abbey's sacristy, which was compiled around the turn of the sixteenth century.[1] Production of the liturgical set spanned over three decades in the second half of the Quattrocento, and their decoration was accomplished by a large number of artists. The group of choral books, which originally comprised nineteen volumes, was divided into the temporale and sanctorale cycles, and covered the entire liturgical year. It thus provided for the daily celebration of the Divine Office as prescribed by the Rule of St. Benedict. An affiliation with the congregation of Santa Giustina in Padua, which was formalized in 1427, initiated a period of particularly fervid activity for the San Sisto monks. The Paduan congregation's push for greater liturgical uniformity between Benedictine monasteries manifests itself in the content and iconography of the Sistine abbey's choir books.[2]

cat. no. 226, f. 1r

The frontispiece of cat. no. 225 (f. 1r) was painted by Francesco da Castello, a Lombard illuminator, who was mainly active in the Hungarian royal court of Matthias Corvinus, where he decorated, for example, a breviary for Bishop Domenico Kálmánczehi.[3] Da Castello was likely involved in the decoration of the San Sisto manuscripts during the period of his apprenticeship in the workshop of Bartolomeo Gossi da Gallarate in Milan, where he is documented from 1473. It is remarkable that the young Francesco was entrusted with the illumination of the frontispiece as well as almost all the historiated initials, while Gossi himself worked only on the initials of St. Thomas the Apostle (f. 27v), St. Stephen (f. 51r), and St. John the Evangelist (f. 55r). Stylistically, the John initial closely resembles another of the same subject in San Sisto Gradual 6 (f. 1r), which is now in private hands. The Boston antiphonal also provides us with the name of another illuminator: Don Nicholaus, a Cistercian monk, who signed and dated in 1475 an initial of the Nativity (f. 48r).[4] Other examples of his œuvre have yet to be identified.

Cat. no. 226 is the first of a two-volume psalter, the second of which is in a private collection.[5] The Boston psalter's connection to the San Sisto group is indicated by the presence of Sts. Benedict and Sixtus enclosed in medallions in the border of the frontispiece (f. 1r) as well as other saints venerated in the abbey's church: Fabian, Apuleius, Marcellus, Symphorian, Timothy, and Felix. Its provenance is confirmed not only by palaeographical evidence, but also by an identical illustrative program in the two psalters, attributable to the same artists. Indeed, the so-called Master of the Gradual of San Salvatore, whose hand is discernible in the first folio and in

five historiated initials in the present psalter (ff. 29v, 38r, 62r, 109r, 132r), clearly also executed the frontispiece of the second volume. This artist, who is named for a set of graduals made for the Benedictine monastery of San Salvatore in Pavia, which was also affiliated with the aforementioned congregation of Santa Giustina in Padua, worked alongside Matteo da Milano. The Milanese illuminator painted most of the Boston psalter's initials inhabited by portraits of monks—mainly in profile—among whom is a "frater Ambroxius" identified by a banderole inscribed with his name (f. 6r).[6] Another anonymous illuminator, the First Master of the Choir Books of San Sisto, also known as the Bernardo Master, was responsible for the remaining initials.[7] The Boston psalter and its twin were probably produced in the early 1490s, and so represent the last phase of the San Sisto's choir-book commission. The series of volumes, commenced in the elegant style of the Second Master of Antiphonal M of San Giorgio Maggiore in Venice, was completed in the final decade of the fourteenth century in the grandeur of the Lombard Renaissance.

Milvia Bollati

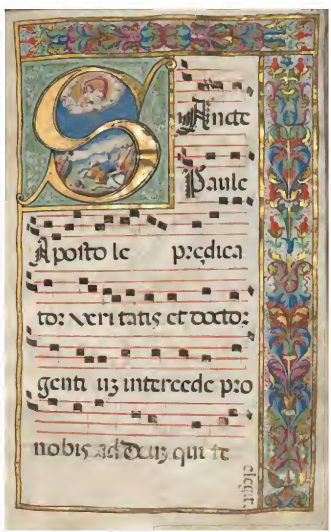
1 *Inventarium librorum Sancti Xysti de Placentia et primo in sacristia* (Piacenza, Collegio Alberoni, Miscellanee 36 C1, f. 1r), respectively: *Antiphonarium notatum ab Adventus dominica prima usque ad dominicam Palmarum, n. 1* and *Psalterium magnum nocturnum signat.12*. Petoletti 2011, 41 and 42. For a reconstruction of the set and its history, see Overty Filippone 2010.
2 See Overty Filippone 2011.
3 Budapest, NSZL, Clm 446. A thorough stylistic analysis of the Budapest and Boston manuscripts can be found in Mulas 2011, 49–61. For Castello, see Romano 2004.
4 "Laus deo. D. Nicholaus Mo. Ordinis Cist. F. die XVIII Novembris 1475."
5 Christie's, London, November, 12, 2008, lot 46; Mulas 2011, 54–61; Di Palma 2011.
6 The Boston Public Library psalter is missing some leaves, one of which (f. 151) painted by Matteo da Milano has been recently identified and was sold at Sotheby's, London, July 5, 2016, lot 27.
7 For the Bernardo Master see Christie's, London, November, 12, 2008, lot 46; and Mulas 2011, 61–65.

227. Antiphonal (Proper of Saints)

Naples, Italy, c. 1600–15
Parchment, ff. 154, 640 x 440 (460 x 270) mm
Isabella Stewart Gardner Museum, U30w3
Given to Isabella Stewart Gardner by George Augustus Gardner before 1903.

Isabella Stewart Gardner received this imposing manuscript as a gift from her brother-in-law, George Augustus Gardner (1829–1916), who told her that it was "said to have been recovered from a shipwreck in the Bay of Naples."[1] One aspect of the mariner's tale-like provenance has recently been corroborated through the identification of the volume as part of a set of choir books made for the church of the Dominican convent of Santa Maria dell'Arco at Sant'Anastasia, near Naples.[2] The Madonna dell'Arco is a miraculous image of the Virgin and Child which, having begun life as a humble roadside shrine, became a center for Marian devotion in the mid-fifteenth century. In the 1590s, care of its sanctuary was granted to the Dominicans of San Severo Maggiore in Naples, who built a church and convent at the popular pilgrimage site, and commissioned the aforementioned service books for the new religious foundation. The convent was suppressed by Napoleon in 1808 and its liturgical manuscripts dispersed.[3] Since it reopened in the late 1800s, its friars have acquired ten of their historic choral books, most as recently as 2009.[4] The Gardner manuscript is the sole extant volume not in their possession.

The present manuscript is an antiphonal-sanctorale, containing the words and music for chants sung for saints' feasts from St. Andrew (November 30) to the Holy Martyrs John and Paul (June 26). The book is in its original leather binding, which features metalwork ornaments reproducing the fresco of the Madonna dell'Arco—recognizable by the Christ child, who holds a ball in reference to the first miracle attributed to the image—and the coat of arms of the Order of Preachers, on its upper and lower cover, respectively. An undated colophon on f. 152v identifies the scribe as Fra Girolamo Nolano from the Sienese convent of Santa Caterina,[5] who copied six other choir books for Santa Maria dell'Arco dated or datable to between 1607 and 1620.[6] The Gardner antiphonal and the ten volumes now at the sanctuary were illuminated by a team of accomplished artists united stylistically by their attentiveness to trends in contemporary Neapolitan painting and graphic arts, and their sourcing of compositions from devotional prints that were circulated widely in early seventeenth-century Naples.[7] They were probably employed by the workshop of the only artist to sign his name in a Santa Maria dell'Arco choir book: Giovan Battista Rosa, the leading figure in late mannerist illumination in Naples, who was patronized by monastic and lay clients, and renowned for reviving the medieval art of embellishing manuscripts with gold leaf.[8] The numerous liturgical manuscripts associated with Rosa and his collaborators demonstrate the continued need for service books made by hand to meet the specific needs of religious houses long after the advent of printing.



f. 73r

The decoration of the Gardner antiphonal is most closely related to that of an antiphonal-gradual dated 1614 (Sant'Anastasia, Bibl. del convento di Madonna dell'Arco, cor. I, 1), which has been attributed to a follower of Belisario Corenzio (c. 1558–1646) and Fabrizio Santafede (1560–1634), influential painters whose careers spanned Neapolitan art's transition from mannerism to Baroque triggered by Caravaggio's sojourns in the city.[9] In addition to the luminous palette, rich foliate floral borders, and gilt frames and initials that characterize the decorative scheme of the

choral set, U30w3 and cor. I, 1 share similar and in some cases identical figures.[10] Dressed in billowing draped garments, the contours of their robust bodies are revealed through broad areas of highlighting in a contrasting color or gold. The Gardner's Conversion of St. Paul (f. 73r) in a sky-dominated landscape with the divine vision on the road to Damascus set in the upper bowl of the letter *S* echoes the composition of multi-figured initials in the antiphonal-gradual, such as the Assumption of the Virgin (f. 68v), and Madonna dell'Arco Appearing to a Group of Travelers (f. 145r).[11]

Anne-Marie Eze

1 I. Gardner 1922, 22–25. The manuscript shows signs of water damage in the form of cockled leaves, stains, and pigment transfers.

2 Eze 2012, 87–91.

3 For the history of Santa Maria dell'Arco, see Violante 2009.

4 Eze 2012, 90–91; Putaturo Donati Murano 2012, 370; and Putaturo Donati Murano (2009–11) 2013.

5 "Fr[ater] Hieronymus Nolanus ex [pro]vincia S[anctae] Catherin[a]e de senis scribebat a[n]no d[omi]ni." The leaves of the Gardner antiphonal were foliated twice. The earlier foliation in pen at the top right hand corner of each page omitted numbers 35–44. The numbering referred to in this entry is that of the second, complete series of numbers that were written at the lower right of each page.

6 Nolano signed Sant'Anastasia, Bibl. del convento di Madonna dell'Arco, cor. I, 1, an antiphonal-gradual of 1614; cor. MA4, antiphonal (temporale from Advent to the Epiphany), 1607; cor. MA5, antiphonal (temporale from Epiphany to Corpus Domini), 1611; cor. MA6, gradual with offices for Dominican saints, 1609; cor. MA7, a gradual (sanctorale), 1615; cor. MA8, sanctorale (from feast of Peter and Paul to feast of St. Catherine with an Office for the Dead), datable to c. 1600–20. Putaturo Murano 1991, 259–62, cat. 64 and Putaturo Donati Murano (2009–11) 2013, 187–89.

7 Putaturo Donati Murano (2009–11) 2013, 187–90.

8 Sant'Anastasia, Bibl. del convento di Madonna dell'Arco, MA2, a gradual for Easter, dated 1601, which Rosa signed on ff. 61r and 80r. Putaturo Donati Murano 2012, 370–72, fig. 2 and plate 54.

9 Putaturo Murano 1991, 143–44, figs. 125–26, and 259–62, cat. 64, and Putaturo Donati Murano (2009–11) 2013, 187, 193, fig. 10, and pl. 9f. Disputing an earlier attribution to Corenzio's rival Luigi Rodriguez in De Castris 1991, 225–26, 246n88.

10 For example the bearded priests dressed in blue-pink robes and a crescent-shaped headdress, who appear as Zacharias in the Gardner's Annunciation to Zacharias (f. 138r) and as Simeon in Sant'Anastasia manuscript cor. I, 1's Presentation in the Temple (f. 26v). Putaturo Murano 1991, 144, fig. 126.

11 Ibid., figs. 341–42.

6. Italian Books of Hours

Until very recently books of hours were considered an almost exclusively Northern European type of book, widespread in France and Flanders, but hardly existing at all in Italy. This view has been abandoned thanks to the discovery that books of hours (*libri d'ore*, also called *ore* or *offizioli*) were produced in Italy from as early as the end of the thirteenth and beginning of the fourteenth century, together with a wide variety of different prayer books and devotional texts, with which they frequently shared image and textual contents. The Italian examples often lack some of the elements normally necessary to be classified as books of hours, either because they are fragmentary or because there was not a definite standard (for example, Boston, BPL, MS q Med. 131, one of the earliest extant, only comprises the calendar, the Office of the Passion, and the Office of the Dead).[1] The Offices in Italian books of hours usually follow the use of Rome. Other uses are exceedingly rare, in particular local ones (as, for example, the Ambrosian use, in Milan), but also those according to specific orders, such as the Dominican use in the case of cat. no. 228.

The extraordinary variety of Italian devotional books is displayed by an unusual picture book (cat. no. 136), without any text except later captions, but comprising forty-eight full-page scenes from the life of Christ, illuminated at the turn of the fourteenth century in Bologna, an important center of production of late Gothic books of hours and devotional texts, as shown by the interesting *Liber de conflictu vitiorum et virtutum* (*Treatise on the Vices and Virtues*),[2] illuminated with a vast cycle of images which can be assigned to the same artist.

The unique features of all fourteenth-century Italian devotional books indicate that each was designed according to the user's needs and that, at least in this phase, they were never standardized, in contrast to those produced north of the Alps, which also widely circulated in Italy, in particular in courts closely connected to France, such as Angevin Naples and Visconti Lombardy.

It was, however, only in the fifteenth and sixteenth centuries that significant numbers of books of hours were produced in many Italian cities, in particular Milan, Venice, Padua, Verona, Mantua, Ferrara, and Bologna in the north, and Florence, Siena, Rome, and Naples in the center and south. Renaissance books of hours from these centers are therefore those that have survived in the largest numbers, both in public collections and on the market.

During the fifteenth century they frequently continued to be designed according to late Gothic models, both in layout, decoration, and script, as shown by examples from northern Italy (cat. no. 134; Boston, BPL, MS q Med. 158; Cambridge, Houghton Library, MSS Typ 27 and Typ 180), central Italy (cat. no. 133), and the south (cat. no. 228). Late Gothic models deriving from Lombardy are still used in the latter, a book of hours made for the queen of Naples Isabella di Chiaromonte, the wife of Ferrante d'Aragona and daughter-in-law of Alfonso the Magnanimous, founder of the Aragonese dynasty and library in Naples (cat. no. 228). The success of these motifs is shown by their widespread adoption by other workshops, as in an example illuminated by a less talented follower of the queen's artist (Cambridge, Houghton Library, MS Typ 553).[3] In the second half of the century, however, new and distinctly Renaissance patterns were elaborated throughout Italy.

Among the main features of these books, which were often produced as wedding gifts, is the presence of a double coat of arms, with the arms of the bride's and the groom's families, as in the Nasi-Salviati Hours (cat. no. 231),[4] illuminated in Florence in 1515 for Guglielmo Nasi and Fiammetta Salviati, the daughter of the prominent Alamanno Salviati, who married another of his daughters, Maria, to the famous Italian historian Francesco Guicciardini. This book has a new and unusual elongated format, evocative of humanistic books with literary contents.

Books of hours were produced in Florence in large quantities throughout the Renaissance. Other examples include the elegant hours later owned by the Aldobrandini (cat. no. 230), written in 1498 by the scribe Sigismondo da Carpi, named Count Palatine for his talents, and illuminated by Boccardino il Vecchio, whose workshop specialized in books of hours. Yet another is a small volume (cat. no. 229), which can be assigned to Antonio di Niccolò di Domenico, to whose production of books of hours a further example can be added.[5] Although made to be put on the market, as shown by the blank space reserved for a coat of arms, the Boston manuscript was precious enough to become part of the celebrated eighteenth-century collection of the duc de La Vallière, in Paris.

If the Renaissance production in Florence achieved significant numbers and a certain standardization of text and illustration, aided by the frequent exchange of drawings and patterns among different workshops, some of those illuminated in Venice were illustrated with images comparable to small easel paintings, even in a tiny early-sixteenth century volume, assigned to Benedetto Bordon (cat. no. 234).

One of the foremost examples from the Veneto in Boston collections, however, is a fragmentary book of hours (cat. no. 232), probably illuminated in Mantua; both parts of the manuscript were written by one of the most celebrated calligraphers of the time, Bartolomeo Sanvito, and the second was added for the Marquess Isabella d'Este (illuminated leaves from the first part are in the Musée Condé in Chantilly). Sanvito was Paduan in origin, but he was also was active in Rome, where he spread the fashion for *all'antica* decoration in the manuscripts illuminated by his collaborators. It was probably Sanvito who already in the 1460s first introduced the adoption of humanistic bookhand into books of hours[6]

The invention of printing contributed to the dissemination of books of hours in Italy, as shown by the lively market for them which developed in many important towns, such as Venice, Florence, and Naples. These early printed books were

cat. no. 231, f. 112v (detail)

frequently hand-illuminated, either with decorations and initials painted within the printed text or through the addition of illuminated parchment leaves. Both features can be seen in the incunable (cat. no. 243) printed in Naples in 1487 by Matthias Moravus (Matteo or Mattia Moravo), who seems to have been producing them already at the end of the 1470s.

The latest Italian devotional book kept in the Boston area, perhaps also the latest manuscript of this type produced in Italy, is the newly discovered prayer book illuminated in 1550 for Pope Julius III (cat. no. 203). Although it, like many Italian books of hours, contains only some of the texts necessary to be classified as a book of hours, this manuscript represents an extraordinary example of a book for private devotion made for a specific Roman pope, displaying a realistic portrait of the pope himself, at the opening. This manuscript raises the issue, frequent when examining Italian books of hours, if they are fragments of larger books or if the devotional books produced in Italy did follow different patterns from the more standardized Northern European examples, as underlined in the opening of this text. Two small books also allow the same question, containing Passion excerpts from the four Gospels together with some additional prayers (cat. no. 138 and Boston, BPL, MS q Med. 128): both are in written in humanistic bookhand and decorated with a type of white vine that seems to point against their being fragments of larger books of hours (in which the humanistic bookhand is usually not accompanied by this sort of decoration). The two manuscripts, one produced in Florence (cat. no. 138) and one in Naples (MS q Med. 128)[7] in the last quarter of the fifteenth century, seem to reveal the existence of a specific type of book for personal devotional reading centered on the Passion lessons.

As can be seen from this all too short survey, the exceptional collections in the Boston area thus provide us with the earliest and latest of Italian books for private devotion hitherto known.

Francesca Manzari

1 Manzari 2013, 158–59, fig. 4.
2 Vatican City, BAV, ms. Ross. 242.
3 Wieck 1983b, 136, no. 62 reproducing f. 7r.
4 See ff. 15v–16r.
5 Vatican City, BAV, ms. Ott. lat. 2917.
6 Nuvoloni 2016, 264–65.
7 Lattanzi 1973, 39 and fig. 20.

228. Hours of Isabella di Chiaromonte, queen of Naples

Master of the Hours of Isabella di Chiaromonte (illuminator)

Naples, Italy, c. 1458–65
Parchment, ff. i + 145 + i, 170 x 124 (90 x 65) mm
Harvard University, Houghton Library, MS Typ 463
F. Gentili di Giuseppe, 1900–25; Adriana Raphael Salem, daughter of previous owner; gift of Mr. and Mrs. Ward M. Canaday, deposited 1955, presented 1964.

f. 13r

This book of hours was illuminated in Naples by an artist who takes his name from this manuscript[1] and whose workshop specialized in devotional books.[2] The different texts are introduced by four large historiated initials in tempera, silver, and gold leaf,[3] while the hours within the Office of the Virgin are marked by seven smaller ones. Although the content is conventional, the iconographic project is unusual and has often been misinterpreted; the Office of the Virgin combines episodes from the life of Christ and of the Virgin: Annunciation, Nativity, Adoration of the Magi, Resurrection, Ascension of Christ, Pentecost, Assumption of the Virgin, Coronation of the Virgin (ff. 13r, 23v, 35r, 39r, 42v, 46r, 49v, 56v).[4] Not frequent in French and Flemish manuscripts, this combination seems to derive from north Italian prototypes,[5] which is not surprising, as the artist shows a strong connection with Lombard prototypes and had been mistaken for a Lombard illuminator.[6]

The Seven Penitential Psalms are highlighted by the rare iconography of David in the mire, which illustrates psalm 69 literally[7] and which is repeated in other books of hours by this workshop.[8] The *Imago Pietatis* or Man of Sorrows at the opening of the Short Hours of the Cross, which shows the dead Christ rising from the tomb between Mary and John the Evangelist,[9] may also have a Lombard model. The Funeral represented at the beginning of the Office of the Dead shows an unusually realistic scene, with Dominican monks singing from a book on a lectern behind a coffin in a brightly painted interior effectively suggesting space.

The coat of arms on the first page of the Office of the Virgin has been identified with that of Isabella di Chiaromonte (1424–65), impaled with the arms of Ferdinand of Aragon (1431–94), whom she married in 1443: the crown above it indicates the book's production after Ferrante became king of Naples in 1458 (f. 13r, illustrated here).[10]

The inclusion of the Office of the Virgin according to Dominican use is characteristic of Isabella's patronage, as she is described as an extremely pious queen who had a strong connection with the Dominican church of San Pietro Martire in Naples, which is documented by the now dismembered polyptych of St. Vincent Ferrer, the Dominican friar from Valencia in whose canonization she was instrumental.[11] The queen is represented in one of the panels from the predella kneeling at a prie-dieu while listening to Mass and leafing through her book of hours.[12]

Another devotional book bearing her coat of arms by the same artist, again according to Dominican use, can be connected to Isabella's patronage: the volume, described as a psalter but in fact a breviary, was once in the De Marinis collection in Florence.[13] The workshop responsible for both also produced different kinds of manuscripts, like volumes of the classics and the church fathers and even an incunable of Augustine's *De civitate Dei*.[14]

The principal artist was active for the Aragonese court and for a wider public in the third quarter of the fifteenth century.[15] Despite his success, his illumination is considered archaic and retrospective, as it continues a late Gothic style at a moment in which Renaissance art was being introduced in the court ateliers by younger artists, such as Matteo Felice (*fl.* c. 1467–93), with whom the Master of Isabella had initially been confused[16] and with whom he collaborated on some of his later projects.[17]

The roots of his style are certainly to be found in Lombardy, but its Iberian features have been underestimated;[18] his rich ornamental borders, with putti, birds, and animals, seem to derive from the marginal decoration characteristic in Valencia in the third quarter of the fifteenth century,[19] which was already a significant trait of the workshops active in Naples at the time of Alphonse the Magnificent (1394–1458).[20] There is, however, no need to suppose an education in the north for this artist, because a strong Lombard component was already present in Naples in the first half of the century, when Leonardo da Besozzo, son of the famous Lombard artist Michelino, was active there both as a fresco and miniature painter; Lombard features can also be seen in the first decade of the century in a book of hours illuminated for a member of the Zurlo family (London, BL, Add. MS. 17943),[21] which is definitely one of the possible sources for the type of full-page saints portrayed at the suffrages in many of the Master of Isabella di Chiaromonte's books of hours.[22]

Francesca Manzari

1 The name was given to the artist—called Master of the Suffrages by Renée Katzenstein, who identified his work in the Getty book of hours (Ms. Ludwig IX 12: Katzenstein 1990, 87–90)—by Gennaro Toscano (Toscano 1995).

2 Baltimore, Walters Art Mus., Mss. W.328 and W.329; Cambridge, UK, Fitzwilliam Mus., MS McClean 72; Los Angeles, Getty Mus., Ms. Ludwig IX 12; Milan, Bibl. Triv., ms. 467; Modena, Bibl. Est. Univ., ms. Lat. 832; Ravenna, Bibl. Class., ms. 3: Toscano 1998a; Toscano 2004b; Toscano 2007, 296–99.

3 Office of the Virgin, Seven Penitential Psalms, Short Hours of the Cross and Office of the Dead; the calendar at the beginning is unillustrated.

4 The hours in the other offices are introduced by decorated letters, the minor subdivisions are marked by ornamental initials, in gold on blue and purple ground, and every sentence begins with an on-line pen-work initial in blue or gold with red or violet filigree decoration.

5 The subjects correspond almost entirely to those in the book of hours made in Milan around 1391 for Balzarrino da Pusterla (Modena, Bibl. Est. Univ., ms. Lat. 842): only the last two hours differ, as they are introduced by the Death of the Virgin and the Assumption: Manzari 2003, 106.

6 For example, the book of hours in the Biblioteca Estense Universitaria (ms. Lat. 832) was attributed to a Lombard artist (D. Fava and Salmi 1973, 19) and the book of hours in the Biblioteca Trivulziana (ms. 467) was once considered Milanese (Witthoft 1970, 302–3).

7 Ps 69:2: "Infixus sum in limo profundi et non est substantia, / Veni in altitudinem maris; et tempesta demersit me" ("I sink deep in the mire, where there is no standing / I am come into deep waters, where floods overcome me").

8 For example in Milan, Bibl. Triv., ms. 467, f. 131v, and in Modena, Bibl. Est. Univ., ms. Lat. 832, f. 99r (Witthoft 1970, pl. 5; D. Fava and Salmi 1973, 19).

9 The figure on the right has also been interpreted as Mary Magdalene (Lin 2006), but the rather effeminate countenance of the mourner does not contrast with the usual appearance of John, portrayed as a beautiful youth.

10 Witthoft 1970, 298–300; Katzenstein 1990, 87.

11 Toscano 2012, 593. Furthermore his name in red is inscribed in the calendar (f. 4r), which is rich in Dominican saints, and a prayer is dedicated to him (ff. 84v–85r).

12 The predella of the polyptych, painted by Colantonio, is today in Naples, Museo di Capodimonte: Toscano 2012, 597, fig. 7.

13 De Marinis 1969, 1:275–76. This large book, written on two columns and lavishly illuminated may have been commissioned for her personal chapel or for the church of S. Pietro Martire, to which she had donated other books: Witthoft 1970, 300.

14 Katzenstein 1990, 87–94; Toscano 1998b, 367–74, 417, 425. An illumination in an antiphonal from the Olivetan church in Naples has also been recognized as his (Naples, BN, ms. XV AA 18, f. 2v): Toscano 1991, 42–43.

15 His workshop has been identified in the so-called Codice di Santa Marta (Naples, AS, ms. 99.C.1), bearing the names and coats of arms of the Neapolitan rulers and of the aristocracy who were part of the confraternity of Santa Marta: Katzenstein 1990, 89; Toscano 1991, 42, 54n64; Leone de Castris 2002, 92–93, 96–97.

16 Daneu Lattanzi 1973, 6–7.

17 Toscano 1995, 39.

18 Although already noted by Witthoft 1970, 306–7.

19 Villalba Dávalos 1964.

20 On the relationships between Valencia and Naples in the age of Alphonse the Magnanimous: Toscano 1998a.

21 Toesca 1951.

22 For example in those at the Getty and in Baltimore: Katzenstein 1990, fig. 32; Toscano 1991, figs. 2–3.

229. Book of hours
Antonio di Niccolò di Domenico (illuminator)

Florence, Italy, c. 1470–80
Parchment, ff. ii + 184 + ii, 132 x 95 (61 x 42) mm
Boston Public Library, MS q Med. 136
Louis Cesar de la Baume Le Blanc, his December 1783 sale, lot 322; Robert Hoe, no. 30 in his 1909 catalogue, his sale at Anderson, April 24, 1911, cat. 906, no. 2156; Bernard d'Hézy; Harvey Frost; purchased from Maggs, 1955.

This small book of hours written in Gothic book-hand was illuminated in Florence in the last quarter of the fifteenth century, as shown by its decorated borders, composed of acanthus enriched by putti, birds, and large yellow fruits and studded with gold dots.[1]

The five main openings are highlighted by four historiated initials and one decorated letter:[2] the Office of the Virgin is introduced by the Virgin and Child, surrounded by borders enriched with five medallions containing busts of saints (f. 13r); the opening of the Office of the Dead, facing a full-page illumination, displays an initial with a skeleton wearing a crown (f. 85v); at the beginning of the Seven Penitential Psalms David is portrayed playing the harp (f. 139r); the Hours of the Cross show the Cross between the symbols of the Passion (the lance and the stick with the sponge), while two winged putti adore a golden cross in the lower margin (f. 165r). The last text, the Gradual Psalms, is introduced by a decorated initial, with acanthus leaves decorating three margins (f. 171r). The full-page illumination represents the Meeting of the Three Living and the Three Dead (f. 84v), an iconography which, while not infrequent in Florentine books of hours of the last quarter of the century,[3] here clearly follows a Flemish model, as shown by the fashion of the portrayed headgear.[4]

f. 13r

The illuminations in the small volume can be attributed to the Florentine Antonio di Niccolò di Lorenzo di Domenico (1445–1527), presumably trained in the workshop of Francesco di Antonio del Chierico (1433–84), but also influenced by Andrea del Verrocchio (1435–88) and Apollonio di Giovanni (1415–65).[5] Antonio di Niccolò's production has been identified starting from the payments, dated 1475, for the illuminations of the fifth volume of a gradual for the church of the Annunziata in Florence (SS. Annunziata, ms. A).[6] The illuminations in this book of hours find the closest comparisons with these, in particular with the delicate features represented in the scene of the Birth of John the Baptist (ms. A, f. 40r), which correspond exactly to those of the Virgin portrayed at the opening of the devotional book (f. 13r).

Another five books of hours had already been assigned to Antonio di Niccolò, one illuminated together with Bartolomeo Varnucci (c. 1412–c. 1479) and one with Ricciardo di Nanni (1445–80).[7] A hitherto overlooked book of hours can further be attributed to Antonio di Niccolò (Vatican City, BAV, ms. Ott. lat. 2917).[8] Not only is Antonio's style recognizable in this small volume, containing the same series of texts,[9] but its iconographies also coincide with those in the present book of hours, although the Vatican manuscript lacks the full-page illumination at the opening of the Office of the Dead and the opening of the Gradual Psalms, which has been detached.[10] The serial character of these two books of hours is confirmed by the empty shield in the lower margin of the opening of the Office of the Virgin of this book of hours (f. 13r), waiting to be filled with the arms of the purchaser.

This elegant manuscript, which still retains its eighteenth-century gilt-stamped morocco binding,[11] was later part of the celebrated book collection formed in Paris by the duc de La Vallière (Louis Cesar de la Baume Le Blanc, 1708–80).[12]

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1 Garzelli 1985, 1:349–53.
2 Decorated letters are also used at the minor textual divisions within the Offices.
3 This iconography also appears in a book of hours by Antonio di Niccolò (Florence, BN, ms. N.A. 1370, f. 99r) and in one in which Antonio collaborated with Bartolomeo Varnucci (Florence, BR, ms. Ricc. 458), but also in books of hours by Attavante degli Attavanti (for example Vatican City, BAV, ms. Vat. lat. 5493, f. 178r), by Ricciardo Nanni (Venice, BMN, ms. Lat. III, 103, f. 140r), and by the Master of the Hamilton Xenophon (San Marino, Huntington Library, HM 1132, f. 105v).
4 A king, a nobleman, and an ecclesiastic stand before an open coffin, filled with three corresponding skeletons: the king's skeleton is sitting upright and gesturing toward the living king, who points in answer and holds his nose, to avoid the bad smell. A monk irradiating rays kneels on the left, gesturing and holding the banner: "Sic eritis vobis."
5 Garzelli 1985, 1:249–53; 2: pl. 3, figs. 618, 619, 621–43; Bollati 2004, 34–35.
6 Valfredo Siemoni in Casalini 1987, 263–72. The illuminations in the fourth volume (ms. F) of the same series have also been attributed to him: Barbara Conti in Casalini 1987, 260–63.
7 Florence, BN, ms. N.A. 1370, once in the De Polo collection in Trieste (Di Domenico 1997); Florence, BR, ms. Ricc. 458 (De Floriani 1996, 59–60); Florence, BML, ms. Med. Pal. 12 (Garzelli 1985, 2: fig. 619); Florence, BR, ms. Ricc. 4205 (Lazzi 2001), and Genève, BGE, Comites Latentes 54 (Freuler 1991, 267–69, no. 104). However, I do not agree with the last attribution, as the illuminations in the Comites Latentes manuscript seem to be the work of a wholly different collaborator of Francesco d'Antonio del Chierico.
8 This manuscript, part of the collection of Baron Philippe Stosch and bought from him in 1759 by Clement XIII, was erroneously attributed to Gherardo di Giovanni (Morello 1988, 56–57, no. 66).
9 The manuscript shows Antonio's characteristic borders and figures and the same iconographies, although simpler in composition and following different models: Virgin and Child: f. 13r; a skeleton: f. 99r; Man of Sorrows: f. 157r; David playing the harp: f. 191r; the Cross: f. 219r. In this manuscript the design for David is very close to the initial with the same subject in the book of hours Florence, BML, ms. Med. Pal. 12, f. 213r (Garzelli 1985, 2: fig. 619).
10 The leaf with the missing opening was originally between ff. 224v and 225r.
11 Attributed to the Parisian binder Derome le Jeune (1731–90): Quaritch 1914, lot 579.
12 De Bure 1783, lot 322. For further provenance history see the description by Lisa Fagin Davis on BeyondWords2016.org.

230. Book of hours
Boccardino il vecchio (illuminator)

Carpi and Florence, Italy, 1498
Parchment, ff. iv + 237 + ii, 113 x 78 (60 x 35) mm
Boston Public Library, MS q Med. 200
Thomas Gage, his sale, Sotheby's, London, June 25, 1867, lot 273; W. H. Crawford of Lakelands, his sale, Sotheby's, London, March 1891, lot 2264; exhibited at the Grolier Club, 1892 (SDBM 21095); Robert Hoe, his sale, Anderson Galleries, cat. 906; Eduard von Sigmundt of Trieste; sold in Munich by Karl and Faber, October 1951, lot 6 to H. A. Feisenberger; bought by Sydney Cockerell from Feisenberger on December 5, 1951; Cockerell sale, Sotheby's, London, April 3, 1957, lot 18, to Eisemann; purchased by BPL in January 1959 from Vittorio Forti.

This elegant Renaissance book of hours was written in a humanistic bookhand by the well-documented scribe Sigismondo de' Sigismondi (d. 1525),[1] who signed and dated it 1498. Although Sigismondo wrote the text in Carpi,[2] in Emilia Romagna, the book was illuminated in Florence shortly afterward.[3]

The illuminations, once assigned to Attavante degli Attavanti or Gherardo and Monte del Fora,[4] must be attributed to the illuminator Boccardino il vecchio (1460–1529),[5] whose unmistakable elongated, oval, rather flat faces, with minute and delicate features, appear throughout the manuscript. The decoration, with full borders of acanthus and flowers on gold ground, putti, monochrome masks, cameos of Roman emperors, prophets and saints, and the layout of the manuscript, in which the openings of the main texts are written in gold on colored ground (usually blue, purple, or green), are also characteristic of this artist, whose illuminated books of hours were very fashionable among the Florentine aristocracy and upper class in the late fifteenth and early sixteenth century.[6]

f. 148v

The volume has rather standardized contents (calendar, Office of the Virgin, Mass of the Virgin, Seven Penitential Psalms and litany, Office of the Dead, Hours of the Cross, Hours of the Holy Ghost, and Gradual Psalms),[7] but it is elegantly illuminated with double fully-illuminated pages at the openings of the main texts. Four are introduced by full-page illuminations (Annunciation, David in prayer, Crucifixion, Presentation of Mary at the Temple: ff. 13v, 116v, 205v, 218v), flanking a historiated letter on the right. The Office of the Dead has a double illuminated opening (ff. 148v–49r), comprising a skeleton in the initial on the left and a full page of gold script on purple on the right, while a miniature with the Resurrection of Lazarus forms part of the lower border of the first leaf. The full-page illumination that probably introduced the opening Hours of the Holy Spirit (f. 212r) is missing. The secondary textual divisions (as the hours within the Office of the Virgin), are marked by four-line ornamental initials, in gold on blue, purple or green ground, flanked by decorative floral borders with gold dots, while minor divisions have a simple *lettre champie* (on one or two lines).

The main opening, at the beginning of the Hours of the Virgin, ff. 13v–14r, now displays the arms of the Aldobrandini family,[8] replacing the original ones on both leaves. These must have been the coats of arms of two different families, corresponding to a couple, as books of hours were frequently produced as gifts on the occasion of weddings.[9]

This sophisticated volume is an excellent example of the wide production of books of hours in Renaissance Florence, where they almost reached the standardization of the contemporary Franco-Flemish production.[10]

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1 De la Mare 1985, 535, no. 12. De la Mare identified seventeen manuscripts signed by Sigismondo, written in Florence and in Carpi between 1481 and 1522, and attributed another seven to him; among them six books of hours: de la Mare 1985, 534–35. On Sigismondo, who was named Count Palatine and became a notary, also see 473–74.

2 There are two colophons: f. 148r: "Expliciunt septem psalmi penitentiales in castro Carpi die xxii octobris Mcccclxxxxviii" per Sigismundum de Sigismondis de Carpo." and f. 217v: "Explicit officium sancti spiritus. Per me Sigismundum de Sigismundis in castro carpi 1498."

3 For the manuscript's interesting provenance history (among others it was owned by Sydney Cockerell) see Cockerell 1952, 84–89; de Hamel 1987, 208, no. 117, and the entry on BeyondWords2016.org by Lisa Fagin Davis.

4 Cockerell 1952, 89; Sotheby's, London, April 3, 1957, lot 18, 25–26.

5 Galizzi 2004b.

6 Boccardino, for example, illuminated a great part of the book of hours for Laudomia de' Medici, made in 1502 for the marriage of Lorenzo's daughter to Jacopo Salviati (London, BL, Yates Thompson MS. 30); also see New York, PML, MS M.80, and Modena, Bibl. Est. Univ., ms. Lat. 833 (a F. 9.16). On Boccardino's books of hours, a genre in which he specialized: Garzelli 1985, 343–45. The typical layout and decoration of his production continues to be used by his son Francesco, known as Boccardino il giovane (Galizzi 2004a), as in the example illuminated in 1536 for the marriage between Alessandro de' Medici and Margaret of Austria (Rome, Bibl. Lincei e Corsiniana, ms. 55.K.16): Manzari 2002.

7 This seems to have been a rather standard collection of texts in Florentine books of hours from the late fifteenth and early sixteenth centuries: see for example the Nasi-Salviati Hours (cat. no. 231), by Boccardino's workshop.

8 Not the Sfondrati arms, as claimed in the past: Cockerell 1952, 89. It is nonetheless possible that the arms were altered by a second owner.

9 As the Nasi-Salviati Hours: see above.

10 On Florentine books of hours, see Garzelli's essay on the Medici ones, in which she cites a survey of 150 examples: Garzelli 1980, 475.

231. Hours of Guglielmo Nasi and Fiammetta Salviati ("Nasi-Salviati Hours")

Workshop of Boccardino il vecchio (illuminator)

Florence, Italy, c. 1515
Parchment, ff. iv (2 flyleaves and an added comment) + 243 + ii, 130 x 65 (76 x 35) mm
Harvard University, Houghton Library, MS Typ 275
Giuseppe Molini, Florence 1822; Sotheby's, London, May 21, 1928, lot 34 (the property of Miss J. M. Seymour); Henry D. Seymour and Alfred Seymour (nineteenth century); purchase from W. H. Schab, 1955; bequest of Philip Hofer, 1984.

This small book of hours has an elongated rectangular form, unusual in devotional books, but suggestive of humanistic books with literary contents and appropriate to its elegant layout. The text is written in a beautiful humanistic bookhand attributed to the famous scribe Alessandro da Verrazzano (b. 1453–documented until c. 1513),[1] the rubrics are in elegant capitals, and minor texts are introduced by *initiales champies* on blue, green, and purple ground (with a very limited use of marginal floral decorations beside some of the larger decorated letters). This break with the tradition of the Gothic devotional book, still used in Florence in books of hours produced in the last quarter of the fifteenth century, seems to have become systematic in the first half of the sixteenth, as shown by the book of hours illuminated for the marriage of Alessandro de' Medici and Margaret of Austria in 1536, equally rectangular but of much larger size.[2]

f. 113r

The smaller volume was also produced on the occasion of a marriage, celebrated in 1515 between Guglielmo Nasi, whose coat of arms appears on the left-hand of the opening of the Office of the Virgin, and Fiammetta Salviati, whose arms appear on the right side, as was conventional in books of hours made for this purpose.[3]

It is possible that the book, containing the essential texts for private devotion (Office of the Virgin, Mass of the Virgin, Seven Penitential Psalms [f. 113r, above] and litany, Office of the Dead, Hours of the Cross, Gradual Psalms, and Hours of the Holy Spirit),[4] and illustrated with double full-page illuminations at the openings of the main texts, with full page images (Annunciation, David carrying the head and sword of Goliath, Raising of Lazarus, Crucifixion, Presentation of Mary in the Temple, Pentecost: ff. 15v, 112v, 146v, 209v, 218r, 230v), flanking a historiated letter, was commissioned as a gift from the bridegroom to Fiammetta.

The Nasi-Salviati Hours reappeared on the Florentine market in 1822, when it was put on sale in the catalogue of the dealer Giuseppe Molini,[5] who was presumably the author of the short text that was elegantly written on two added leaves at the beginning of the book (ff. iii recto–iv verso): in it Guglielmo Nasi's cousin, Lorenzo di Bartolomeo, is remembered as a patron of works by Raphael and the foremost Italian Renaissance painter is optimistically cited as having overseen the manuscript's illustrative project.

The exquisite illuminations had been attributed to Attavante degli Attavanti (1452–c. 1525),[6] but Annarosa Garzelli correctly associated them to the workshop of Boccardino il vecchio (1460–1529), describing this artist as a younger collaborator, still following his models both in composition and decorative motifs.[7] The decorative elements and the layout (floral borders on gold ground, putti, monochrome masks, cameos, jewels, and text pages written in gold on colored ground) coincide with those

typical in the books of hours produced by this artist,[8] but the more pictorial and elongated figures and the rounded faces are different from the oval and rather flat faces of Boccardino's usual work. The illuminator certainly refers to models connected with the workshop of Attavante, as for example in the seated prophets on ff. 15v–16r, or in the full-page image of the triumphant David with Jerusalem in the distance behind him (f. 112v, see beginning of this chapter for image), but these are reinterpreted in a softer style, which seems to derive from a training connected with both artists.[9]

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1 De la Mare 1985, 472–73, 480–81, in particular 481.
2 Rome, Bibl. dei Lincei e Corsiniana, ms. 55.K.16: Manzari 2002 and Manzari 2007.
3 Fiammetta was the daughter of Alamanno Salviati (1459–1510) and Lucrezia Capponi (1465–1529), whose many children were married to members of the foremost Florentine families: Hurtubise 1985, 498.
4 The order of the texts has been inverted in a later binding and the Gradual Psalms originally must have followed the Hours of the Cross and those of the Holy Spirit: see description of the manuscript on BeyondWords2016.org. This seems to have been a very common sequence of texts in late fifteenth and early sixteenth century Florentine books of hours, for example, cat. no. 230.
5 Molini 1822, 22–23.
6 Bond and Hofer 1955, 42, no. 165.
7 Garzelli, citing the 1928 Sotheby's sales catalogue (Sotheby's, London, May 21, 1928, lot 34, 33–34, suggests that the artist might be identified with Boccardino's son, Francesco (1498–1547): Garzelli 1985, 345–46. This suggestion has been accepted by Galizzi (2004a, 113); nonetheless this illuminator's still elusive personality still remains to be outlined, as the aforementioned book of hours of Alessandro de' Medici and Margaret, also attributed to Francesco, is very close in layout, but not too similar in style (Manzari 2002, 246–47).
8 See, for example, cat. no. 230. On Boccardino's books of hours: Garzelli 1985, 343–45; also see Galizzi 2004b.
9 A somewhat similar stylistic combination can be found in another Florentine book of hours, made for the Baroncelli-Bandini and Guadagni families, sold by Sotheby's in 1977 (Sotheby's, London, July 13, 1977, lot 90), and now in Geneva (BGE, Comites Latentes 191): de Hamel 1985, no. 12.

232. Hours of Isabella d'Este Gonzaga
Bartolomeo Sanvito (scribe)

Mantua (?), Italy, c. 1485–94
Parchment, ff. 184, 173 x 127 (110 x 66) mm
Harvard University, Houghton Library, MS Typ 213
Chester Beatty (MS W. III 120, sale, Sotheby's, London, May 9, 1933, lot 64); sold by Quaritch, 1933; gift of Philip Hofer, 1967.

This image of the young and princely David kneeling in prayer at dawn in a green lakescape is inserted in a foliate initial of gold and purple set on a blue ground preciously decorated with gems, flowers, and foliage in gold and colors (f. 70r). The ground extends upward and downward in the left margin as if to support the text inscribed in letters of alternating gold and colors. The layout of the page immediately evokes wealth, culture, and sophisticated elegance. Indeed this sumptuous book of hours (use of Rome) belonged to Isabella d'Este (1474–1539), the beautiful, sophisticated, fiercely intelligent and highly cultivated daughter of Ercole I d'Este (1431–1505), Duke of Ferrara, and wife to Francesco II Gonzaga (1466–1519), Marquis of Mantua. The copyist is securely identifiable with the celebrated Bartolomeo Sanvito of Padua (1433–1511). The illuminators, instead, remain anonymous.

The manuscript unfortunately lost many leaves to abuse: only two of his full-page miniatures are known to survive in the collection of the Musée Condé at Chantilly.[1] Any evidence of the original owner, such as coat of arms or device, is also lost. The identification of Isabella d'Este as the intended owner of the manuscript now rests solely on the evidence of the supplicant's name given as "famulam tuam Ysabellam" ("Thy servant Isabella") in two prayers at the end of the volume.[2] It is supported, though, by the prominence of patron saints of Mantua in the calendar,[3] and Sanvito's connection with the Gonzaga family.[4]

f. 70r

The manuscript was conceived on a grand scale and is by far the largest among the books of hours copied by Sanvito.[5] It was made in two campaigns datable on the basis of palaeographical and codicological aspects.[6] Of the first campaign only the Office of the Virgin survives: it is datable to the late 1480s, too late to be identified with the hours commissioned by Marquis Federico I (1441–84) in 1478 and seemingly decorated in 1479 by Pietro Guindaleri of Cremona (d. 1506), who worked for the Gonzagas his entire life.[7] The calendar, Penitential Psalms, and the Offices of the Dead, the Cross, and the Holy Spirit belong to the second campaign, datable to the early 1490s, when the book was probably adapted for Isabella shortly before or after her marriage on February 11, 1490.

The text is written in Sanvito's light and lively *littera antiqua*, the formal hand developed by Florentine humanists at the beginning of the fifteenth century in imitation of the Caroline minuscule found in Italian manuscripts of the eleventh and twelfth centuries.[8] Sanvito wrote all his books of hours[9] in *antiqua* rejecting the round Gothic hand (*littera textualis rotunda*) traditionally used in Italian devotional texts, as in the book of hours for Queen Isabella di Chiaromonte, wife of King Ferrante I of Naples (cat. no. 228). Breaking, therefore, with a consolidated tradition, Sanvito established a new trend, which was not immediately accepted,[10] but had lasting consequences for the history of writing and printing.[11]

Indeed, still in *littera textualis* was a second book of hours for the use of both Isabella and her husband.[12] Lavishly illuminated by the Florentine brothers Gherardo and Monte di Giovanni del Fora, the book is identifiable as a wedding gift from Lorenzo de' Medici (1449–92), ruler of Florence and main patron of the two artists. It was not unusual for members of princely families to own several devotional books and therefore this new

discovery does not affect the identification of the exhibited manuscript as Isabella's.[13]

Before losing an unaccounted number of illuminated leaves, the present book was equally sumptuously decorated.[14] The miniatures surviving at Chantilly represent the Pentecost and Christ appearing to the Virgin (a rare iconographic subject). Set in Renaissance interiors within *all'antica* borders, they are painted on rectos and precede the openings of sext and vespers on versos. The style of their anonymous artist is in line with Mantuan illumination of the late 1480s and early 1490s as shown in some of Guindaleri's book openings in a Pliny written for Marquis Ludovico II Gonzaga (1414–78) by Matteo Contugi between 1463 and 1468.[15] A second illuminator, also influenced by Guindaleri, is possibly responsible for the decoration of and the figures within the initials: his treatment of figures and landscapes, though charming and colorful, lacks sharpness and intensity, as if he failed to understand the rigorous classicism and the sculptural naturalism introduced in Mantua by Andrea Mantegna (1431–1506) and softened them with a decorative mannerism of Ferrarese origin.

Six among the surviving initials are designed to imitate the carved capitals in classical epigraphic inscriptions or the bronze-cast letters on Roman imperial monuments.[16] These "faceted" initials are typical of Sanvito's manuscripts and their epigraphic execution suggests that they were painted by the calligrapher.[17] In addition, he was possibly responsible for the decorated background of two initials and the female saint at the beginning of the Office of the Cross.[18]

Laura Nuvoloni

1 Chantilly, Mus. Condé, Divers ms. VI, leaves 356 and 357: see D'Urso et al. 2000, 40–44, cat. no. 10.

2 The name Isabella appears on ff. 142v and 153v, whereas on f. 156v a name beginning with *Y* has been altered in the late sixteenth or early seventeenth century to "Yacobum," unidentified; the name and sometimes the gender have been similarly altered on ff. 159r, 160v, 161v, and 168v. The *offiziolo* was probably kept in Isabella's bedroom, as was customary for books of private devotion, and is not mentioned in the post-mortem inventory of the books that Isabella kept in walnut cabinets in her studio: S. Campbell 2006, appendix 1, 270–79.

3 The calendar includes Longinus (in blue on March 15), Anselm and George, patron saints of Mantua (in gold on March 18 and April 23, respectively), Mark (in gold on April 25), Leonard (in blue and gold on August 6), and Augustine (in blue and gold on August 28). The calendar also has a strong Franciscan connotation, like in most books of hours produced by Sanvito, with Bernardinus (in blue on May 20), Francis (in blue and gold on October 4), Elisabeth of Hungary (on November 17), and Catherine of Siena (in blue and gold on November 25). Other saints include Lucy (in blue on December 13), Sigismund, Geminianus, Zeno, Gothard, Petronius, Hilarion, Anastasia, Dorothea, Bridget, Julia, Justina, Serena, and Barbara. Entries for two feasts have been erased on June 16 and 17. Many saints were added at a second stage, with greater emphasis on female saints, who are also prominent in the litany in alternating gold and colors on ff. 80r–87v. The saints in the litany include Longinus, George, Sigismund as martyrs; Anselm, Geminianus, Nicholas, Zeno, Gothard, and Petronius as bishops and confessors; Leonard and Hilarion, coming before Dominic, and Bernardinus as monks and hermits; Anastasia, Dorothea, Barbara, Bridget, Christina, Julia, Clare, Justina, Serena, and Monica as virgins.

4 Sanvito's connection with the Gonzagas extended well beyond his formal affiliation with Cardinal Francesco (1444–83), which spanned from the late 1470s until the prelate's death in October 1483. Members of the Gonzaga family had been among Sanvito's patrons since the very beginning of his activity as a scribe in the early 1450s. In addition to Cardinal Francesco, Sanvito produced manuscripts for Ludovico III Gonzaga (1414–78), Marquis of Mantua, and his other sons Gianfrancesco (1446–96), Rodolfo (1452–95) and/or Ludovico, bishop of Mantua (1460–1511): see de la Mare and Nuvoloni 2009, cat. nos. 2, 18, 48, 53, 54. He copied at least three manuscripts for Cardinal Gonzaga, including the famous Vatican Homer (i.e., BAV, ms. Vat. gr. 1626): see Chambers 1992, 135–36n27, and de la Mare and Nuvoloni 2009, cat. nos. 38, 65, 72. The presence of Bartolomeo at Ludovico Gonzaga's castle of Gazzuolo almost twenty years after the death of Cardinal Francesco, is testified by a letter written on August 10, 1503 by the Paduan medallist Ermes Flavio de Bonis, Sanvito's former colleague in the cardinal's household and member of Ludovico's retinue, addressed to Leonardo Aristeo da San Gimignano, secretary of Duke Francesco II Gonzaga (1466–1519). The letter is in Mantua, Archivio di Stato, Archivio Gonzaga, Carteggio di Bozzolo: see U. Rossi 1888, 37–38; qtd. by Agosti 2005, 240n40. A similar contact is testified in a document dated June 4, 1506: see Dickerson 2009, 60.

5 Its counterpart is a tiny book of hours written by Sanvito in the late 1470s, now Bologna, Bibl. Com. dell'Archiginnasio, ms. A 2452: see Guernelli (2008) 2011.

6 De la Mare and Nuvoloni 2009, cat. no. 85.

7 See Braghirolli 1878, 19, qtd. in Conti 1988–89; Chambers 1984, 418n121. The first part of the *offiziolo* could have been commissioned for one of the children of Federico I, possibly either Francesco II himself as suggested in D'Urso et al. 2000, 43–44. For Guindaleri and his work for the Gonzagas, see Conti 1988–89; Mariani Canova 2006, 86–87 and cat. no. 3.15; Mariani Canova 2008; Furnian 2014b.

8 On the humanistic *littera antica* see Zamponi 2004 and 2016 with further bibliography.

9 We presently know of eleven books of hours produced by Sanvito, starting with an *offiziolo* now in the Ambrosiana Library at Milan (Sala Prefetto MS.13), about late 1464–66, and finishing with the Stuart de Rothesay Hours, datable to about 1508 and illuminated for Cardinal Marino Grimani (c. 1489–46) by Giulio Clovio c. 1535–39 (London, BL, Add. MS. 20927). The list now includes a book of hours, datable to the late 1470s, identified by Guernelli (Bologna, Bibl. Com. dell'Archiginnasio, ms. A 2452) after the publication of the catalogue of Sanvito's manuscripts (de la Mare and Nuvoloni 2009). It can be considered the counterpart of the present book, as it is the smallest among Sanvito's books of hours. See de la Mare and Nuvoloni 2009, cat. nos. 31, 49, 73, 75, 76, 79 (Penitential Psalms and Office of the Dead only), 89 (made for Gian Galeazzo Sforza [1469–94], Duke of Milan and Isabella d'Aragona [1470–1524] about 1488/9; untraced), 93, 94, 120, and Guernelli (2008) 2011.

10 For instance, the Hours of Cecilia Gonzaga (d. 1474), daughter of Ludovico I Gonzaga, made in 1470 (New York, PML, MS M.0454) is still in a round Gothic hand: see *CORSAIR* for detailed record. In fact, the *littera antiqua* never supplanted *Textualis rotunda* in Italian manuscripts for private devotion, and Albinia C. de la Mare listed only twenty books of hours in humanistic hand produced in Florence in the late fifteenth century: see de la Mare 1985. One of the scribes to pick up Sanvito's new trend was Matteo Contugi of Volterra (d. 1493), scribe and agent of the Gonzagas for life (see Chambers 2016). Contugi copied an *offiziolo* using the humanistic formal hand about 1480. The book remained unfinished until 1509, when it was completed, with some prayers changed from masculine to feminine form, and decorated by Matteo da Milano c. 1510–15 for Dionora (Eleonora) Gonzaga (1490–1538), daughter of Francesco II and Isabella, married to Francesco Maria I della Rovere (1490–1538), Duke of Urbino (London, BL, Yates Thompson MS. 7): see the online *Catalogue of Illuminated Manuscripts*. For other Sanvito's followers in the Veneto, Naples, and Florence, see Nuvoloni 2016, 264–65.

11 Many of the most lavish books of hours produced both in manuscript and in print in Italy and in France at the beginning of the sixteenth century are in formal humanistic hand or Tondo types, as the Venetian hours decorated before 1530 by Benedetto Bordon in the present catalogue (cat. no. 234).

12 The book, displaying both the Gonzaga and d'Este arms, has recently resurfaced at a sale in London, Sotheby's, December 5, 2012, lot 23.

13 According to his post-mortem inventory, Cardinal Francesco Gonzaga, the grand-uncle of Marquis Francesco II, owned two books of hours: see Chambers 1992, 167, nos. 691–92; his brother, the *Condottiere* Gianfrancesco Gonzaga (1446–96), owned two *offizioli*, whereas six are listed as in the bedroom of his pious wife Antonia del Balzo (1461–1538), kept separated from her other books in her own studio: see Chambers 2007, 86, no. 9, 87, no. 30, and 96, nos. 168–72.

14 Some of the lost leaves were of parchment stained purple or yellow and had full-page miniatures.

15 The Pliny is now Turin, Bibl. Naz. Univ., ms. J.I.22–23.

16 See the initials on ff. 33r, 40r, 133r, and 143r, and Chantilly, Divers VI, leaves 356v and 357v. These initials had been called "literae mantinianae" by Millard Meiss (1957, 52–67), but were renamed "faceted initials" by Jonathan J. G. Alexander to better represent their three-dimensional intention: see Alex-

ander 1988, 45 (repr., 169).

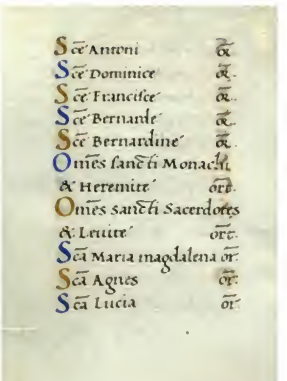
17 In particular, the colors of the initial at the beginning of the Office of the Holy Spirit (f. 143r) match those of the multicolored capitals of the rubric and the incipit of the text. In addition, the figure of the angel with the palm branch in the cameo at the left of the initial closely recalls illuminated figures attributed to Sanvito in some of his manuscripts, especially those dating from the 1490s, such as the Cicero for Cardinal Raffaele Riario datable to 1494–95 (New York, PML, MS M.882): see de la Mare and Nuvoloni 2009, cat. nos. 99–103, 107.

18 See initials on ff. 133r and 143r.

233. Leaf from a prayer book or book of hours

Bartolomeo Sanvito (scribe)

Rome or Padua (?), Italy, early 1480s
Parchment, f. 1, 120 x 82 (65 x 43) mm
Boston University, School of Theology Archives, Medieval Manuscripts Collection, Folder STh MS 80
Otto F. Ege; James Hayes, acquired from Ege, 1948; acquired from Hayes.



f. 80v

This is one of nine sister leaves at Boston University's School of Theology Library (STh MSS 72–80) and part of what remains of a prayer book written by one of the greatest scribes of the Italian Renaissance, Bartolomeo Sanvito (1433–1511), now widely scattered.[1] Sanvito was patronized by many of the leading political, educational, and religious figures of his age, among them Cardinal Francesco Gonzaga (1444–83), Isabella d'Este (1474–1539) and Gian Galeazzo Sforza (1469–94); works written and decorated by Sanvito have been much sought after by collectors since they were first created. He also wrote Houghton Library MSS Richardson 17 and Typ 213 and (cat. nos. 210 and 232).

Sanvito wrote the text in his most formal hand: a confident round and spacious humanistic script, elegantly enlivened by long serifs on ascenders and descenders and by the use of features borrowed from his cursive hand such as the elongated and dented ligature between the letters *c* and *t*. His participation in the Renaissance of classical culture and art, and the influence of classical Roman inscriptions on his script is evident in colored capitals and serifed horizontal marks of abbreviation seen on this page, and his illuminated faceted initials, which appear to be chiseled in marble or cast in bronze, found on other leaves from this manuscript.

Sanvito produced at least twelve small books of hours between 1465 and 1508. Typically, they contain a calendar, Hours of the Virgin, Seven Penitential Psalms and litany, Office of the Dead, and Office of the Cross, in that order. Two other twelve-line books of hours similar to this dismembered manuscript are in Ravenna (Bibl. Class., ms. 4) and Stuttgart (Württ. LB, Cod. brev. 29).[2]

Otto Ege dismembered and dispersed this manuscript;[3] other leaves have been recognized in libraries and private collections across the United States, Canada, Europe, and Japan.[4] The Boston leaves, however, can still tell us much about the parent manuscript. In the lower right corner of STh MS 80v is the quire signature *M*; such signatures are characteristic of Sanvito, but compared to catchwords and numerical quire signatures, relatively uncommon in humanist manuscripts.[5] If the complete manuscript conformed to Sanvito's usual pattern of quires of ten leaves, then we can postulate that this was the last leaf of the thirteenth quire, since the calendar was probably written on an unsigned quire of twelve leaves, and *I* and *J* are the same letter in the classical Roman alphabet. If there were 120 leaves between the end of the calendar and the litany on STh MS 80, then the manuscript must have contained more than just the Penitential Psalms and litany, and Office of the Dead (the latter long text invariably follows the litany). Therefore it is very likely that the manuscript originally contained the Hours of the Virgin, although no leaves from it have been identified. A possible explanation may be that there are signs that the manuscript has suffered considerable water damage and that the leaves from the Hours of the Virgin were discarded.

This is an example of a dismembered manuscript where the discovery of each new leaf has the potential to radically change what we know about the original volume. They allow us to continue the process of reconstructing the original texts, quire-structures, and decorative program. Leaves that have come to light within the last few years have provided us with the first evidence of the inclusion of the Hours of the Cross, the first page with a historiated initial and illuminated border, the first page with evidence of nineteenth(?)-century repainting; and considerable new evidence about the codicology of the volume.

William P. Stoneman, Laura Nuvoloni & Peter Kidd

1 See, especially, de la Mare and Nuvoloni 2009, 276–77, no. 79 (c); and Oliver 1985, 45 (no. 77, described as a psalter).

2 De la Mare and Nuvoloni 2009, 308–11, nos. 93–94.

3 Gwara 2013, 146, handlist no. 79 (3).

4 For a full list of the known surviving leaves and their contents and a partial reconstruction of the manuscript, see BeyondWords2016.org.

5 See "I. Les signatures de cahiers, Type 2" in Derolez 1984, 45–46.

234. Book of hours ("Belengo Hours")
Benedetto Bordon (illuminator)

Venice, Italy, c. 1500–10
Harvard University, Houghton Library, MS Typ 1000[1]
Parchment, ff. 162 (numbered ff. 171, lacking ff. 144, 147–52, 169–70); 83 x 57 (54 x 36) mm
Bequest of Nettie G. Naumburg to Fogg Art Museum, 1930; transferred to Houghton Library, 1990.

ff. 72v–73r

The Houghton Library's Belengo book of hours is one of the most exquisite Italian Renaissance manuscripts illuminated in Venice around 1500 and attributable to the distinguished miniaturist, Benedetto Bordon (*fl.* c. 1475–1530).[2] Bordon's three dimensional figures set in perspectival space, his command of lighting effects, and his mastery of color rival the accomplishments of Venetian Renaissance monumental painters. The Belengo Hours may be grouped with about twenty other books of hours that are associated with the Bordon workshop, helping to confirm him as the dominant illuminator in Venice at the opening of the sixteenth century.

The Belengo Hours' texts are written in a delicate humanistic script, in contrast to the Gothic scripts that remained popular in Renaissance Italy for religious manuscripts. Also unusual is that the name of a saint is written beside every day in the calendar, whereas normal practice in Italy left many days without such indications. Many names are given in Venetian dialect; feasts particular to Venice include the Feast of St. Mark (April 25, in red), the Apparition of St. Mark (June 25); the Dedication of St. Mark's (*Sagra di Marcho*; October 8).[3] Hebrew Testament prophets revered as saints in Venice also appear: Simeon (February 4), Moses (September 4), Zachary (September 6), Job (May 10, in red). The inclusion of zodiac signs in miniatures at the beginning of each month of the calendar is also rare.

On the first full border (f. 15r) is the coat of arms of the noble Belengo family of Venice.[4] The five full-page miniatures and their opposite text-pages exhibit compositions of great refinement. The miniature preceding the Seven Penitential Psalms is a traditional subject, King David in prayer (f. 72v); David is white-haired and wears a dazzling red robe as he kneels in a verdant landscape whose trees and rocks are touched with gold. In the distance, blue mountains descend from the upper left beneath a paler blue sky. Beside David lie his crown and *lira da braccio*, its Renaissance shape differing from the plucked instruments of medieval representations of David.[5] In the extreme foreground are two white rabbits, nose to nose; symbols of lust, the rabbits probably refer to David's sinful union with Bathsheba and subsequent repentance. The opposite text-page forms a handsome foil to the miniature (f. 73r). The border is a uniform deep purple; on it are symmetrically arranged golden-bronze leaves and flowers that rise from classical vases. This type of border may best be called an "Aldine border" since it appears often in hand-illuminated copies of books printed by Aldus Manutius in 1501–02.[6] In the faceted capital *D* is the half-length figure of David, again white-bearded, crowned, and wearing a red robe; he gazes to the right with fervid intensity.

The images of King David are key to attributing the Belengo Hours to Benedetto Bordon. The elderly regal figures find parallels in the presentation copy in Vienna of a Lucian, *Opera*, printed in Venice at the expense of Benedetto Bordon in 1494, whose miniatures are universally attributed to Bordon.[7] A significant comparison with David is the Pluto in the Vienna Lucian; he sits enthroned outside the city of Dis, like David, crowned and white-bearded with his head turned to the right.[8] The Lucian first text-page shows that the "Aldine border" was clearly defined by Bordon in the mid-1490s; its deep blue ground and golden-bronze classicizing motifs preview the Belengo Hours' borders.[9] In turn, the Belengo Hours' images of David may be compared with similar figures in books of hours in Venice, Zadar, Melk, and Oxford.[10] Some of these have been attributed to a gifted contemporary, the Master of the Triumph of Venus (or the Second Master of the Grifo *Canzoniere*), but based on the close relationship of the Belengo Hours to the Lucian, its authorship by Bordon can be maintained.[11] His high reputation is attested by a reference of 1532 by Marcantonio Michiel to a manuscript then in the collection of Andrea Odoni in Venice: "El David nel principio del l'altro official fo de man de Benedetto Bordon."[12]

Benedetto Bordon was a contemporary of the great Venetian painters Giovanni Bellini, Giorgione, Titian, and Cima da Conegliano. The Annunciation miniature in the Belengo Hours (f. 14v) echoes Cima's innovative altarpiece of 1495, painted for the Venetian silk workers' guild (Arte dei Setaioli) at Santa Maria dei Crociferi, Venice, although earlier miniatures by Bordon had already influenced Cima.[13] Bordon's illuminated manuscripts and incunables, woodcut designs, cartographic, editorial, and authorial projects place him in the center of the book world of Renaissance Venice at the moment of its highest artistic achievements.[14]

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1 Formerly 90M-16, and Fogg Art Museum, 1930.306.
2 De Ricci 1935–40, 1:1051; Mariani Canova 1975, 102.
3 All noted by Mariani Canova, 1975, 102.
4 Morando di Custoza 1979, no. 375; the coat of arms of the Verando family, "original citizens" (*cittadini originali*) of Venice, is similar (ibid., no. 3275).
5 Winternitz 1967, 86–98.
6 Szépe 1995.
7 Vienna, ÖNB, Ink. 4.G.27 (ISTC il00329000): Hermann 1931, 220–25, no.

140; Szépe 1999.

8 Hermann 1931, pl. 71, 5.

9 Armstrong 1994d.

10 Berlin, SMPK-KK, Cod. 78 B 21. See Wescher 1931, 118; Venice, BNM, ms. Lat. I, 92 (= 2961) in Marcon 1994, 125; Zadar, NB, MS 8 (1555) in Castiglioni 1989, 23; Melk, StiftsB, Cod. 1079 (formerly 1831) in Schakin 2013; Oxford, Bodleian Library, MS. Canon. Liturg. 140 in Pächt and Alexander 1970, 56, no. 571.

11 Marcon 1994; Guest 2008.

12 Frimmel 1888, 82.

13 St. Petersburg, Hermitage Museum, Inv. 256 (Humfrey 1993, 68, 118–19).

14 Armstrong 1996 (2003, 2:591–643); Marcon 2004a.

TABELLA DEXTRA.

Nelaltra tabella era impresso uno nobile giouene. Ilquale cum summa religione receueua una protectiõe di uno crystallino clypeo, Et egli ualoroso cum la falcata & tagliente Harpe, una terrifica donna decapitaua, & el trunco capo insigno di uictoria superbamẽte gestaua. Del cruore delquale, nasceua uno alato caballo, che uolando in uno fastigio di monte, una mysteriosa fontana, cum il calce faceua surgẽte.

SECVNDA SINISTRA.

Nella facia anteriore uedeuasi el potente Cupidine che cũ laurea sagitta sua uerso li stelliferi cæli trahẽdo gutte doro amorosamente faceua piouere. Et una ĩfinita turba di omni conditione uulnerata stauano dicio tutti stupefacti. In opposito, uidi Venere irabonda, soluta cũ uno armigero da uno fatale rete el filiolo per le ale prẽso haueá uindicabonda,

& uoleualo

7. Book Decoration & the Advent of Printing

All books created in Europe until around 1450 were manuscripts, written by hand and often beautifully decorated. Soon thereafter, printing with movable type was invented and quickly perfected. The heritage of manuscript design, however, meant that printers often followed manuscript layout traditions. They indented lines of type at the beginnings of chapters, creating spaces for initials to be added by a rubricator or illuminator. The fact that there might be several hundred copies of a printed edition, escalating the amount of required hand-work, was not taken fully into account.[1]

The early decades of printing reveal great experimentation in book decoration. Printers or patrons commissioned artists trained as illuminators of manuscripts to decorate individual copies of early printed books. The famous Gutenberg Bible printed in Mainz in 1454–55 has been universally praised for its handsome layout and beautifully designed fonts. At Harvard there is a copy exquisitely decorated by pen-work in red and blue inks, called "flourishing."[2] In many books, historiated initials and coats of arms were added to the printed pages (cat. nos. 236–37). Painted borders like those in the Pliny *Historia naturalis* printed in Venice in 1472 (cat. no. 238) make it easy to mistake a printed book for a manuscript. Some books were sent undecorated from the city where they were printed, and were illuminated in their new location: the Gutenberg Bible was decorated in Utrecht,[3] and the Pliny in Florence. Decoration thus provides information about the book trade.

The desire to provide illustrations that would appear in every copy of an edition led early printers to employ new techniques. Woodcuts were used by the 1470s in both Northern Europe and Italy.[4] A composition would be traced onto a flat wooden block; the surface of the block would be carved leaving only the raised lines to be inked and printed simultaneously with the text. Hartmann Schedel's historical *Liber chronicarum* (cat. no. 235) and the fanciful romance titled the *Hypnerotomachia Poliphili* (cat. no. 240, see opposite) are spectacular examples, illustrated with hundreds of woodcuts. A Dante of 1487 in the Gardner Museum combines large woodcuts with splendid hand-illumination (cat. no. 248). The related technique of the metalcut was used to illustrate books of hours, especially those printed in France (cat. nos. 244–45).

Another technique for illustration, engraving, had a more problematic history. Engraving lines are gouged into a metal plate, then inked. Paper must be pressed into the inked lines to receive the image. This required a page with a printed text to be passed through a second press. Moreover, due to the material employed, engravings were not as durable as woodcut blocks. A few engravings were designed for the Florentine Dante of 1481 (cat. no. 247), but in most copies, the engravings were printed separately and pasted into the book.

Images created by woodcuts and engravings in the fifteenth century were inherently black and white. But the manuscript tradition of illumination with brilliant colors remained influential. Color was sometimes provided by painting woodcuts by hand after printing.[5] In Northern Europe, watercolors were used, leaving the black woodcut outlines visible (cat. no. 114), but in Italy woodcuts were sometimes completely covered with opaque paint as in Houghton's Neapolitan book of hours (cat. no. 243). For a copy of a French translation of Boccaccio's *De casibus virorum et feminarum illustrium*, printed in Bruges in 1476, lively narrative engravings were brilliantly colored and pasted onto the printed pages (cat. no. 66). These varied experiments greatly enriched the interest and rarity of early printed books in the transition from the era of manuscripts.[6]

Lilian Armstrong

1 For Italy, see Armstrong 1994c (repr. in Armstrong 2003).
2 ISTC ib00526000, Walsh 3. Harvard's Gutenberg Bible (Houghton Library, Harry Elkins Widener Collection) is not included in the present exhibition.
3 Gerritsen-Geywitz 2000.
4 The most useful survey of books with woodcuts remains Hind (1935) 1963.
5 See Dackerman 2002.
6 I am most grateful to Peter Fergusson for his thoughtful editorial assistance.

cat. no. 240, f. k8v

235. Hartmann Schedel, *Liber chronicarum*
Michael Wolgemut and Wilhelm Pleydenwurff (woodcut designers), Anton Koberger (printer)

Nuremberg, Germany, July 12, 1493
Paper, f°, ff. 328, 430 x c. 305 mm[1]
Isabella Stewart Gardner Museum, 2.d.2.4
Purchased by Isabella Stewart Gardner from the sale of the library of David Hunt through Charles F. Libbie & Co., Boston, November 20, 1891.

ff. 43v–44r

The *Nuremberg Chronicle* is generally taken to represent the high point in the development of the illustrated printed book after Gutenberg. From another perspective, however, it could be considered a special case or even a dead end in the development. Either way, it sheds light on half a century of book history. The unusually well-documented history of how it came into being lets one draw important conclusions regarding the production process in the period of incunables. The book also represents an absolute superlative in quantitative terms: the Latin edition contains 1,804, the German, 1,803 woodcut illustrations, which were printed from 643 blocks. No printed edition either before or for a long time after was so lavishly outfitted with images.

The initiative for the work, for which the motivation was above all financial, came from the rich Nuremberg businessmen, Sebald Schreyer and Sebastian Kammermeister. The surviving documents testify to a new business model: Schreyer and Kammermeister provided the capital, and the two painters, Michael Wolgemut and his stepson, Wilhelm Pleydenwurff, who were to provide the designs and the blocks for the illustrations, would take a share of the profits. For the two artists, the arrangement promised to be lucrative, as normally those who supplied the illustrations for such books received only a one-time payment. No contract with the Nuremberg humanist, Hartmann Schedel (1440–1514), who wrote the text, has survived, but he is named in the colophon. The town clerk Georg Alt received a payment for the German translation of the Latin text provided by Schedel. The book was printed in the shop of Anton Koberger, who was paid, but who did not participate in the profits.[2]

The colophon designates Schedel not as the author but as the compiler who had assembled the text quickly (*Collectum breui tempore Auxilio doctoris Hartmanni Schedel*), a characterization that reflects the content of the book. The major part, which relates the history of the world from the Creation to the year 1493, is appropriated from classic historical texts.[3] The informing structure is that of the Six Ages of the World, which, since Isidor of Seville (c. 560–636), had supplied the standard model for medieval chronicles. To this was added an anticipation of the seventh age, which stretched from the signs of the Last Days to the Last Judgment. It is possible that the financiers of the text quickly came to the conclusion that it was too conservative in content; before printing the German edition (December 23, 1493), the participants in the enterprise concluded a contract with the humanist, Konrad Celtis, to revise the text for a second edition. Schedel's compilation, however, is not without its innovative aspects, among them the inclusion of the *Europa* of the Italian humanist, Silvio Piccolomini, who in 1458 had been elected Pope Pius II. This previously unpublished text attempted to describe the various nations and regions of Europe, along with the geographical and cultural particularities, for whose unity the pope appealed in light of the threat from the Turks.[4]

This connection between geography and history makes itself especially apparent in the many city views, which above all have contributed to the fame of the *Liber chronicarum*. These illustrations accompany the accounts of cities of the entire world as well as Piccolomini's text at the end of the book. They are in part accurate views, for which drawings made on the spot must have served as starting points, in part fantastical portrayals, in part copies of woodcuts in older works. The latter is true of the view of Venice (ff. 43v–44r), which is a simplified copy after the pathbreaking representation of Venice in Bernhard von Breydenbach's account of his travels to the Holy Land, the *Peregrinatio in terram sanctam*, published in 1486.

The question of the young Albrecht Dürer's participation in designing woodcuts for the project during his apprenticeship with Michael Wolgemut remains controversial.[5] On grounds of chronology alone, it is very unlikely: Dürer concluded his apprenticeship with Wolgemut in 1489 and then set off on his Wanderjahre as preparations for the *World Chronicle* were underway in the workshop of his teacher. It was above all the high quality of some of the designs that led some scholars to suppose that Dürer might have been involved. It, however, makes more sense to view things the other way around. The collaboration of painters and designers (Wolgemut/Pleydenwurff) with Dürer's godfather, Koberger, an innovative printer and media entrepreneur, which had commenced long before work on the *Chronicle* had started, created novel conditions from which Dürer could learn a great deal. In aesthetic terms, their working together had established the preconditions for the development of novel and efficient graphic systems for woodcuts. In technical and economic terms, it had established a professional system governing the division of labor among designers and woodcutters.[6]

In light of the sheer scope of the project, the quality of the woodcuts is inevitably mixed. Nonetheless, the complex linking of text and image represents a significant achievement in layout and printing technique. The enormous effort required and the correspondingly high price no doubt contributed to the project's financial failure. Although the international network of Nuremberg merchants ensured the book's distribution right across Europe, the final accounting of 1509 indicates that a great many volumes remained unsold. More successful were the smaller and cheaper reprintings of the *Chronicle* by the Augsburg printer, Johann Schönsperger, dated 1497 and 1500. In its structure and dimensions, the *Nuremberg*

Chronicle found no immediate followers. As an audacious example of the art of printing, however, it had a prolonged impact.[7]

Peter Schmidt

1 ISTC is00307000, MEI 02013870.
2 All the documents were published most recently by Reske 2000, who provides a complete bibliography. For English translations of the contracts, see A. Wilson 1976.
3 Posselt 2014.
4 Knödler 2014.
5 For the arguments in this discussion, see Reske 2003.
6 P. Schmidt 2012.
7 For the reception history, see Green 2003 and 2006.

236. Brunetto Latino, Il Tesoro
Pico Master (illuminator), Gerardus de Lisa (printer)

Treviso, Italy, 1474
Paper, f^v, ff. ii + 126 + ii, 328 x 225 mm[1]
Harvard University, Houghton Library, Inc 6459
Francesco Melchiori Opitergino, 1615; George Dunn, Woolley Hall near Maidenhead, his sale, Sotheby's, London, February 1914, lot 894; Giuseppe Martini (no. 231 in his incunables catalogue, 1934); gift of Harrison D. Horblit in memory of Mark M. Horblit II, 1954.

f. b1r

The Houghton Library's copy of Brunetto Latini's *Il Tesoro* was printed in Treviso by Gerardus de Lisa in 1474. It is a rarity, as far fewer editions were printed in Treviso than in Venice, of which it was a subject city.[2] Like hundreds of other incunables, the Houghton volume was provided with hand-illumination on its first text-page after it emerged from the press, thus individualizing the copy for its potential owner (f. 1r).[3]

Le Trésor was first composed in French by the Florentine philosopher, writer, and diplomat, Brunetto Latini (c. 1210–94).[4] Said to be the first encyclopedia in a European language, *Il Tesoro*, the Italian translation, grandly opens with: "E parla del nascimento e dell natura di tute le cose" ("And it speaks of the origin and nature of everything"). Numerous French manuscripts exist, many with extensive cycles of miniatures.[5] In contrast to its popularity in France, the Treviso *Il Tesoro* is the only edition of the text printed in the incunable period.[6] Unlike Venetian editions of classical texts printed in the 1470s, the *Tesoro* text is laid out in two columns in Gothic typeface, a practice commonly reserved for liturgical and legal texts. No effort was made to illustrate it with narrative miniatures.

The handsome decoration of the present frontispiece mixes elements from the manuscript tradition with others more typical of the burgeoning Renaissance. The marginal floral and gold dot motifs derive from Ferrarese manuscript illumination, popularized by the miniaturists who illuminated the great Bible of Borso d'Este in the late 1450s.[7] The roundels in the borders contain profile portraits that show Italian Renaissance preoccupation with classical coin portraiture. In the outer margin is a young couple who may represent the hoped-for patrons of the volume.

The roundels and the bas-de-page scene are recognizable as the work of the Master of the Pico Pliny, or the Pico Master, one of the principal miniaturists active in Venice from at least 1469 to 1495.[8] This artist specialized in the hand-illumination of printed books, although he also illuminated many manuscripts; over 120 incunables and manuscripts have been attributed to him and to his workshop. On the this frontispiece, four putti are delicately drawn and shaded in pale brown sepia; they appear in the foreground of a barren landscape, enlivened by two scraggly green trees and tiny buildings on the horizon.[9] The sky is bright blue as are the shadows setting off the figures from the white page. Two putti carry large vases sprouting palm fronds, and two others with pink wings kneel by a circular green wreath. Within the wreath is a blank shield (marked at a later date by a zig-zag pen line) held by two lions rampant, nestled between the shield and the wreath. The absence of a contemporary coat of arms suggests that the volume never reached the patron for whom it was so elaborately decorated.

Lilian Armstrong

1 ISTC il00070000, MEI 020133738, Walsh 3295. In Inc 6459 there is a stub instead of f. 6.
2 Pozza 1984, 61–67.
3 Armstrong 1991 (2003, 406–34); Armstrong 1994c (2003, 489–523).
4 A vast bibliography may be found at: http://www.florin.ms/brunettolatino.html.
5 Stones 2002 and Roux 2002.
6 ISTC, Brunetto Latino.
7 Modena, Bibl. Est. Univ., mss. Lat. 422 and 423. Toniolo 1997.
8 Armstrong 1990a (2003, 233–338).
9 Armstrong 1990a, 13–14, and 32, no. 28, and 224, fig. 11 (2003, 242–43, and 319, no. 28, and 284, fig. 11).

237. Lorenzo Valla, Elegantiae linguae latinae
Pico Master (illuminator), Nicolas Jenson (printer)

Venice, Italy, before July 1471
Paper, 4°, ff. iii + 202 + iii, 322 x 204 mm[1]
Museum of Fine Arts, Boston, 35.656, George Nixon Black Fund
Priuli family, Venice; John Peachey, 1766; Alfred Higgins, his sale Sotheby's, London, May 2, 1904, possibly purchased by Edward Perry Warren; sold by his estate to MFA in 1935.

f. 11r

The humanist Lorenzo Valla (c. 1407–57) was well-known for his *Elegances of the Latin Language* urging the use of classical Latin unencumbered by medieval words and grammatical constructions. Twenty-six editions were printed between 1471 and 1501, the first three of which appeared almost simultaneously in Rome, Venice, and Paris.[3] A Frenchman named Nicolas Jenson, the most successful early printer in Venice, printed this copy of the *Elegantiae*.[3] Jenson's page design is distinguished by handsome Roman lowercase and capital letters set in a single block of text, with wide margins, and lines indented at the beginnings of chapters, providing space for initials to be added by hand after the sheet emerged from the press.[4]

The first page of book 1 (f. 11r) of the MFA copy has been decorated with a gold capital C behind which a deer is painted in a landscape. Red beads pass behind two shells and link the initial to objects painted in the margin: a putto kneeling inside a gold ring, two snails, and fruit all cast delicate blue shadows. At the bas-de-page, a coat of arms is sheltered by a canopy and flanked by two columns that rest on the backs of dolphins. The remaining seven hand-illuminated initials also show tiny inhabited landscapes including a boy playing a lute, a monkey, a dragon, birds, and a putto doing a handstand. Also distinctive are scraggly trees, shells, and snails, all motifs found in books illuminated by a miniaturist known as the Master of the Pico Pliny, or in shortened form, the Pico Master (see cat. no. 236).[5]

The coat of arms is that of the noble Priuli family of Venice. Between 1470 and 1472 the Priuli arms appear on twenty-one incunables printed by Jenson or by his rival, Vindelinus de Spira. An Aulus Gellius printed by Jenson in 1472 (Vienna, ÖNB, Ink. 4.D.18) illuminated by the Pico Master, shows a very similar configuration: historiated initial, marginal motifs, and Priuli arms under a canopy.[6] It seems undeniable that some member of the Priuli family was a principal patron of the new industry of printing in Venice.[7]

Lilian Armstrong

1 ISTC iv00051000, MEI 02013808.
2 ISTC iv00050000, iv00051000 (this edition), and iv00052000.
3 ISTC iv00051000; Lowry 1991, 241, no. 15.
4 Armstrong 1991 (2003, 1:406–34); Armstrong 1994c (2003, 2:489–523).
5 Armstrong 1990a (2003, 1:233–338).
6 Mazal 1986, 217, no. 112 and fig. 34.
7 Lowry 1991, 83–85.

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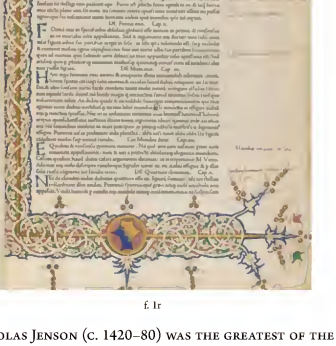
238. Pliny the Elder, Historia naturalis
Nicolas Jenson (printer), Giovanni Andrea de' Bussi (editor)

Venice, Italy, 1472
Paper, f°, ff. 355, 417 x 276 mm[1]
Harvard University, Houghton Library, Typ Inc 4087
Purchased by Philip Hofer, in 1938, his donation, 1949.[2]



f. 1r

Nicolas Jenson (c. 1420–80) was the greatest of the foreign entrepreneurs who introduced printing to Venice and contrib-

uted to the city's emergence as the center for the book trade in Europe. In 1472 the Frenchman printed the third Latin edition of Pliny's (23–79 CE) *Natural History*, an encyclopedia of the ancient world of great interest to humanists.[3] Since its first appearance, Jenson's 1472 Pliny has received universal admiration for its harmonious proportions and legibility, comprising large folio pages with Roman type emulating humanist script and Roman epigraphy framed by generous margins. The book's grandeur belies the controversy over its text. Jenson reprinted an earlier edition of the *Historia* produced by Giovanni Andrea de' Bussi (1417–75), bishop of Aleria, which had been published two years earlier in Rome by Sweynheym and Pannartz. Replete with errors, the 1470 edition caused an uproar amongst Italian humanists and provoked the first calls of censorship of printed books to prevent the dangerous dissemination of corrupt texts.[4] The debate sparked competition throughout Italy to produce a new authoritative edition. Jenson's publication of the work unrevised reflects the pragmatism of a businessman who privileged the aesthetics of the page over the purity of the text.[5]

This copy of Jenson's 1472 Pliny is one of an exceptional thirty-seven copies known with hand-illumination.[6] It is rare, in that it combines an illuminated frontispiece with woodcut initials for thirty-six of its thirty-seven books, hand-stamped after the printing of the text, not as independent decoration but as an outline for illumination.[7] However, only the first woodcut initial (on unsigned f. π4r) was gilded and painted, the rest remain unfinished. Woodcut guide borders and initials represent the experimental phase of illustration before mechanized simultaneous printing and decorating became widespread in the late 1480s.[8] With these special hybrid copies, early Venetian printers differentiated their stock in order to attract a broader range of customers.[9] The contemporary Florentine, simple *bianchi girari* three-sided border with the arms of the Buoninsegni of Florence (unsigned f. a1r) and marginalia in Latin and Greek indicate that the book was illuminated in Tuscany for the book's original owner, a humanist of the noble family (see cat. nos. 197 and 212).[10] A plausible candidate is Giovambattista Buoninsegni (1453–after 1512), a classical scholar and translator of Plutarch, in the circle of the philologist Angelo Poliziano (1454–94) and philosopher Marsilio Ficino (1433–99). Although just nineteen years old when the 1472 Pliny was published, Buoninsegni was already esteemed by his contemporaries for his knowledge of Greek and, in the same year, was the dedicatee of classical-style literature penned by Poliziano.[11] The first to discover the principles of textual criticism, Poliziano was among the condemners of de' Bussi's *Historia*.[12] One pictures Buoninsegni and Poliziano discussing the different Latin editions of Pliny issued in quick succession by their peers until the late 1490s.[13]

Anne-Marie Eze

1 ISTC ip00788000, MEI 020133737, Walsh 1570. Typ Inc 4087 is wanting three leaves.

2 Later Italian inscriptions indicate that the book probably remained in Italy until the late 1700s when it was rebound in France, as attested to by pages from the 1759 and final edition of Moréri's *Le grand dictionnaire historique* used as binder's waste, most likely because it had been rendered obsolete by the *Encyclopédie* of Diderot and d'Alembert (1751–72). Partially visible beneath the front pastedown are volume nine's pages 282 and 287 with the entries for Matthias-Jean, comte de Schulenbourg and Schwartzemberg, respectively. The book reappeared in England, at Clumber Park, the Nottinghamshire country estate of the dukes of Newcastle. It was most likely acquired in the first half of the nineteenth century by the fourth Duke Henry Pelham Fiennes Pelham-Clinton (1785–1851), who was principally responsible for the formation of the library dispersed in 1937 (Sotheby's, London, June 21, 1937–February 14, 1938, lot 4; Flower 1938, 79–80; and H. C. G. Matthew 2004). The incunable was purchased at the sale for £360 by the London booksellers William H. Robinson, headed by the brothers Lionel and Philip Robinson (Carmody 2008, 96). Philip Hofer purchased the book on November 19, 1938 for £300 (net)/$1421, according to his annotated copy of the sale catalogue in the Houghton Library.

3 The *editio princeps* was printed in Rome in 1469 by John of Speyer. For a useful summary of its contents, see Armstrong 2003, 1:91.

4 Sabbadini 1900, 443–45 and Lowry 1991, 91–92.

5 Lowry 1991, 91–92.

6 Verbal communication from Lilian Armstrong, August 2015.

7 For the outline woodcuts, see Goff 1962, 386 and Armstrong 2008a, 173–75.

8 See Armstrong 2008a for a detailed description of this development.

9 Lowry 1991, 70 and Armstrong 2008a, 175.

10 Walsh 1570.

11 Kristeller 1972. Two letters written by Buoninsegni in Latin and Greek in 1475 may provide useful handwriting samples for comparison with the marginalia in Typ Inc 4087 (Florence, Biblioteca Nazionale Centrale, Carte Ginori Conti, 29 and 64, ff. 73 following). London, BL, Add. MS. 11894, a Greek manuscript with a poem composed by Buoninsegni, is also believed to have come from his library and might be an autograph. See *British Library Digitised Manuscripts*.

12 Lowry 1991, 91.

13 There were fifteen editions of the Latin Pliny produced in the fifteenth century, all of which were printed in Italy. Labarre 1973, 451–57.

239. Giacomo Filippo Foresti da Bergamo, De plurimis claris sceletisque mulieribus, opus prope divinum novissime congestum

Lorzenzo Rossi (printer), Albertus de Placentia and Augustinus de Casali Maiori (editors)

Ferrara, Italy, April 29, 1497
Paper, f°, ff. 176, c. 319 x 210 mm[1]
Isabella Stewart Gardner Museum, 2.b.1.4
Purchased by Isabella Stewart Gardner from Quaritch, March 10, 1887 (his catalogue December 1886–August 1887, no. 37074).

f. A1v

There are 188 extant copies of this edition of *On Famous and Infamous Women* by the Augustinian friar Giacomo Filippo Foresti (1434–1520). The incunable's high survival rate is undoubtedly due to its numerous, handsome illustrations. The text comprises biographies of 187 women divided chronologically into three eras: antiquity, the Middle Ages (mostly hagiographies), and Foresti's own time. Eve, the infamous first woman, and Cassandra Fedele (d. 1558), a Venetian humanist who was alive when this book was published, act as two contrasting bookends for the women memorialized. Accompanying the life histories are sixty portraits, of which twenty-nine are unique while the others are repeated, representing more than one woman. The author, tonsured and dressed in the belted robe of his order, is also depicted (f. A1v, shown here). He presents a bound copy of his work to his patron Queen Beatrice of Hungary (1457–1508), who introduced Italian Renaissance art to the court of her husband Matthias Corvinus and aided him in building one of the most renowned libraries of the period (cat. no. 211). Surrounding this presentation image, scenes from the life of the Virgin, and the opening of the text (on ff. a1v and a2r) are three full-page architectural borders, in which cavorting putti are prominent features. These Venetian-style borders are modeled on architectural frontispieces painted by the Pico Master, who specialized in illuminating printed books in the lagoon city from at least 1469 to 1495 (cat. nos. 236–37).[2]

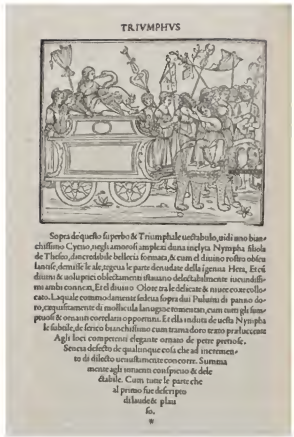
Foresti's text was printed in 1497, but with a puzzle: why do the plinths of the arches in the architectural borders bear the earlier date of 1493? The author's sources provide the answer; Foresti worked from his own *Supplementum chronicarum* (first printed in 1483),[3] from Boccaccio's *De claris mulieribus* (cat. no. 216), and from a relatively unknown text, *Gynevera de le clare donne* by Giovanni Sabbadino degli Arienti, completed by 1490 (but only known today in three manuscripts, and not printed until the late nineteenth century).[4] Vittorio Zaccaria has argued that Foresti initially completed his work in 1493, but after encountering *Gynevera*, the Augustinian updated and expanded the final section of his book with twenty biographies of Renaissance women borrowed from Arienti.[5] As a result of this late addition, there is a marked decrease in the number of portraits toward the end of the book, yet among them are gems of Renaissance portraiture. In contrast to earlier woodcut likenesses in the book, those of Biancamaria, Duchess of Milan, Catherina, Duchess of Forlì and Imola, Bianca Mirandola, Ginevra Sforza and Damicella Trivulzia (ff. CLIV verso, CLX, CLXIII, CLXIV, CLXVII) appear to be authentic depictions of these five illustrious women presented in a manner typical of the late 1400s: in strict profile, half-length, and, it must be said, in forms that appear realistic, not idealistic. The artist of these five formidable portraits has yet to be identified.

Consuelo W. Dutschke

1 ISTC ij00204000, MEI 02013809.
2 For the Pico Master see Armstrong 1990a and Armstrong 2008a, 196.
3 ISTC ij00208000.
4 Bologna, Archivio di Stato, cod. 71. Ricci and Bacchi della Lega 1888. See Kristeller 1963–97, 2:498.
5 Zaccaria 1978.

240. Francesco Colonna, Hypnerotomachia Poliphili
Aldus Manutius (printer)

Venice, Italy, December 1499
Paper, f°, ff. 234, c. 303 x 200 mm[1]
Isabella Stewart Gardner Museum, 2.b.1.1
Purchased by Isabella Stewart Gardner from its buyer at the sale of the library of Edward Cheney, English art collector and watercolorist, on July 22, 1886.



f. k7v

For the high quality of its woodcuts, type, and overall design, this first edition of *The Strife of Love in a Dream of Poliphilo* (as the text has been translated) often is praised as the most beautiful book printed in the Renaissance.[2] In the dedication, Leonardo Crasso of Verona declared that he oversaw and financed publication of the book, but the author's name was intentionally obscured, and even that of the great Aldus Manutius as printer is indicated only in a list of errata. Most scholars believe the author's name can be discerned in the acrostic formed by the letters in woodcuts opening each section, which states that a Fra Francesco Colonna loved Polia. Nevertheless, whether this Colonna was a Roman lord or a Dominican monk of the Veneto remains hotly debated, and a number of other authors have been proposed.[3]

The text relates an allegorical romance set in a dream, and was written in an invented language of Latin and Greek vocabulary with Italian syntax. The narrative is interspersed with often obsessively detailed descriptions of imagined, wondrous ancient works of art, architecture, and rituals, and of gardens and the natural world. The book integrates various traditions of literature and of illustrated book traditions, including hieroglyphic and hermetic lore, encyclopedias and treatises, art and architectural theory, and epigraphic collections.[4]

The 172 woodcuts—of which the double-page triumphal processions of Leda and Jupiter's other conquests are the best known (f. k7v, above, and see f. k8r at introduction to part III)—are remarkable for their interdependence with the text, suggesting that the author made preliminary sketches which were re-interpreted by professional artists, and then transferred into the reverse designs to be executed by the woodcutters. By the time Gardner asserted the designs as by Carpaccio in her catalogue of 1906, following an attribution common in book sales at the time but never pursued carefully in scholarly literature, numerous other artists, many of them from the Veneto, had been proposed.[5] Scholars arguing for Roman authorship see the designs of the illustrations as linked to artists in the circle of Pinturicchio working in Rome.[6]

Because the book was produced in Venice, artisans embedded in book production there were critical to the final appearance of the volume. Indeed,

the figural style of many of the woodcuts is extremely close to miniatures in an illuminated copy of an edition of Lucian edited and published in Venice by Benedetto Bordon, and to the series of the Triumph of Caesar images designed by him but executed as woodcuts by Jacob of Strassburg (see cat. no. 245). Miniatures attributable to Bordon in copies of the famous octavo editions by Aldus suggest an ongoing association of the miniaturist with the printer.[7] A miniaturist called the Second Master of the Grifo *Canzoniere* is considered also to be a designer of woodcuts in the *Poliphilo*, but separation of the work of the Second Master from that of Bordon is unresolved.[8]

According to a request by Crasso in 1509 for a renewal of his publishing privilege for the *Poliphilo*, the first edition initially did not sell well.[9] Nevertheless, numerous quotations of motifs in various pictorial media, and literary references to the *Poliphilo* demonstrate an eventual considerable artistic impact. The *Poliphilo* was reprinted in 1545, and French editions with new, expanded sets of stunning woodcuts followed shortly. These also are prized by bibliophiles, and the enigmatic, often playful and titillating text, and its images, continue to inspire generations of artists, designers, and architects, and to intrigue scholars.[10]

Helena Katalin Szépe

1 ISTC ic00767000, MEI 02013810.
2 The only complete published English translation is Godwin 1999. On the place of the book in the career of Aldus Manutius, Lowry 1979, 118–29. On typographic variations: Bühler 1973; Harris 2006.
3 Patricia Brown presents an incisive analysis of the evidence and of the history of the question in P. Brown 1996, 287–90. The most recent arguments with extensive bibliography for Roman authorship (but first proposed by Maurizio Calvesi in 1980) in Colonna 2012. On arguments for the monk of the Veneto, see now Pozzi and Ciapponi 1980; Ariani and Gabriele 1998, vol. 2. On Leon Battista Alberti and Eliseo da Treviso, respectively, as author: Lefaivre 1997; Scapecchi 1983.
4 On literary sources and cultural context, see especially Pozzi and Ciapponi 1962; Pozzi and Ciapponi 1980; P. Brown 1996, 207–30; Ariani and Gabriele 1998, v. 2; Scarsella 2001; Colonna 2004.
5 I. Gardner 1906, 2, 55; Appell 1889, 1; Gentili 2001, 281.
6 First argued by Calvesi 1980.
7 Lucian, *Opera*, Venice, Simon Bevilaqua for Benedetto Bordon, 1494: illuminated incunable with arms of the Mocenigo family, Vienna, ÖNB, Ink. 4.G.27. On Bordon in relation to the *Poliphilo*: Biadego 1900–01; Casella and Pozzi 1959, 2:155–58; Mariani Canova 1968–69; Lowry 1979, 122; Bauer-Eberhardt 1994; Marcon 1994; Armstrong 1996; Szépe 1995; Szépe 1997; Armstrong 1998; Urbini 2001; Armstrong 2008b; and Armstrong 2008c.
8 This master was named after a miniature depicting the Triumph of Venus in a manuscript of poems by Antonio Grifo. Venice, BNM, ms. It. Z, 64 (=4824). On the Second Grifo Master and the *Canzoniere* miniature in relation to the *Poliphilo*, and on the difficulties of separating the Second Grifo Master's hand from that of Bordon, see Casella and Pozzi 1959, 2:155–58; Mariani Canova 1968–69; Mariani Canova 1990; Marcon 1994; Szépe 1995; Szépe 1997; Armstrong 1998; Urbini 2001; Armstrong 2008c; and Szépe 2016.
9 Fulin 1882, 171n173.
10 Casella and Pozzi 1959, 1:97–98. Szépe 1996; Leslie and Hunt 1998; Andreoli 2001; Priki 2009; Oettinger 2011.

241. St. Catherine of Siena, Epistole devotissime de Sancta Catharina da Siena

Benedetto Bordon (woodcut designer), Aldus Manutius (printer), Bartolomeo da Alzano (editor)

Venice, Italy, after September 19, 1500
Paper, f°, ff. 422, 306 x c. 200 mm[1]
Isabella Stewart Gardner Museum, 2.c.3.23
Purchased by Isabella Stewart Gardner in 1892.

Aldus Manutius's 1500 edition of the *Letters of St. Catherine of Siena*, edited by Bartolomeo da Alzano, occupies a unique place in the history of printing for containing the first words ever printed in italics. Incorporated into an intricate woodcut portrait of the saint, "iesu dolce iesu amore" and "iesus" are printed respectively on an open book and flaming heart in reference to her authorship of the letters and exchange of her heart with that of Christ (f. π10v).[2] This first outing of the italic typeface made for Aldus by the skilled punchcutter Francesco Griffo (1450–1518) hinted at the publisher's forthcoming series of portable editions of ancient and modern classics printed in the new font, which debuted in 1501 (cat. no. 249).

Catherine Benincasa (1347–80) was a Dominican tertiary, mystic, recipient of the stigmata, and an influential figure in affairs of the church and Italian politics. Through legations and correspondence, she ardently advocated for the return of the papacy from Avignon to Rome and reform of the clergy and administration of the Papal States, and supported Gregory XI's plan for a crusade to unite the powers of Christendom and restore peace to Italy.[3] The Aldine edition, which includes over 300 of her letters, arranged according to correspondent by order of their rank, as well as prayers and meditations, was the first attempt to publish a complete edition of her missives.[4] The book was dedicated to the prominent Sienese prelate, Cardinal Francesco Piccolomini (1439–1503), archbishop of Siena and the nephew of Pope Pius II, who canonized Catherine in 1461 and also wrote the line of poetry printed above the woodcut TRANSIIT AD SPONSVM TRIBVS EXORNATA CORONIS ("she went to her spouse bedecked with three crowns").[5]

f. π10v

The publication's history is well documented. It was commissioned by Margarita Ugelheimer, widow of Peter Ugelheimer (d. 1488) of Frankfurt, the great merchant and financier of printer Nicolas Jenson (cat. no. 238).[6] On April 17, 1499, Aldus made a contract with an Antonio Condulmer of an unidentified Dominican convent to borrow manuscripts and printed books containing a collection of Catherine's writings which had been compiled over a twenty-year period and edited by the Dominican friar Bartolomeo da Alzano of Bergamo. The printer agreed to pay a large fine of up to sixty ducats if any of the volumes were damaged at his press.[7] In July 1500, two

months before the book's completion, Aldus was granted a ten-year privilege for its printing and sale in Venetian territory.[8] Manutius did not usually print Italian vernacular illustrated books. Martin Lowry has proposed that the printer accepted Ugelheimer's commission to atone for breaking a vow he had made to become a priest if he survived the plague of 1498, and for publishing the sensuous and unabashed pagan romance the *Hypnerotomachia Poliphili* (1499) at a time of heightened scrutiny of morals in Venice in the aftermath of losing Lepanto to the Turks, which was viewed as a punishment from God (cat. no. 240).[9] Whatever his motives were, the publication was bound to be a commercial success due to St. Catherine's cult status in Italy, especially in Venice where support for her canonization had been strong, and to the popularity of epistolary literature and texts of the later medieval devotional writers.[10]

The book's only illustration is the woodcut of Catherine dressed as a Dominican *mantellata*. Greatly admired for its rich religious symbolism, the author portrait was reproduced and imitated in later editions of her writings.[11] The saint stands frontally with outstretched arms; two angels hold three crowns above her head, symbolizing her virginity, prayer, and her symbolic martyrdom achieved through the reception of the Stigmata. A lily, a crucifix, and a palm are held together with her book in her right hand; above the flaming heart in her left hand is an inscribed scroll, all details referring to her central religious experiences.[12] The woodcut is rendered in a combination of the outline and shaded styles. The latter technique, consisting of closely packed parallel diagonal lines to portray areas of depth or folds, had only recently emerged in Venetian book illustration.[13] Due to the image's refined and innovative execution, and the similarity of Catherine's draped contrapposto pose and facial features to saints depicted in the *Regulae monasticorum* (Venice: LucAntonio Giunta, 1500), it has been attributed to Benedetto Bordon (d. 1530), an illuminator, designer of woodcuts, publisher and author, who dominated book illustration in early Cinquecento Venice (cat. nos. 37, 234, 240, 242).[14] Bordon has been identified as the experienced artist who collaborated with Aldus for a number of projects from the late 1490s onward, including the illustrations for the aforementioned *Hypnerotomachia Poliphili*, which was in production at the same time St. Catherine's *Letters*. The successful outcome of two magnificent books with extremely different subject matters demonstrates the versatility and talent of both men

Anne-Marie Eze

1 ISTC ic00281000, MEI 02013811.
2 The first phrase was Catherine's customary formula for concluding her letters. Saffrey 1982, 298; Mortimer 1992, 14–15.
3 E. Gardner 1908.
4 Laurent 1948, 359; Laurent 1955, 43; Mortimer 1992, 12–13; Mercalli 1988, 172.
5 Capecelatro 1973, 455; Mortimer 1992, 14.
6 For Ugelheimer, Alexander 1994, nos. 96–100; Nuovo 2013, 31–33.
7 The document survives as Venice, Biblioteca Nazionale Marciana, ms. It. XI, 207 (=4071). Lowry 1979, 125–26; Marcon 1994, 110–12, 132; Bigliazzi et al. 1994, 71–72.
8 Laurent 1948, 361; Lowry 1979, 137.
9 Lowry 1979, 118–25.
10 Ibid., 125–26; Mortimer 1992, 12; Saffrey 1982, 312.
11 Mercalli 1988, 173–77.
12 In 1472 Sixtus IV had issued an interdict prohibiting the depiction of Catherine with stigmata. Laurent 1948, 358; Laurent 1955, 48; Saffrey 1982, 297–98.
13 Armstrong 2003, 2:604, 684, 715.
14 Armstrong 2008a, 97, no. 370, figs. 111–12, 221–22.

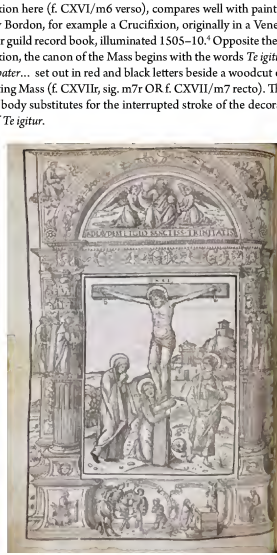
242. Missale monasticum secundum consuetudinem vallisumbrosae

Benedetto Bordon and workshop (woodcut designers), LucAntonio Giunta (printer)

Venice, Italy, December 4, 1503
Parchment, ff. 14 (not signed or foliated) + 304 (signed in black ink; foliated in red Roman numerals on rectos, upper right) + 2 (paper: duplicates of sig. a2 [fol. I1] and a9 [fol. IX], bound at end); 354 x 240 (260 x 175) mm
Wellesley College, Margaret Clapp Library, Special Collections, *81W-7
Guy Warren Walker Jr. Collection, on deposit from St. Mark's School, Southborough, MA.

The Vallumbrosan missal of 1503 has been called "uno dei più bei libri liturgici stampati a Venezia" ("one of the most beautiful liturgical books printed in Venice").[1] It was commissioned by the general of the Vallumbrosan order from LucAntonio Giunta (1457–1538), who specialized in printing liturgical books. The Wellesley copy is printed on vellum in red and black Gothic fonts and, like the other copies, is illustrated with hundreds of woodcuts.[2] The handsome volume demonstrates the continued importance of religious art in High Renaissance Italy, more popularly known for its secular and humanistic works.

The designs of the missal's classicizing architectural borders, its full-page Crucifixion, and its eighteen large historiated initials are attributed to Benedetto Bordon, active in Padua and Venice from the 1470s to 1530.[3] Known as a miniaturist (see cat. no. 234), Bordon also designed woodcuts, edited at least one classical text, and authored a book on islands. The Crucifixion here (f. CXVI/m6 verso), compares well with painted miniatures by Bordon, for example a Crucifixion, originally in a Venetian *mariegola*, or guild record book, illuminated 1505–10.[4] Opposite the woodcut Crucifixion, the canon of the Mass begins with the words *Te igitur clementissime pater*… set out in red and black letters beside a woodcut of a priest celebrating Mass (f. CXVIIr, sig. m7r OR f. CXVII/m7 recto). The priest's vertical body substitutes for the interrupted stroke of the decorative capital *T* of *Te igitur*.



f. CXVI/m6 verso

The first rubric in the 1503 missal (f. 1/a1 recto) specifies that it follows the use of the Vallumbrosan order. Narrative woodcuts, like the one at the base of the Crucifixion, depict episodes in the life of St. John Gualbert (Giovanni Gualberto, c. 985–1073), founder of the order. The page on which his feast day begins includes a large historiated initial of the saint surrounded by clouds and cherubs (f. CCII/x5 recto).[5] The woodcut of St. John Gualbert appears here for the first time, and thus stands in contrast to many other woodcut initials, which were originally designed for a *Graduale Romanum* printed by LucAntonio Giunta in 1499–1500 and subsequently reused in the missal of 1503.

Lilian Armstrong

1 Camerini 1962, 118–19, no. 77.
2 For two other vellum copies, both with hand-illuminated woodcuts see Baroffio 2013 and Marcon 2003, 78.
3 For the Bordon liturgical woodcuts see Bradley 1900; Armstrong 1998 (2003, 2:645–82); Armstrong 2001, 92 and fig. 25 (2003, 2:729–30, and fig. 25). I am very grateful to Helena K. Szépe for the Bradley reference.
4 Armstrong 2012, col. pl. 51a.
5 Masséna 1896, no. 245; Baroffio 2013, col. pl. x.

243. Book of hours
Matthias Moravus (printer)

Naples, Italy, October 3, 1487
Parchment, 16°, ff. 106 + 9 (folios with handwritten prayers added at the end), 105 x 70 mm[1]
Harvard University, Houghton Library, Typ Inc 6706.5
Martini Siena, 1796; Leon Rattier, no. 38 in his sale, Paris, 1909; gift of Philip Hofer in honor of Eleanor M. Garvey, 1984.

In fifteenth-century Italy, the book of hours was the most appreciated type of devotional book among the laypeople. This success is proved by the wide circulation of multiple printed editions. Several deluxe copies are known, printed on parchment and enriched with hand illuminations. Such is the case of this book, printed in 1487 by Matthias Moravus, which carries the coat of arms of its first owner on f. a1r.[2] It is a rare example of a richly illustrated incunable made in Naples, a city where illuminated manuscripts long remained the favorite among the court and the aristocracy.[3] This is also an outstanding testimony of the transitional phase from manuscripts to printed books, as it features both woodcuts and hand illuminations, as well as eight handwritten prayers with hand illuminations added at the end of the printed book.

Born in Cetechowitz near Olomouc, in present-day Czech Republic, Moravus was active as a copyist and then as a typographer in northern Italy before moving to the capital of the Kingdom of Naples in 1475, where he started a successful printing workshop. By 1492 Moravus had published there fifty-seven editions, eight of them being books of hours.[4]

Beginning with the edition of June 30, 1486, Moravus included five woodcuts illustrating the main textual sections, namely the Office of the Blessed Virgin Mary, the Seven Penitential Psalms, the Office of the Dead, the Office of the Holy Cross, and the Office of the Holy Ghost.[5] Our example shows only four prints (King David praying, Funeral, on f. h2v, Pietà, and Baptism of Christ, the Nativity is missing), also hand-colored. Furthermore, the incipit of the *officia* are highlighted by historiated initials and hand-illuminated borders (ff. a1r, f2r, h3r, 17r, and m2r).

The colorful vegetal and flower borders inhabited by putti and various animals survived in Neapolitan manuscript painting from the 1450s to the end of the century, along with the more advanced *all'antica* style. Among those who perpetuated this successful decorative scheme was Matteo Felice, whose work for the Aragonese Kings Library in Naples is documented in the second half of the century.[6] The five illuminated pages of the present book can be attributed to a close follower, perhaps active in his workshop. The same artist illuminated at least one other book of hours printed by Moravus (Naples, BN, S. Q. XXIII A 44), with whom he could have collaborated on several occasions.[7]

Finally, the eight illuminations illustrating the prayers added at the end of the book depict the corresponding saints. The monumental aspect of the figures, their swollen eyes, the schematic landscapes, and the abundance of gold reveal the same hand working on the hours, an illuminator who can also be seen in some Neapolitan manuscripts from the last quarter of the fifteenth century, such as the life of St. John the Baptist (Naples, BN, ms. XIII F 24).[8] It is likely that the woodcuts were also colored by this Neapolitan artist, since they show very similar landscapes and the same palette of the hand illuminations. That the same artist was responsible for the coloring of the woodcuts and for the added illuminations suggests that these enhancements to the original book of hours were commissioned by the first owner.

Teresa D'Urso

1 ISTC ih00357930, MEI 00200559, Walsh 3273, and Dondi 2016, no. 27(1).
2 *Le Bibliophile français* 1939; Walsh 191–92.
3 Baurmeister 1998, 296.
4 M. Fava and Bresciano 1911–12, 1:59–62; 2:92–127; Scapecchi 2008; Guernelli 2013.
5 M. Fava and Bresciano 1911–12, 2:118.
6 De Marinis 1947–52, 1:157–58; Toscano 2004a.
7 On this manuscript see Alma Serena Lucianelli in Ambra 1997, 114–15, no. 12.
8 On this manuscript see Emilia Ambra in Ambra 1997, 112–14, no. 11.

ff. h2v–h3r

244. Jean Meschinot, Les lunettes des princes; Vingt-cinq balades; Nouvelles additions
Philippe Pigouchet (printer), Simon Vostre (publisher)

Paris, France, 1499
Paper, 8°, ff. 108, 166 x c. 103 mm[1]
Isabella Stewart Gardner Museum, I.b.1.35
Purchased by Isabella Stewart Gardner from the sale of the Canadian insurer Gerald Ephraim Hart at Charles F. Libbie & Co., Boston, April 17, 1890.

This book in the *Mirror for Princes* genre by Breton poet Jean Meschinot (1420–91) was an early modern bestseller, printed in Nantes, Paris, Lyon, and Rouen in twenty-eight editions from c. 1492 to 1539. Because there was a strong market for this work in Paris, printers endeavored to differentiate their editions from those of competitors.

Jean Meschinot was among the so-called *Grand Rhétoriqueurs*, writers and poets living in northern France in the period 1460–1520, who valued technical acrobatics and underscored first-person narrative.[2] *Les lunettes* is an allegorical and didactic text about moral conduct, presented as a dream-vision poem; there is also an "autobiographical" section in prosimetrum.[3] Editions usually append his *Vingt-cinq balades*, a historical polemic text that incorporates verse of Burgundian court poet Georges Chastellain, and his *Nouvelles additions*, poems in verse and supplications in prose.

f. a1v

The Gardner incunable was printed in Paris in 1499 by Philippe Pigouchet (*fl.* 1488–1518) for *libraire* Simon Vostre (d. 1521) and is one of four extant copies of the edition.[4] This is the second edition printed by Pigouchet just four years after his first edition of 1495.[5] Pigouchet made both editions in octavo format, smaller than the usual quarto. In the second edition, Pigouchet used brand new type and different initials, reset lines, and improved the text's readability with updated spellings. He also "updated" his new edition by substituting the earlier woodcut of the Crucifixion with a sharp metalcut of the same composition on the title page verso (f. a1v). In these ways, Pigouchet sought to improve and differentiate his edition in the Parisian marketplace.

Diane Booton

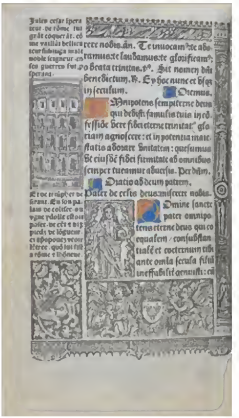
1 ISTC im00507000, MEI 02013812.
2 C. Brown 1985, Armstrong and Kay 2011.
3 For modern editions, see Toscani 1971, Martineau-Genieys 1972. For historical overview, see also La Borderie 1896.
4 ISTC im00507000; Torchet 1987, 652; García Craviotto 1989–90, 3928; Pettegree, Walsby, and Wilkinson 2007, 37663. For the printer, see Claudin 1900–14, 2:13–61; the other copies of the 1499 edition are Nantes, Mus. Dobrée, impr. 978; Madrid, Bibl. del Palacio Real, I/139; and Vienna, ÖNB, Ink. 5.H.42. For the first edition, see ISTC im00506600 and Tchemerzine 1927, 8: no. 236b. For descriptions of the Gardner copy, see I. Gardner 1906, 48; I. Gardner 1922, 95; Karo c. 1979, no. 8.
5 For the 1495 edition, see ISTC im00506600.

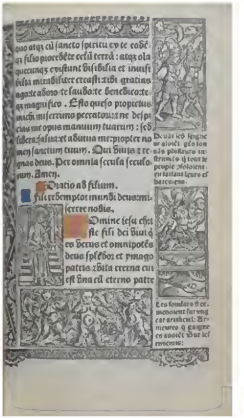
245. Book of hours, use of Rome ("Mary, Queen of Scots Hours")
Simon Vostre (printer-publisher)

Paris, France, c. 1514
Parchment, 8°, ff. 140, 187 x 115 mm
Isabella Stewart Gardner Museum, 3.T.1[1]
Purchased by Isabella Stewart Gardner Earl of Crawford's sale, Sotheby's, London, June 20, 1887, lot 1272.

Produced by the Paris publisher Simon Vostre, this printed book of hours is profusely illustrated with full-page engravings, decorated initials, and engraved borders. A prolific publisher of books of hours, Vostre worked with many different artists, engravers, and printers to create his books. Among his collaborators were the most distinguished Parisian artists of the early sixteenth century. Some of this book's illustrations and decoration are hand-painted and illuminated, probably on commission at the request of an early owner of the book. Queen Catherine de' Medici, her son King François II, his wife Mary, Queen of Scots, and Mary's uncle Louis de Lorraine, cardinal of Guise—all members of the same extended family—are believed to be among the book's sixteenth-century owners.

Printed books of hours were the books most commonly owned by literate residents of French cities in the sixteenth century, from artisans like shoemakers and grocers all the way up the social ladder to great magistrates and jurists. It may, however, seem a little surprising that queens and great noblemen owned printed books of hours. Printed books were generally considered less valuable than manuscripts, and the great elites of the French kingdom also had grand collections of manuscripts. Catherine de' Medici herself owned a number of manuscript books of hours, some of them inherited or given to her as gifts. This book probably entered the royal family as a gift, and then circulated around the family. A handwritten note in the book ("to my Uncle," probably meaning Mary, Queen of Scots gave it to the cardinal of Guise) shows how it may have passed from owner to owner within circles of kin.





ff. q1v–q2r

This book includes classicizing secular scenes in the margins of the suffrages of the saints, such as the Colosseum and trumpeters paired with figures of God the Father blessing and Christ as Man of Sorrows (unsigned ff. q1v–q2r). The twenty-four small metalcuts are based on twelve woodcuts of the Triumph of Caesar printed in Venice in 1504, designed by the miniaturist Benedetto Bordon and cut by Jacob of Strassburg. The appearance of the Triumph of Caesar series in this prayer book demonstrates the inventiveness and flexibility of both artistic production in Paris and the cultural taste of sixteenth-century book owners, who freely mixed classical and Christian themes as they sought the most beautiful objects for their personal collections.

Virginia Reinburg

1 Quaritch 1892; *Athenaeum* 1899; Longstreet and Carter 1935, 250; M. Carter 1972, 100; Durkan 1987; Massing 1990; Tenschert and Nettekoven 2003; Armstrong 2008b.

246. Giovanni Pico della Mirandola, Auree epistole
Michel Le Noir (printer)

Paris, France, 1499
Paper, Chancery quarto, ff. 30, 198 x c. 130 mm[1]
Isabella Stewart Gardner Museum, 2.a.3.11
Purchased by Isabella Stewart Gardner from David Hunt's sale through Charles F. Libbie & Co., Boston, November 27, 1891.

The revival of classical culture and literature in fifteenth-century Italy re-established letter writing as a literary genre. Following in the footsteps of Petrarch (1304–74), the fourteenth-century poet and precursor of humanism, Italian humanists emulated classical authors such as Cicero, Horace, Ovid, and Seneca in publishing their own Latin letters. Count Giovanni Pico della Mirandola (1463–94), the author of the present epistolary, is perhaps the most famous and evocative figure among them.

The epistolary displays Pico's extraordinary command of universal knowledge, exceptional philosophical mind, and independence of spirit—his "divine spirit" as Erasmus put it.[2] In a most elegant Latin prose, Pico discusses the possibility to harmonize Aristotelian and Platonic philosophy and illustrates the importance of rhetorical language to promulgate philosophical truth. He also strongly argues against astrology, while exemplifying the privileged position and dignity of man within the creation thanks to the influence of divine grace. The letters are addressed to fellow scholars, including Marsilio Ficino (1433–99), Angelo Poliziano (1454–94), and Ermolao Barbaro (1454–93), as well as his friend and protector Lorenzo de' Medici (1449–92), ruler of Florence, and his nephew and heir Giovanni Francesco Pico (1469–1533).

Published by Giovanni Francesco in the posthumous *princeps* of Pico's *Opera* (Bologna: Benedictus Hectoris [Faelli], 1496), the letters were almost immediately reprinted as an independent book entitled *Aureae Epistolae* by Conrad Hirst at Spira.[3] By 1535 the *Epistolae* circulated in no less than fifteen editions and reached a wider European readership than any other of Pico's works.[4] The present book was the second, published at Paris in 1499 by Michel Le Noir (d. 1520).[5]

f. A1r

A clever business-orientated printer, always quick in spotting potential bestsellers to reprint, Le Noir copied Hirst's edition, taking inspiration for the woodcut of Pico teaching to a young scholar on the title page (f. A1r) and adding a second image of Pico dictating to two secretaries to face

the beginning of the text. Both images are reminiscent of hand-painted or printed portraits of authors of classical, legal, medical, or humanistic texts in both manuscripts and incunables (see cat. no. 208). Indeed Le Noir reused the same woodcuts, with different captions, in the edition of Ovid's epistles published shortly afterward.[6] The marginal annotations and underlining of sentences by a late seventeenth- or eighteenth-century reader testify to the interest for the text throughout the centuries.

Laura Nuvoloni

1 ISTC ip00637000, MEI 02013813.
2 See Erasmus's prefaces to the *Adages* of 1500 and *Ciceronianus* of 1529, qtd. in Knight and Tilg 2015, 173. For Pico's letters, see Bausi 2004; Borghesi 2004. For Pico in general, see Dougherty 2008.
3 ISTC ip00632000 and ip00636000 respectively.
4 With the only exception of the Venetian edition of 1529 by Niccolò Zoppino, all editions of the *Aureae Epistolae* were produced outside Italy, i.e., in Germany, France, Belgium, and the Netherlands: see Borghesi 2004, 556.
5 For Michel Le Noir, see Claudin 1900–14, 2:163–74; Stankiewicz 2010.
6 See Claudin 1900–14, 2:170–72, ISTC io00167700 and CIBN O-102. Probably keen to recover the expenses for the cuts, Le Noir also used of the woodcut initials of the present edition in Raoul Lefèvre, *Les Prouesses et vaillances d'Hercule*, dated October 2, 1500 (ISTC il00112400): see facsimile online in *Gallica*.

247. Dante Alighieri, La Commedia
Niccolò di Lorenzo della Magna (printer), Cristoforo Landino (commentator)

Florence, Italy, August 30, 1481
Isabella Stewart Gardner Museum, 2.c.1.8
Paper, f°, ff. 358, 406–11 x c. 275 mm[1]
Purchased by Isabella Stewart Gardner from the sale of the Bibliotheca Lindesiana in 1887.

f. a2r

The 1481 edition of Dante's (1265–1321) *Divine Comedy* is a landmark in the history of the poem and of the city of Florence. It was the first edition of the work to be printed in the poet's birthplace; the first to publish a Renaissance commentary written by a Florentine; and the first to be illustrated.[2] The publication was commissioned in 1480 by the signoria of Florence at the behest of Lorenzo "il Magnifico" de' Medici as part of an official program to reclaim the city's most famous son, who had produced his literary masterpiece and died a political exile in Ravenna.[3] Numerous petitions for the return of Dante's remains to Florence had been rebuffed by the Adriatic city, so the new edition served as a symbolic repatriation of the poet.[4] Conceived as propaganda to reassert the city's claim to the international cult figure and to glorify Florentine cultural supremacy,[5] its execution was entrusted to three prominent Medicean humanists: Cristoforo Landino (1425–98), professor of rhetoric and poetry at the *Studio* of Florence, wrote a Neoplatonic commentary introduced by an account of Florentine excellence; the philosopher Marsilio Ficino (1433–99) penned a homecoming eulogy; and the great painter Sandro Botticelli (1445–1510) created a visual exegesis.[6]

The printing was assigned to Niccolò di Lorenzo della Magna (or dell'Allemagna), a German from Breslau (Wrocław) whose press had published one of the first books to be illustrated with engravings in Florence in 1477.[7] He designed a volume of monumental proportions, significantly larger than the eight previous folio editions of the *Comedy*.[8] Della Magna also set the body of the poem in a single column comprising a few tercets per page, framed it with Landino's commentary, and reserved spaces for an illustration by Botticelli for each canto and hand-finished initial letters.[9] Adopting a mise-en-page whose origins can be traced as far back as the Carolingian era and which since the 1200s had been used predominantly in universities for glossed biblical, patristic, and legal texts, the printer rejected the traditional format for the *Divine Comedy*—two columns of tercets per page with a separate commentary—designed especially for the poem in Florence in the mid-1330s (cat. no. 214).[10] On August 30, 1481 the book was paraded in public and presented to the signoria with an oration delivered by Landino.[11] The parchment presentation copy was unillustrated because the engravings of Botticelli's drawings, which are generally attributed to the Florentine goldsmith Baccio Baldini, were not ready.[12] Around 1487 the plan for a continuous visual commentary for all 100 cantos was abandoned after *Inferno* XIX, most likely due to the technical difficulty and inefficiency of combining two printing processes (relief for the text and intaglio for the images) that required each illustrated sheet to pass through the press twice. Only engravings for the first two or three cantos were printed directly on the sheet, the remainder were printed separately on paper and pasted on. Therefore, most extant copies of the book have illustrations for just *Inferno* I–II or III.[13] Despite its incomplete illustrative cycle and textual errors caused by its hasty production, the 1481 edition was a triumph. According to Landino, 1,200 copies were printed by 1484;[14] his new interpretation was published in another six Italian editions of the *Comedy* before 1500; and Botticelli's designs were adapted for

the woodcut illustrations of three produced in Brescia in 1487 and Venice in 1491 (cat. no. 248).[15]

f. b1v (detail): Dante and Virgil, with the vision of Beatrice

f. c1v (detail): Dante and Virgil at the entrance of Hell; Acheron and Charon's Boat

f. c1v (detail of hidden second printing of Dante and Virgil, with the vision of Beatrice, visible through transmitted light)

The Gardner's 1481 Dante is celebrated as a rare example of a copy containing the complete set of engravings.[16] However, new provenance information reveals that it was "perfected" in England during the nineteenth century.[17] The volume's earliest identifiable owner is Augustus Henry FitzRoy, the third Duke of Grafton (1735–1811), who inscribed the first page in 1781.[18] Inherited by his son, George Henry Fitzroy (1760–1844), it was auctioned by Evans of London in 1815. The sale catalogue describes the book as illustrated by three engravings, undoubtedly for *Inferno* I–III.[19] In September 1867 the London bookseller Bernard Quaritch sold the volume, which he had rebound by Francis Bedford, to Alexander William Crawford Lindsay (1812–80), who became the twenty-fifth Earl of Crawford and eighth Earl of Balcarres in 1869.[20] Lord Lindsay already owned a copy of the 1481 Dante, which he had purchased in 1858 from the Brighton bookseller Giovanni Gancia. He had bought the book at the 1858 sale of duplicates from the royal library at Munich of the Wittelsbach kings of Bavaria.[21] This copy had twenty engravings (presumably including both versions for *Inf.* III);[22] all but the first two, however, had been accidentally pasted into the book with the image side facedown.[23] Lindsay had bought the imperfect book on Gancia's advice that the engravings could be removed and pasted into another copy to make a flawless specimen.[24] Therefore, in September 1867, through Quaritch, Lindsay commissioned the aforementioned binder Bedford to cut seventeen engravings for *Inferno* III–XIX from his first copy of the 1481 Dante and paste them into the newly purchased second volume.[25] The engraving of Dante and Virgil, with the vision of Beatrice (f. b1v), which was printed in some copies twice to illustrate the second and third cantos of the *Inferno*—since both feature the entrance to hell inscribed "Per Me" ("through me")—is visible beneath the illustration of Dante and Virgil at the entrance of Hell; Acheron and Charon's Boat on f. c1v with the aid of transmitted light.[26] Anomalous Arabic numerals "1–16," and "19" inscribed in pencil at the lower right hand corner of the seventeen supplementary engravings were presumably added to ensure that Bedford inserted them in the correct order.[27] The perfected book was inherited by James Ludovic Lindsay (1847–1913), twenty-sixth Earl of Crawford and ninth Earl of Balcarres, whose library was sold in 1887 by Sotheby's in London, where it was purchased on behalf of Isabella Stewart Gardner for £420 by the same Quaritch, who had perfected the copy twenty years earlier.[28] The Gardner Dante's made-up status, which was trivial in the 1800s, revives the caveat about composite copies of the 1481 edition and the complexity of determining the chronology of its issues in A. M. Hind's seminal study of the publication's engravings.[29]

Anne-Marie Eze

1 ISTC id00029000, MEI 02013814.
2 Hollander 2007, 273; Nocita 2012, 307.
3 Procaccioli 2014, 9.
4 Keller 2000, 327; Baldassarri and Saiber 2000, 179.
5 Keller 2000, 326.
6 Procaccioli 2014, 9–10.
7 Dreyer 1984, 112; Keller 2000, 326.
8 Nocita 2012, 365–67. The Gardner's 1481 Dante is a particularly large copy of this edition.
9 In the 1481 Dante, spaces were accidentally not allocated for the illustration of *Inf.* I, *Pur.* XXIV and XXV, and *Par.* XXX. Hind 1938–48, 1:100n3, 105.
10 The parallel text format had been used earlier for the *Comedy* with commentary by Martino Paolo Nibbia, printed in Milan in 1477–78 by Ludovico and Alberto Piemontesi. Nocita 2012, 366 and pl. 6. Of the eight pre-Landino editions, half have a single column of text, suggesting that the fourteenth-century Florentine model was not strictly adhered to by printers. Nocita 2012, 365–67, nos. 1–8 and accompanying plates.
11 Procaccioli 2014, 9.
12 Hind 1938–48, 1:101. Dreyer 1984, 113–15, dates them to October 5, 1482–December 12, 1487, between Botticelli's return to Florence from Rome and the death of a goldsmith whom he identifies as Baldini. Keller 2000, 327 and 330 ascribes them to at last two campaigns, datable to August 30, 1481–84 and May 31, 1487–March 1491, based on documentary evidence and the imprints of the abovementioned Brescian and Venetian illustrated editions. For the problematic attribution to Baldini, see Hind 1938–48, 1:9. Botticelli would later, between 1492 and 1497, make a magnificent set of larger and more mature drawings illustrating the whole poem in a manuscript made for Lorenzo di Pierfrancesco de' Medici, now in Berlin and at the Vatican. See Schulze Altcappenberg 2000 and Korbacher 2015.
13 Hind 1938–48, 1:102.
14 Keller 2000, 326; Hind 1938–48, 1:101, calculated from the number of known extant copies, that the original print run was around 200.
15 Hind 1938–48, 1:101 and Nocita 2012, 367–68, nos. 9–15.

16 I. Gardner 1906, 21; Hind 1938–48, 1:105; Cunningham 1973, 21–22; Jacoff 2003, 71–72.

17 For the bibliophilic term "perfected," see J. Carter 1994, 123 and 158. I am grateful to John Hodgson for sharing information on the Bibliotheca Lindesiana from unpublished material in the Crawford Library Papers, Edinburgh, National Library of Scotland, ACC. 9769 and Lord Lindsay's Library Report, 1861–65, which is in the possession of the Earl of Crawford, Balcarres House, Fifeshire.

18 For Grafton, see Durrant 2008. A fifteenth-century Italian owner annotated the book in the margins of *Inferno* and *Purgatorio* and copied Petrarch's note on the death of Laura at the end of the volume (f. L11v). See Dutschke 2007, 8.

19 R. Evans 1815, lot 612, "La Comedia did Dante col commento di Christ. Landino, Ed prima di Commento di Land. con tre fig. in rame, fol. Firenze MCCCCLXXXI." According to an annotated copy of the catalogue (Harvard University, Houghton Library, B 1827.434.5*), it was sold for £5 to a "Dulau," probably the London booksellers and publishers Dulau & Co. which operated from 1815–23.

20 The rebinding is discussed in Edinburgh, National Library of Scotland, ACC. 9769, Crawford Library Papers: 18. Volume of Library Letters, June–December 1867, f. 350. Bernard Quaritch to Lord Lindsay, August 24, 1867; f. 353. Lord Lindsay to Bernard Quaritch, August 29, 1867; and f. 364. Bernard Quaritch to Lord Lindsay, September 10, 1867. For Crawford, see Brigstocke 2007. The book had been in the library of Lord Justice Sir James Lewis Knight-Bruce (1791–1866), English judge and politician, FRSA and FRS, after whose death it was purchased by Quaritch on August 23, 1867. See the abovementioned letter from Quaritch to Lindsay, August 24, 1867. For Knight-Bruce, see G. Barker 2004.

21 Edinburgh, National Library of Scotland, ACC. 9769, Crawford Library Papers: 3. Volume of Library Letters, 1858, f. 211. G. Gancia, Brighton, to Lord Lindsay, July 23, 1858.

22 Twenty copper engravings are possible because, there are two versions for *Inf.* 3, which are sometimes found together in a single copy. Hind 1938–48, 1:102, type D, 109–11; 2: pl. 163.

23 Butsch 1858, lot 691: "Notre exemplaire—le plus complet qui ait été mis en vente depuis long-temps—en a 20; 2 planches imprimées avec le texte, auxquelles on a jouté 18 figg. gravées on taille—douce postérieurement à l'impression du livre. La première vignette originale est double; mais ce duplicate est malheureusement coupé du moitié; le Se est coupée dans la largeur d'un pouce en bas. Les autres 18 planches sont très bien conserves at quant au texte,—qui est un peu mouillé et fatigué." For Butsch and the 1858 sale, see Carlsohn 1959; B. Wagner 1994, 100; and Grünsteadel 1998, 2:326. This copy is identifiable with a book (although described as having nineteen engravings) of unknown location listed in Hind 1938–48, 2:103 and 107 as "[D Containing Nineteen Plates] Munich, Staatsbibliothek (formerly; present locality unknown). Sold as a duplicate in the middle of the xix century. Described by Van Praet in 1822 as 'très court de marge.' I do not identify it with other copies described in this list." See Van Praet 1822–28, 4:118, no. 153.

24 He also sought advice on the volume from Bernard Quaritch. Edinburgh, National Library of Scotland, ACC. 9769, Crawford Library Papers: 3. Volume of Library Letters, 1858; f. 218. G. Gancia, Brighton, to Lord Lindsay, August 14, 1858; f. 230: Lord Lindsay to Bernard Quaritch, Sunday [July 25, 1858].

25 Edinburgh, National Library of Scotland, ACC. 9769, Crawford Library Papers: 18. Volume of Library Letters, June–December 1867, f. 364. Bernard Quaritch to Lord Lindsay, September 10, 1867; f. 366. Lord Lindsay to Bernard Quaritch, September 13, 1867; f. 369. Lord Lindsay to Bernard Quaritch, September 18, 1867. The Gardner book's binding is stamped in ink "Bound by F. Bedford" on the verso of front flyleaf, and tooled in gold on lower front turn-in. Lindsay described his first copy of the 1481 Dante in Fifeshire, Balcarres House, Lord Lindsay's Library Report, 1861–65, Chapter on Belles Lettres, 14–15, and amended the description after the events of 1867.

26 For an explanation of the duplication, see Hind 1938–48, 1:100n2, 102 type "B Containing Nos. 1, 2 and a second impression of No. 2 before Canto III; printed on the page; frequent." Bernard Quaritch wrote in a letter to Lord Lindsay, August 30, 1867, that he had noticed that plates 2 and 3 of the Landino Dante "are alike, only differing in inking." Edinburgh, National Library of Scotland, ACC. 9769, Crawford Library Papers, 18. Volume of Library Letters, June–December 1867: f. 354.

27 I am grateful to John Lancaster and Valentine Talland for their help with the analysis of the engravings, and to Talland for photographing the superimposed print.

28 Sotheby, Wilkinson & Hodge, London, June 13, 1887, lot 768.

29 Hind 1938–48, 1:100 and 101; Keller 2000, 327.

248. Dante Alighieri, La Commedia
Bonino Bonini (printer), Cristoforo Landino (editor)

Brescia, Italy, May 31, 1487
Paper, f°, ff. 310, 363 x c. 240 mm[1]
Isabella Stewart Gardner Museum, 2.c.1.7
Purchased by Isabella Stewart Gardner in 1886.

In 1487 the Brescian printer Bonino Bonini (d. 1528) published the first *Divine Comedy* to rival the 1481 Florentine edition, which was the standard version of the poem owing to its parallel commentary by the humanist scholar Cristoforo Landino and illustrations designed by Botticelli (see cat. no. 247).[2] Bonini reprinted both the text of the poem and Landino's exegesis, but opted for a smaller-sized folio. His

ff. a1v–a2r

achievement was to illustrate the poem up to the first canto of *Paradiso*, thereby creating the first complete pictorial commentary for the *Inferno* and *Purgatorio*.[3] The illustrative cycle remained unfinished probably due to technical or financial problems, or perhaps the challenge of visualizing the ethereal *Paradiso*. Nonetheless Bonini outdid the Florentine edition's nineteen engravings by employing woodcut illustrations that could be printed simultaneously with the text. The first fully illustrated *Comedy* was published in Venice in 1491.[4]

Bonini based the first eighteen woodcuts (with the exception of that of *Inf.* III) on the then available Botticelli-designed engravings, since the nineteenth had yet to be published.[5] He transformed the narrative scenes into a full-page portrait format with vertically composed action, and framed them with two types of *all'antica* border embellished with vases and masks, or candelabra and fish in white on a black ground, which his press used for other publications.[6] In the first woodcut for *Inferno* I the sequence of events reads partly horizontally as in the Florentine engravings, but also vertically (f. a1v). It begins on the right with Dante bewildered in the dark wood, then looking up at the sunlit mountain. Afterward he is frightened by three beasts, which he faces instead of running from as in the 1481 edition, and finally is addressed by Virgil, who appears from below.[7] Bonino also included blank labels above the main characters in *Inferno* I–III so that their names could be added by hand.[8] The illustrations for the remaining cantos were designed by different artists of the same workshop and decline in quality from the end of *Purgatorio*.[9] Overall sixty-eight illustrations were printed from sixty unique woodblocks. The eight duplicated woodcuts added further confusion to the erroneous pairings of images with cantos that occur throughout the book.[10]

The Gardner's copy was also decorated by hand, with three illuminated initials for Landino's prologue (ff. &1v, aa2r, and nn4r), and three full-page foliate borders for the opening of each canticle (ff. a2r, aa3r, and A1r). *Inferno* I is decorated with a northern Italian foliate border on cerise shredding (derived from Veneto-Paduan illumination; cat. no. 210) with a cowering putto attacked by a bird, probably parodying Dante attacked by the she-wolf (*Inf.* I. 49–60) or the torment of the damned in Hell (f. a2r). In the lower margin, there is another bird clutching a rock and a coat of arms (*gules, an azure-fimbriated bend sable*), which possibly denotes the Zenner family of Nuremberg.[11] The voluminous floral decoration in the margins of *Purgatorio* and *Paradiso* is also Italian but stylistically different from that of *Inferno*.

Isabella Stewart Gardner's acquisition of this book in 1886 is legendary. According to her biographer, she employed the famous London bookseller Bernard Quaritch (1819–99) to bid for it on her behalf at the Sotheby's sale of the library of Edward Cheney.[12] Having learned that Quaritch had withdrawn from the bidding because he considered the prices to have become exorbitant, Gardner warned him that unless she set a limit, there was none, and that Quaritch had better buy the book from the person who had purchased it at the auction, or she would never use his services again.[13] The well-known anecdote can be corroborated by Gardner's correspondence with Quaritch, which shows that the unidentified buyer bought the book for £43, and that Gardner persuaded him to part with it by paying £80.[14] The episode was a foretaste of the determination and wiles she employed to acquire her world-famous art collection.[15]

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1 ISTC id00031000, ME1 02013815.
2 Nocita 2012, 307–8.
3 Petrella 2012, 3.
4 Printed by Bernardino Benali and Mattei Codecà, March 3, 1491. Armstrong 1994b; Nocita 2012, 368, no. 12.
5 Dreyer 1984, 114.
6 Petrella 2012, 4; Korbacher 2015, 154. The woodcut for *Inf.* XIII is unframed.
7 Petrella 2012, 9.
8 Ibid., 5.
9 Ibid., 4–5.
10 Ibid., 4.
11 The Zenner coat of arms has an argent-fimbriated sable bend. Rietstap 1988, 2:1140; Rolland 1938, 5: pl. 207. A macrograph of the coat of arms reveals that the area in *gules* is patterned and there are white shapes, possibly leaves, above the *sable bend*. I am grateful to Valentine Talland for the analysis. A second coat of arms in the *Purgatorio* (f. aa3r) has been obscured.
12 Sotheby, Wilkinson & Hodge, London, June 25, 1886, lot 542.
13 M. Carter 1972, 98–99.
14 ISGM, Archives. Dealer Receipts, DF189_003. Gardner's desiderata and purchases from the Cheney sale. July 2, 1886: lot 542 lost at £43 and limit for all lots set at "fair value"; and DF189_006a. July 22, 1886: 1487 Dante purchased for £80.
15 See for example, her 1892 purchase of Vermeer's *The Concert*. M. Carter 1972, 134–35.

249. Dante Alighieri, Le Terze Rime di Dante
Aldus Manutius (printer)

Venice, Italy, August 1502
Paper, 8°, ff. 244, 157 x c. 95 mm
Isabella Stewart Gardner Museum, 2.c.1.4
Edward Cheney, English art collector and watercolorist, his sale, June 13, 1886, lot 544; purchased by Isabella Stewart Gardner.

The first edition of the *Divine Comedy* printed in the sixteenth century discarded the editorial traditions established for the poem in the manuscript and incunable eras (cat. nos. 214, 247–48).[1] The 1502 Dante was the first octavo-sized book of the *Comedy*, its text was printed in a newly-invented italic font, and was encumbered by neither commentary nor illustrations. The book was published in Venice by the

ff. H3v–H4r

enterprising scholar-printer Aldus Manutius (c. 1452–1515) as the second Italian title in his innovative *enchiridia* series. Inaugurated in 1501, it consisted of pocket-sized volumes of Latin, Greek, and vernacular texts—an unprecedented combination—revised by distinguished scholars. The series transformed the appearance of Western books, revolutionized publishing, and earned Aldus everlasting fame.

The *enchiridia* were the fruit of Aldus's friendship with humanists of the Venetian patrician Bembo family, with whom he shared a passion for ancient culture and literature. Bernardo Bembo (1433–1519), an eminent diplomat, art patron, and collector, lent manuscripts with illustrious pedigrees, including the autograph of Petrarch's *Rime,* from his library to be copied and edited for the Aldine press by his son Pietro Bembo (1470–1547), a grammarian and Italian vernacular literary theorist.[2] His other son Carlo Bembo (d. 1503) applied in advance to the Venetian senate for a privilege to copyright the text in June 1501.[3] The text of the Aldine 1502 Dante was based primarily on a fourteenth-century copy of the poem owned and annotated by Bembo senior, which had been given by the celebrated author and Dante scholar Boccaccio to his mentor Petrarch in the early 1350s (cat. nos. 215–16).[4] Striving to recover the original form of Dante's poem, Pietro Bembo subjected the vernacular text to critical techniques which had previously only been employed for the editing of classical works, and so elevated the *Comedy*'s status in the humanist literary canon. He also introduced standardized orthography and punctuation, which contributed to literary and linguistic reforms of the Italian language.[5] Bembo's edition of the poem, which he unsuccessfully tried to rename *Le Terze Rime di Dante* (since the title had yet to be fixed) became the new standard version.[6] Toppling the 1481 Florentine Dante, it was reprinted in nearly all later editions of the *Comedy* until the end of the 1500s (cat. no. 247).[7]

In addition to providing authoritative exemplars for Aldus's *enchiridia*, Bembo library books were a source of inspiration for the series' book-design. The elegant printed books' small narrow format and compact italic typeface modeled on humanist cursive script, resemble deluxe humanist manuscripts of classical texts produced for the Bembos by the Paduan illuminator-scribe Bartolomeo Sanvito (cat. nos. 210 and 232).[8] Before Aldus recognized the commercial potential of these refined, diminutive, unglossed manuscripts, they had been the preserve of a wealthy, intellectual elite.[9] The *enchiridia* disseminated the rarefied book and the concept of recreational reading to a mass audience. Its titles were so highly coveted that counterfeits emerged immediately.[10] Despite a caution printed beneath the 1502 Dante's colophon (f. H3v), it was soon forged by a French printer in Lyons, forcing Aldus to seek a ten-year senatorial privilege to protect the edition as early as October 17, 1502.[11] The presence in the Gardner's copy of the colophon, caution and, on the verso of the final page, the printer's newly-designed anchor-and-dolphin device flanked by his name within a rectangular border reduced to a series of dots (f. H4r), identifies it as an authentic Aldine edition.[12] The volume's attractive red gold-tooled goatskin binding with colorful Old Dutch comb marbled endleaves, which was probably made in seventeenth-century France, attests to the continued appreciation of Aldine books throughout Europe.[13]

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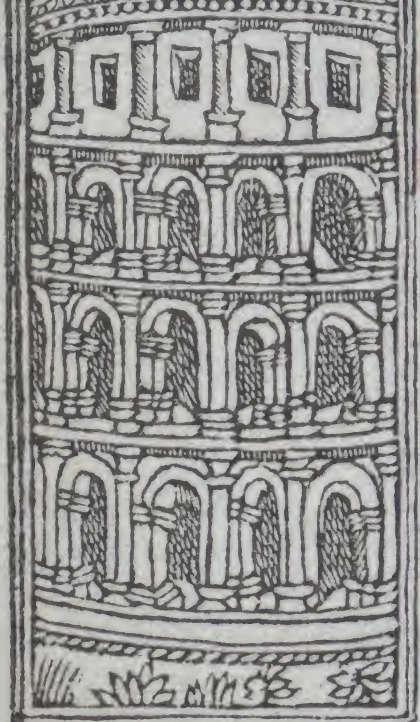
1 Nocita 2012, 308–9.
2 The Petrarch autograph is now Vatican City, BAV, ms. Vat. lat. 3195. Bigliazzi et al. 1994, 106.
3 Lowry 1979, 148; Bigliazzi et al. 1994, 106.
4 The fourteenth-century exemplar and Pietro Bembo's transcription are now Vatican City, BAV, mss. Vat. lat. 3199 and 3197, respectively. Bigliazzi et al. 1994, 106. See also Giannetto 1985, 344–46.
5 Petrucci 1969, 310; Bigliazzi et al. 1994, 107; Nocita 2012, 308.
6 The bland title was not reused by Aldus in his second Dante edition of 1515, nor used by other printers except in forgeries. Bigliazzi et al. 1994, 106; Nocita 2012, 309.
7 It was revised by the Accademia della Crusca in 1595. Bigliazzi et al. 1994, 107 and Nocita 2012, 308.
8 In the dedicatory letter to Pietro Bembo in the Virgil of 1514, Aldus recounted that he copied the format of his *enchiridia* from manuscripts in Bernardo Bembo's library. Firmin-Didot 1875, 390–91. N. Barker 1998, 104 argued that the script of Bembo's manuscripts did not inspire the italic typeface of the Aldine series.
9 Petrucci 1969, 308, 311.
10 For their distinguishing features and chronology, see Shaw 1993.
11 Nocita 2012, 309. For the Lyonnais counterfeit, see Shaw 1993, 123 and N. Barker 2001, 504 (no. 1107).
12 N. Barker 2001, 25, 77 (no. 59.5), 553 (no. A1a); Nuvoloni 2015.
13 N. Barker 2001, 33–35 for bindings on Aldine editions. I. Gardner 1922, 96, believed it to be a contemporary Venetian binding.

cat. no. 245, f. q1v



Et de triũpher de
firant. En son pa-
lais de colisee. ou
vgne ydolle estoit
posee. de cẽt z dix
piedz de lõgueur.
ci ap̃spouez veoir

Omnipo
qui dedi
fessiõe vere fide
riam agnoscer
statis adorare
Vt eiusdẽ fidei
semper tueamu

Oratio a
Pater de celis

IN principio
erat verbum,
& verbū erat
apud deum,
& deus erat verbum. Hoc
erat in principio apud deū.
Omnia per ipsum facta sunt
& sine ipso factum est nichil
Quod factum est in ipso vita
erat. & vita erat lux hominū.
& lux in tenebris lucet, & te-
nebre eam non comprehende-
runt. Fuit homo missus a de-
o, cui nomen erat ioannes.
Hic venit in testimonium, vt
testimonium perhiberet de lu-
mine, vt omīs crederent per

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+ περὶ ὄρνιθος τοῦ κϊνναμώμου :+

Ὄρνϊς ὁ κϊννάμωμος ὠνομασμένος,
τὸ κϊννάμωμον εὗρεν ἀγνοούμενον.
ὑφ' οὗ κοκιὰν ὀργανοῖ τοῖς φιλτάτοις.
μέλιον δὲ τοῖς μέλασϊν ἰνδοῖς αὐτάναξ.
ἀρωματϊκὴν ἡδονὴν διαπλέκει :+

μέλισσαι.

+ περὶ μελισσῶν :+

Γνώδε τι μῷ τῶν μελισσῶν τοὺς νόμους.
φιλῶμεν αὐτῶν αὐσονάρχα τὴν φύσιν.

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Liber mōstrij sc̄ti Viti mar̄is in gladbach et ē vnabil̄ Pesa sup̄ lucam :

Ad laudē xp̄i · nulla pat̄ uoluisti ·
P̄ me conscribi · gr̄a digna tibi ·
S' te scire nolo · qd̄ adhuc requiescere nolo ·
Scribē nēpe liber · nāq; uacare piget ·
Vnde m̄ carte · si dent̄ ī hac t̄ parte ·
Non ero n̄ parens · o' uenerande parens ·

Sur S. P.
[illegible]
1092

Parcere p̄stratis · scit nobilis ira leonis · Tu q̄q; fac simile · q̄sq̄uis
dn̄iari morbe ·

The Boston area is home to one of the most important ensembles of medieval and Renaissance illuminated manuscripts and early printed books in North America. In large measure, however, these treasures remain unknown to scholars and the wider public alike. *Beyond Words: Illuminated Manuscripts in Boston Collections* documents the first exhibition to showcase highlights from local libraries and museums. Like the exhibition itself, which was spread over three venues—in Cambridge, at Harvard University's Houghton Library, and in Boston, at Boston College's McMullen Museum of Art and the Isabella Stewart Gardner Museum—the catalogue is divided into three principal parts, each conceived as an idealized library for a particular group of readers. Part I considers Manuscripts from Church & Cloister, addressed primarily to clerics, monks, and nuns. Part II turns to Manuscripts for Pleasure & Piety, made first and foremost for a lay audience, including a generous selection of richly illuminated books of hours. The catalogue culminates with Italian Renaissance Books—both manuscripts and early printed volumes—which exemplify humanist culture of the fifteenth and sixteenth centuries and the transformations in reading habits and social practice they both embodied and enabled.

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ISBN 978-1-892850-28-7